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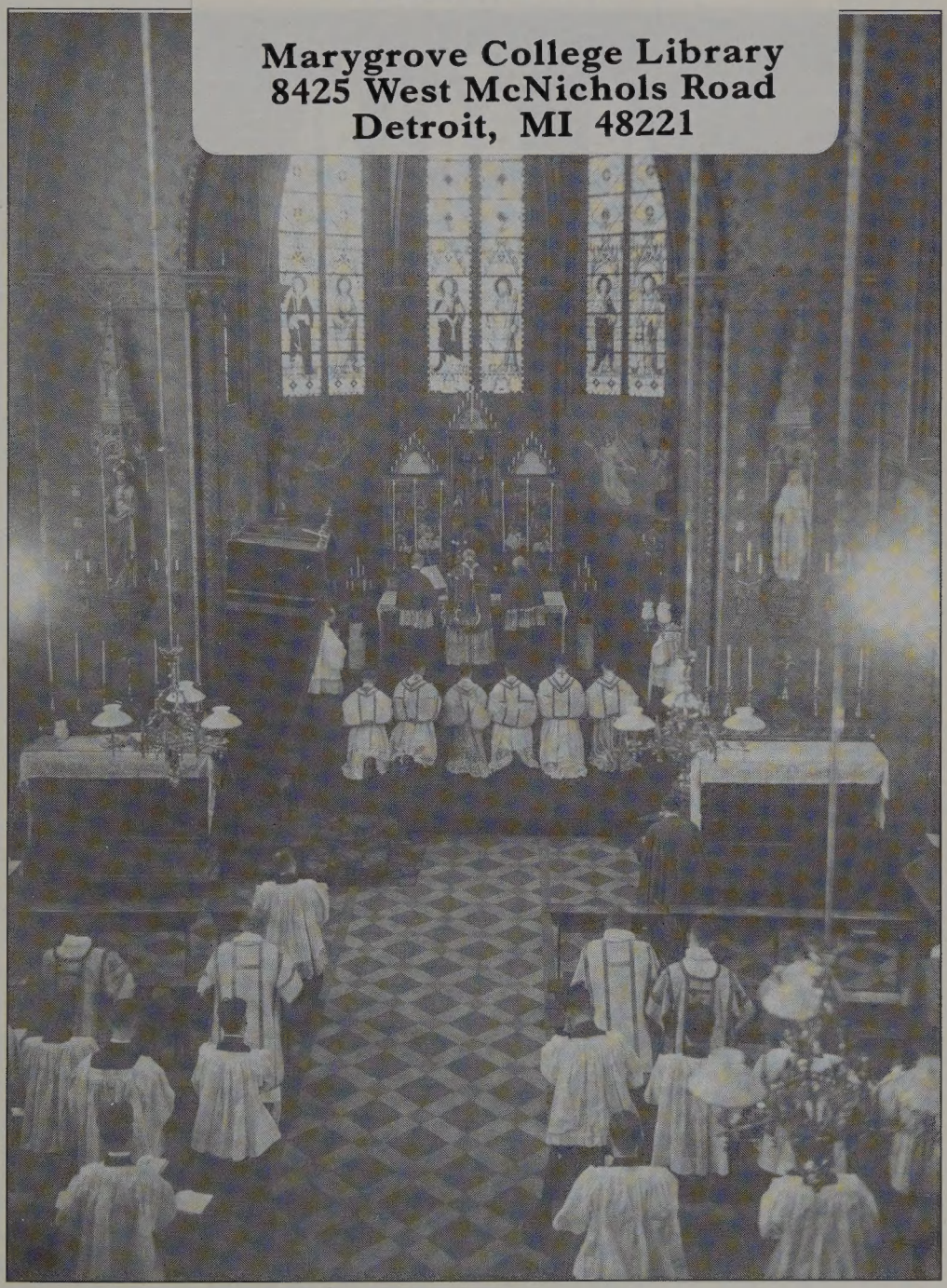

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VOL. XCIII NO. 1

The Catholic Historical Review

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THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

Official Organ of the American Catholic Historical Association

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All communications concerning direct subscriptions and advertising should be addressed to the Business Manager. Communications concerning editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, 320 Mullen Library, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064; telephone and fax number: 202-319-5079; electronic mail address: CHR@CUA.EDU. Manuscripts of articles must not exceed thirty pages, must be typewritten or computer-printed with double spacing (including the footnotes), and must be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped manila envelope if the return of the manuscript is desired in case of rejection.

Subscription price: Institutional: United States and Canada $50.00; foreign $55.00; single issue $15.00.

A missing issue will be replaced without charge only if a claim is made within thirty days after the following issue is received.

Published Quarterly by

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS
The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064

Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

The Catholic Historical Review is indexed in the *Catholic Periodical Index* and in *Religion Index One: Periodicals, Index to Book Reviews in Religion, Religion Indexes: RIO/RIT/IBRR 1975- on CD-ROM* and *ATLA* [American Theological Library Association] *Religion Database on CD-ROM* (http://www.atla.com). The articles are analyzed and indexed in the *Bulletin Signalétique Sciences Humaines* and in *IBZ* (International Bibliography of Periodical Literature). The medieval articles are indexed in the *International Medieval Bibliography* and in the *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law.* The modern European articles are abstracted in *Historical Abstracts*, and the American articles in *America: History and Life.* The book reviews are indexed in *Book Review Index*, and *An Index to Book Reviews in the Humanities*, and in *IBR* (International Bibliography of Book Reviews).

International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) 0008-8080

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Postmaster: Send address changes to Business Office, The Catholic University of America Press, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 620 Michigan Ave., N.E., Leahy Hall, Room 240, Washington, D.C. 20064.

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The Catholic Historical Review

VOL. XCIII JANUARY, 2007 No. 1

ST. PAUL'S SHIPWRECK AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN MALTA

BY

MARIO BUHAGIAR*

Small islands have a need for a myth of national identity. The small Central Mediterranean archipelago of Malta, geographically located on the respective peripheries of Muslim North Africa and Christian Europe, has since the Late Middle Ages used the claim to be the site of the shipwreck of the apostle Paul in A.D. 60 (Acts 28) as a key argument for a Latin European identity. The fact that the islands had emerged from a traumatic Muslim experience made it psychologically imperative for them to trace their Christian roots to apostolic times. This study examines the validity of their claims and discusses the earliest known evidence for a Pauline tradition.

In 544 A.D., when Rome was controlled by a hostile Byzantine garrison and under imminent threat of attack by the Goths under Totila, Pope Vigilius (537–555), made a calculated appeal to popular patriotic sentiment by instructing the poet and orator Arator, whom he had raised to the elevated status of Subdeacon of the Roman Church, to give a public recitation of his verse paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles "De Actibus Apostolorum," which he had composed around 536 A.D. after resigning from the Court of Theodoric the Ostrogoth at Ravenna.[1]

*Dr. Buhagiar is Professor of History of Art and Head of the Department of History of Art at the University of Malta.

[1]Arator, *De Actibus Apostolorum,* ed. A. P. McKinley (Vienna, 1951). See also A. P. McKinley, *Arator: The Codices* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1942), pp. 104-118. Arator, who was probably of Ligurian origin, had been trained in Milan under the patronage of Bishop Lurentius (490–512), and achieved distinction as a poet, an orator, and a lawyer. In Ravenna he was befriended by Cassiodorus (*ca.* 480-575), and Theodoric valued his services and treated him with distinction.

The poem, written in hexameters, is divided into two books dedicated respectively to St. Peter (Book I) and St. Paul (Book II), and has a thinly veiled political message in the way it lavishes praise on St. Peter at the expense of St. Paul and the other apostles. In this way the primacy of the Roman See, at a time when it was increasingly contested by Constantinople, is stressed. The performance, organized in the church of St. Peter ad Vincula in front of a lay and clerical audience, was a huge success and lasted four days since Arator had to repeat many passages by request of his audience. In Book II the poem makes a specific reference to the Central Mediterranean island of Malta, which it calls a *statio,* or "port of call for sailing boats,"[2] and there can be little doubt that it identifies the place with the site of St. Paul's shipwreck.[3]

The poem contains in this way the earliest known official association of the *Melita* of Acts 28:1 with the Central Mediterranean island of Malta. That such an identification was already current at a more popular level, is suggested by the *Acts of Peter and Paul,* a post-fourth-century text from the New Testament apochrypha, that makes a specific mention of the Maltese archipelago, indicating Gaudomelete (i.e., "Melite near Gaudos") as the place from where the Apostle, bypassing Africa, had sailed to Sicily by way of Syracuse.[4] The toponym leaves no room for ambiguity.[5] In Late Roman and Byzantine texts Central Mediterranean Melite was often referred to by that name to avoid confusion with other islands or landfalls with similar, or identical, names. The corresponding form of Melitegaudos (or Melitogaudos) was similarly used when the place indicated was the island of Gozo in the Maltese archipelago.

[2]*De Act. Apost.* ii, 1121-1127. On the significance of the word *station:* J. Busuttil, "Maltese Harbours in Antiquity," *Melita Historica*, V (1971), 305.

[3]"... velamine noctis aperto pandere visa solum quod praebuit hospital nautis Sicanio lateri remis vicina Melite. . . ."

[4]For *The Acts of Peter:* M. R. James, *The Apochryphal New Testament—Translations and Notes,* (Oxford, 1924). For an online translation: http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0815.htm. The passage which comes at the start of the text reads:"... And having sailed from Gaudomelete, he [Paul] did not come to Africa [or] to the parts of Italy, but ran to Sicily, until he came to the city of Syracuse. . . ." My thanks are due to Mr. Paul Guillaumier for generously alerting me to the Gaudomelete reference in *The Acts of Peter and Paul.*

[5]On the significance of the toponym and its companion 'Meltegaudos': S. Fiorini and H. C. R. Vella, "New 12th Century Evidence for the Pauline Tradition and Christianity in the Maltese Islands," in J. Azzopardi (ed.), *The Cult of St Paul in the Christian Churches and in the Maltese Tradition* (Malta, 2006), p. 161, where the toponym is explained as a composite Greek place-name "consisting of an initial adjectival component coupled with a final nominal component." In this case "Melite of (associated with) Gaudos."

Arator's audience may, nonetheless, not have been interested in an exact geographic location for *Melita*. From the available literary evidence, the patristic commentaries in particular, one gets the impression that the importance vested in the shipwreck story rested primarily in its moral lessons. The site of the island was a matter of secondary interest and, perhaps, even irrelevant.[6] A case in point is St. John Chrysostom (*ca.* 347-407) who in Homily 53 on the Acts of the Apostles limits his observations to the great honor which the natives showed Paul and his companions. This he takes as an indication that many of them embraced Christianity,[7] but their geographic identity falls outside his concern. It is, as a matter of fact, doubtful, if in learned and suitably informed circles Malta was at all associated with St. Paul. In the *Descriptio Terrarum* composed by the Gallician historian and theologian Paulus Orosius (*ca.* 385-420), the island corresponding to the approximate geographic location of Malta is indicated as the "Insula Calypso," implying that Orosius's concern was with Homer, not St. Paul. Calypso is likewise the name given to that island in an eighth-or-ninth century Mappa Mundi that accompanies a copy of Orosius's *Descriptio* in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.[8]

There is nothing to suggest that Malta had a Pauline tradition before the Late Middle Ages. The tenacious belief of the Maltese that they can trace their Christian roots to St. Paul has, since then, become a prime factor in the forging of their national identity.[9] In 1536, the Abbé Jean Quintin d'Autun, Secretary to Grand Master Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam, testified to their blind trust in its historical certitude. "The natives," he wrote, "believe as firmly and with certainty that St Paul has been in Malta just as much as they believe that St Peter has been in Rome."[10] In spite

[6]The Greek texts are listed in J. Busuttil, "Fonti greche per la storia delle Isole Maltesi," Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, *Missione archeologica a Malta: Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1968* (Rome, 1969), pp. 15-26.

[7]J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus ... series graeca,* vol. IX, col. 350.

[8]Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 6018, fols. 63^{v}-64, reproduced as Doc. 8, in G. Aquilina and S. Fiorini (eds.), *Documentary Sources of Maltese History,* Part IV: *Documents at the Vatican No.2 Archivio Segreto Vaticano: Cancelleria Apostolica and Camera Apostolica and related sources at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 416-1479* (Malta, 2005), pp. 11-14.

[9]M. Buhagiar, "The St Paul Shipwreck Controversy—An Assessment of the Source Material" in *Proceedings of History Week 1993,* ed. K. Sciberras, The Malta Historical Society (Malta, 1997), pp. 181-213.

[10]J. Quintinus, *Insulae Melitae Descriptio* (Lyons, 1536), translated and annotated by H. C. R Vella as *The Earliest Description of Malta (Lyons 1536) by Jean Quintin d'Autun* (Malta, 1980), pp. 42-44.

of this it is important to emphasize that, in the present state of our knowledge, there is absolutely no archaeological or textual evidence for a Christian presence in Malta before the fourth century. The epigraphic, iconographic, and archaeological data from the Early Christian burial places suggests a post-Constantian date,[11] while the much publicized "secure archaeological testimony" for an early Pauline tradition at the Roman villa site of San Pawl Milqi is both inconclusive and of a dubious nature and should be dismissed.[12]

An epistle of March 19, 416, addressed by Pope Innocentius I (401-417) to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, investing him with the mission of harmonizing practices within the Latin Church, stresses the point that the churches established throughout Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the islands in between (which presumably included Malta and Gozo) owed their foundation to 'Apostolic' evangelization undertaken from Rome.[13] Innocentius was one of the first Bishops of Rome to insist on the primacy of the Roman See. He based his claims on the Synod of Sardica in Illyria (343), which had recognized the supreme authority of the Bishop of Rome. The epistle was one with a political agenda and must be read and interpreted within such a context. It cannot be used as an argument that the places mentioned owe their Christian roots to Apostolic times. In Syracuse, which like Malta, has a Pauline tradition, the first incontestable evidence for a Christian community is an epistle on the *lapsi,* or Christians who had relapsed into paganism, addressed by the presbyters and deacons of Rome (*ca.* 250-251) to the Sicilian Church, a copy of which was sent to St. Cyprian of Carthage.[14] This seems to hint at a thriving Christian presence, but secure archaeological proof is absent.

The available evidence, written and unwritten, for a Christian presence on Malta between the early post-Constantinian Age and the Muslim conquest of 870,[15] is often ambivalent, but in spite of problems

[11]M. Buhagiar, *Late Roman and Byzantine Catacombs and Related Burial Places in the Maltese Islands* (Oxford, 1986).

[12]M. Buhagiar, "The Early Christian Remains at Tas-Silg and San Pawl Milqi, Malta. A Reconsideration of the Archaeological Evidence," *Melta Historica* XII (1996), 15-30.

[13]Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3791, fols. xlviii^{v} and l, reproduced as Doc. 1, in Aquilina and Fiorini, *Documentary Sources*, p. 2.

[14]Epistulae XXX, 5. Cyprian was a key point of reference in the mid-third century. On the *Lapsi* controversy: Hertel, *Caecilii Cypriani opera omnia,* I-II (Vienna, 1868-1871).

[15]The evidence is discussed in M. Buhagiar, "Early Christian and Byzantine Malta—Archaeological and Textual Considerations," in V. Mallia Milanes (ed.), *Library of Mediterranean History,* Vol.1 (Malta, 1994). See also T. S. Brown, "Byzantine Malta: A

of interpretation, there are clear indications of a flourishing community whose strategic geographic location made it a point of encounter for the theological, cultural, and artistic cross currents flowing from the neighboring churches of Sicily and North Africa. A hint of an influence from the Roman Church may arguably be contained in a list of donations allegedly made by Constantine, in the early fourth century, to the baptistery of the Lateran. These included the grant of 222 *solidi* farmed from a "massa Amalon" (or Amazon), in a place called Mengaulum, which, there is reason to believe, is a copyist's corruption of Melitegaudos.[16] The reference is contained in the earliest nucleus of the *Liber Pontificalis*,[17] compiled at the latest, as convincingly argued by Louis Duchesne, during the pontificate of Boniface II (530-532).[18] The main difficulty about the reference is its reliability. Duchesne has demonstrated how a great number of the biographies of the early Popes, down to the time of Pope St. Gelasius (492-496), are full of errors and historically untenable. On the other hand, the Constantinian donation is defended by modern scholarship including the seminal 1957 study of Ludwig Voelkl, which dates it to 317.[19] The donation must not be confused with the notorious eighth-or-ninth-century fabrication known as the *Constitutum domini Constantini imperatoris,* the mythological nature of which has been known since the early fifteenth century, when Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa dismissed it as "*dictamen apocryphum.*"[20]

That the Lateran baptistery dates approximately to around the time of Constantine can be argued on stylistic and art historical grounds. The adjoining basilica of St. John Lateran is, in addition, built on the site of the palace that came to Constantine through his wife Fausta.[21] Indirect evidence seems to suggest that Constantine donated it to the

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Discussion of the Sources" in A. T. Luttrell (ed.), *Medieval Malta—Studies on Malta Before the Knights* (London, 1975).

[16]As proposed by Louis Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis* I (Paris, 1886), pp. cxlix, 193 n.63.

[17]Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3764, fols. 19-23 [olim 20-24], reproduced as Doc. 2 in G. Aquilina and S. Fiorini, *Documentary Sources.*

[18]L. Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis.*

[19]Ludwig Voelkl, *Der Kaiser Konstantin. Annalen Zeitenwende* (Munich, 1957), p. 90.

[20]*De Concordantia Catholica,* III, ii, in the Baseleiner edition of his *Opera,* 1565, I. It was not, however, until the publication of Cardinal Cesare Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici,* the last volume of which was published shortly before his death in 1607, that the document was universally accepted as a forgery.

[21]For which reason it was called "Domus Faustae."

Christian community in the interval between the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (312) and the Edict of Milan (313), which enfranchised the Christians. A church council against the Donatists was held within its precincts in 313. There is, as a result, a discernible link between Constantine and the Lateran complex and a bequest toward its upkeep is probable. The Mengaulum debate opens a spiral of possibilities, but even if Imperial lands on Gozo did in fact form part of the grant to the baptistery, it is by no means an indication that the island had a Christian community and, far less, a Pauline tradition.

Christianity was certainly flourishing by the sixth century, and there is an unequivocal reference to a See of Malta in four letters of Pope Gregory the Great written in the period between July 592 and January 603.[22] The first three deal exclusively with Malta and provide precious insight into sixth-century Maltese Christianity, but they also raise tantalizing and as yet unanswerable questions.[23] They talk about the *pensio* on lands belonging to the *Ecclesia Africana,* the disciplinary action against Bishop Lucillus who was to be deposed *sine ambiguitate* for an undisclosed misdemeanor, and of the elevation of Traianus, a Sicilian monk, as the new bishop of the island. They emphasize the suffragan status of the Maltese Church to Syracuse, raise the possibility of a monastic presence, and hint at close ties with the African Church for which there is valuable archaeological testimony.[24] In the fourth letter, Gregory instructs the bishops of the province of Syracuse, among them Traianus, Bishop of Malta, to welcome his *chartularium* (proctor ?) Hadrianus, whom he is dispatching to them to administer the patrimony of the Roman Church, and to ensure that they are acting correctly. Bishops whose conduct is found to be unbecoming are to be admonished privately, but he warns that Hadrianus will report to him those who persist in their errors. He ends by exhorting them to resume the practice of caring for sick children.

[22]Published as docs. 4-7 in G. Aquilina and S. Fiorini, *Documentary Sources. A*n earlier reference to a Lucianus "episcopus melitensis" who in 553 attended the fifth Oecumenical Council of Constantinople (C. J. Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles—D'aprés les documents originaux par Charles Joseph Hefele, nouvelle traductions françaises faites sur la deuxième allemande corrigée de notes critiques et bibliographique par Dom H. Leclerq* [Paris, 1909], iii, 93-05) is suspect. *Vide:* T. S. Brown, "Byzantine Malta."

[23]For an assessment of their importance to Maltese Paleochristian studies: M. Buhagiar, "Early Christian and Byzantine Malta," pp. 115-117.

[24]On the Ecclesia Africana and Malta: *ibid.,* pp. 109-111.

Lucillus and Traianus are the only documented Early Christian bishops of Malta. The islands fade out of ecclesiastical history between 603 and 878, when an unnamed bishop of Malta was in chains in a Muslim prison in Palermo.[25] In or around 756, at the height of the iconoclast controversy, the bishoprics of Calabria and Sicily passed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[26] That the Maltese Islands were included in the transfer is indicated by a Byzantine *notitia episcopatum* for the period *ca.* 730–*ca.* 789 which mentioned Melite as a suffragan see within the province of Sicily.[27] Such an ecclesiastical situation prevailed until the islands made their first contact with the Normans in Sicily in 1091, but the Latinization process gathered momentum only after the definitive Norman conquest of 1127.[28] Greek influence nonetheless lingered on until at least the second half of the thirteenth century through the activities of Sicilian Basilian monks who may have played a key role in the re-Christianization process.[29]

The probability of a Byzantine shipwreck tradition centering on the Dalmatian island of Meleda (present-day Mjlet) is suggested by the *De administrando imperio* of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, whose writings are a precious insight on the Byzantine Empire and neighboring areas at the turn of second millennium. The *De administrando imperio,* composed in the first half of the tenth century, is a handbook of foreign politics, treating the migrations of the Slavic and

[25]L. Muratori, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* I parte 2 (Milan, 1735), col. 264A. The reference is contained in a letter composed by the Greek monk Theodosius which survives in an unsatisfactory Latin translation: B. Lavagnini, "Siracusa occupata dagli Arabi e l'epistola di Teodosio Magno," *Byzantion,* XXIX-XXX (1960), 261-265.

[26]V. Grumel, "L'annexion de l'Illyricum Oriental, et de la Sicilie et de la Calabre au Patriarchat de Constantinople," *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, XL (1952), 49; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State,* 2nd English edn. (Oxford, 1968), p. 170. The date is contested by J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Oxford, 1987), p. 351, who reproposes the traditional date of around 732 on the basis of a report in the *Liber Pontificalis* that on several occasions the envoys of Pope Gregory III (731-741) to the Iconclast Emperor Leo III were arrested in Sicily. Leo, furthermore, confiscated Roman Church property in Sicily and Calabria. See also A. Guillou, "La Sicilie Byzantine: Etat des Recherches," *Byzantinische Forschungen,* 5 (1977), 95-145.

[27]T. S. Brown, "Byzantine Malta," p. 80.

[28]Details and references in A.T. Luttrell, "Approaches to Medieval Malta," in *Medieval Malta,* pp. 30-31. See also G. Wettinger, "The Arabs in Malta," in *Malta - Studies of its Heritage and History* (Malta, 1986), pp. 97-98, and M. Buhagiar, "Les influences Sicilo-Normandes sur l'architecture médiédvale de Malte," in M. Kew Meade *et al.* (eds.), *L'architecture Normande en Europe—Identité et échanges* (Marseilles, 2002), pp. 85-86.

[29]M. Buhagiar, "The Re-Christianisation of Malta: Siculo-Greek Monasticism, Dejr Toponyms and Rock-Cut Churches," *Melita Historica,* XIII (Malta, 2002), 253-283.

Turkic peoples and the places they settled in. Meleda is called Maleozeate, and Constantine VII talks of the *pagani* who dwelt on the island.[30] Another Byzantine aspirant to the honor of the shipwreck site was Mitylene (Mitilini) on the Greek island of Lesbos, where St. Paul had earlier on made a brief stop in the course of his third journey (Acts 20:14). In the early seventeenth century, Mitylene's claims were cursorily dismissed by the impassioned apologist of the Maltese Pauline myths, the Jesuit Girolamo Manduca,[31] but the tradition had an old history that stretched at least as far back as the late twelfth century.[32]

A Siculo-Byzantinesque tradition favoring the Maltese Archipelago was apparently well established by the middle of the twelfth century when a Sicilian (or perhaps South Italian) Greek subject of King Roger II (1108–151), exiled for an undisclosed misdemeanor on "Melitogaudos," addressed a piteous lament, composed of more than 4000 iambic trimeters, to the admiral of the fleet and vizier of Sicily, George of Antioch, in a bid to regain the favor of the king.[33] The poem, which can be dated on internal evidence to the period between George of Antioch's conquest of Gerba in 1135 and his death in 1151,[34] should be read and interpreted within the context of the long and traumatic re-Christianization and Latinization process that started in 1127. The exile bemoans his misfortune at being forced to dwell among

> ". . . the children of the godless Hagar . . . (who invoked) only the heresiarch, the all abominable Mohammed. . ."

He finds little comfort in the fact that the Christians were coming out of their hiding places and that mosques were being transformed

[30]For the *De Administrando Imperio* see the *Corpus Scriptoricorum Byzantinorum,* XXXVI (Bonn, 1840).

[31]National Library of Malta, Ms. 25: *Relazione o sian tradizioni avute e trasmesse dalli antichi circa le* cose *dell'isola di Malta e di quanto s'é potuto cavare da scritture antiche degne di fede,* fol. 179. On Girolamo Manduca: A. T. Luttrell, "Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela: Tradition and Invention in Maltese Historiography," *Melita Historica,* VII (1977), 105-132; V. Borg, "Girolamo Manduca—His Life and Works," *Melita Historica,* VII (1977), 237-257; M. Buhagiar, "The St Paul Shipwreck Controversy."

[32]See *infra.*

[33]The poem (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Graec., 4577) was first exposed in J. Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices Graeci Mauscripti* (Madrid, 1769), pp. 140-145. Its relevance to Maltese history was first realised by A. Pertusi, "Le isole maltesi dall'epoca bizantina al periodo normanno e svevo," *Byzantinische Forschungen,* 5 (1977), 253-306. Excerpts from it are published with a commentary in S. Fiorini and H. C. R. Vella, "New 12th Century Evidence."

[34]Fiorini and Vella, p. 162.

into Christian churches. He then goes on to talk of priests who came from the Norman Kingdom, hinting in the process at the presence of a bishop on Gozo.

The poem opens a spiral of new possibilities, but it is essential to distinguish factual recording from poetic licence and metaphor. Pending an analytical study of the text and its full publication,[35] the new insights that it seems to provide must necessarily be tested against the evidence of the more secure source material.[36] It is, for example, hazardous to take it as testimony for a Christian community that survived the Muslim conquest when the written and unwritten evidence indicates otherwise.[37] The hyperbolic mention of "countless pious inhabitants" who came "out into the open" is a possible veiled reference to the grafting on an essentially Muslim territory of a Latin garrison and its attendant Latin rite clergy.[38] The reference to a bishop is of greater interest. It is possible that the Maltese archipelago became an episcopal see upon its formal integration into the Norman Sicilian Kingdom,[39] but the available documentary evidence makes a resident bishop unlikely.[40] Similarly improbable is the existence of separate bishoprics for Malta and Gozo, and it is dangerous to take the situation prevailing in Late Roman and Byzantine times, when Gozo had distinct municipal and possibly military arrangements,[41] as a yardstick for the Muslim and Norman periods.[42]

[35]This is being undertaken by S. Fiorini and H. C. R. Vella, who propose to publish the annotated text in the University of Malta's *Documentary Sources for Maltese History* series .

[36]For an overview see M. Buhagiar, *The Late Medieval Art and Architecture of the Maltese Islands,* (Malta, 2005), pp. 18–38.

[37]M. Buhagiar and S. Fiorini, *Mdina the Cathedral City of Malta,* (Malta, 1996), I, 45-51.

[38]Details in M. Buhagiar, "Re Christianization of Malta."

[39]There is secure documentation for a bishopric of Malta in 1156: A. Mayr, "Zur Geschichte der älteren christlichen Kirche von Malta," *Historisches Jahrbuch,* XVII (1896), 488-492.

[40]M. Buhagiar and S. Fiorini, *Mdina*, I, 142 *et passim.* Until the sixteenth century, the bishop was normally not Maltese and rarely visited the island. In 1366 he did not have an official residence.

[41]M. Buhagiar, "Gozo in Late Roman, Byzantine, and Muslim Times," *Melita Historica* XIII (1997), 113-124.

[42]Fiorini and Vella, "New 12th Century Evidence," p. 167, hint at the possibility that Gaudos and Melite could have been separate bishoprics within the province of Sicily, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, during the period *ca.* 800–*ca.* 850, but the *notitia episcopatum* of Basil of Ialimbana, on which they base their hypothesis, employs earlier records and the reference to Gaudos and Melite occurs in

The excerpts that have appeared in print, fine-tune, but do not drastically change, the mosaic of Muslim and Norman Malta that has been slowly taking shape since 1975, when Anthony T. Luttrell published his seminal analysis of the source material.[43] The clear reference to a Pauline tradition may, in the final analysis, turn out to be the poem's most important contribution to the mosaic. It is probable that the re-Christianization and Latinization movement had an interest in reviving the identification of the Maltese Archipelago with the shipwreck story. That the tradition took root is demonstrated by the case of the "Uomini di San Paolo" or "San Paolari." These were a band of charlatans and vagabonds who claimed descent from the "household of St. Paul"[44] and made the rounds of Italian cities administering cures for venoms and snake bites. In Sicily they were popularly known as *cirauli*.[45] Their alleged power over venomous substances was presumably anchored in the story of the miracle of the viper, which became the most famous episode of the shipwreck narrative. The poem, as a matter of fact, describes the incident in fastidious detail.

The deceit of the San Paolari was demonstrated by Teseo Pini around 1485,[46] but popular credence in their curative virtues lingered well into the early modern period, particularly in the hinterlands of Sicily and South Italy. The first known reference to their activity comes at the close of the Norman period, in 1194, in the account of a political mission sent by the Emperor Henry VI, pretender to the throne of Sicily and South Italy. The text, contained in a letter sent by Henry's

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the *descriptio orbis Romani* (attr. to George of Cyprus) datable to *ca.* 603–*ca.* 606, when Malta was securely under the jurisdiction of Rome. T. S. Brown, "Byzantine Malta: A Discussion of the Sources," in A. T. Luttrell, *op.cit.*, 76, 82, points out that this is a civil geographical (not ecclesiastical) list . See n. 26 *supra.*

[43]A. T. Luttrell, "Approaches to Medieval Malta," pp. 29-40.

[44]"... Questi dicono trar l'origine da San Paolo Apostolo, il che è falsissimo ... poichè egli sebbene ebbe stimuli della carne, tuttavia li superò con l'aiuto di Dio, non avevendo dunque avuto moglie, né perso il fiore della verginità. . .": Teseo Pini, *Speculum Cerretanorum.*.

[45]On the Uomini di S. Paolo: B. Montinaro, "Credenze Popolari—Tradizione Paolina," *Sudpuglia—Rassegna trimestrale della Banca Popolare Sud Puglia*, IX (December, 1983), 91-97.

[46]Teseo Pini's manual on charlatans and crooks, *Lo speculum cerretanorum* was plagiarized in Italian translation, by the seventeenth-century Bolognese author Rafaele Frianorio, who included the section on the San Paolari in chapter 27 of his book *Il Vagabondo* edited with other writings on brigands and swindlers by P. Camoresi in *Il libro dei vagabondi* (Turin, 1973). For a recent study see M. Masala (ed.), *Il vagabondo di Raffaele Frianoro—Fra divertimento letterario e istanze repressive* (Rome, 1999).

advisor and proctor, Konrad of Querfurth, to Herbert of Hildesheim,[47] is a typically late medieval mélange of biblical lore, mythology, and geographical inaccuracies. The reference to the "Uomini di San Paolo" follows a description of Mount Etna and Syracuse, but Konrad indicates Capri as the site of the shipwreck, and then proceeds to confuse that island with Mitylene. He may, in fact, have been using secondary material, and there is nothing to suggest that he visited Malta. That he might have had the island in mind is, on the other hand, suggested by his description of the "Uomini di San Paolo" as "Saracens." In the twelfth century, Malta was largely Muslim.[48] A few years earlier, in 1175, Burchard, Bishop of Strasbourg, who presumably stopped on the island while on an embassy to Egypt, had described Malta as an island *a Sarracenis inhabitata.*[49] There is a real possibility that the original Uomini di San Paolo were Maltese swindlers.

Konrad makes no reference to a "household of St. Paul" and Teseo Pini (or his informers) may, as a matter of fact, have confused Paul with his host Publius. He talks instead of "Saracens who solely by spitting, have the power to kill venomous animals." Such a virtue they owed to the merits of the apostle, who to show his appreciation for their hospitality, had invested his host (i.e., Publius), as well as his children and grandchildren, with this miraculous power that they continued to enjoy "to this very day."[50] In the middle of the fourteenth century, another German cleric, Ludolph of Suchen, was more specific. After recounting the story of Paul's deliverance from harm, when he had been bitten by a viper that leapt out of the fire lit by his hosts, he continues:

> On this island there still live people who boast of being descendants of that household through whose hospitality such (favours) happened to St Paul.[51]

[47]The Pauline significance of Querfurth's account: I. M. Lappenberg (ed.), "Arnoldi Abbatis Lubecensis Chronica an. 1172–1209" [=Chronica lavorum], *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* Scriptores, 21 [New York, 1963], 196) is first noted in H. Bresc, "Sicile, Malte, et Monde Musulman," in S. Fiorini and V. Mallia Milanes (eds.), *Malta—A Case Study in International Cross Currents* (Malta, 1991), 51, n.10. It is discussed in detail in Thomas Freller, *St Paul's Grotto and its Visitors—Pilgrims, Knights, Scholars, and Sceptics from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century* 2nd ed. (Malta, 1996), pp. 31-33.

[48]Luttrell, "Approaches," pp. 32-40; Wettinger, "Arabs in Malta."

[49]Text in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores,* 21 (Hanover, 1869), 236.

[50]The English translation used here follows that in Freller, *St. Paul's Grotto,* pp. 31-32.

[51]F. Deycks (ed.), *Ludophi, Rectoris ecclesiae parochialis in Suchem, de Itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber,* Bibliothek des literarisehen Vereins, XXV (Stuttgart, 1851), 22.

Ludolph had been on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the course of which he apparently stopped at Malta,[52] even though the island did not lie on the standard pilgrimage route. The text seems to show a personal familiarity with the Maltese islands, but gives Corsica, not Malta, as the island of the shipwreck. It has been argued that as in the case of Konrad of Querfurth, this may perhaps, be interpreted as a muddling up of Mediterranean geography,[53] but the problem remains unresolved. There is also a possibility that the indicated site was the island of Pantelleria, between Malta and Tunisia, and that Ludolph unwittingly confused its Greek name *Cosyra* (sometimes rendered as *Corissa*) with Corsica.[54] The proximity, and geophysical and socio-religious similarities, between Pantelleria and Malta did not escape late medieval travelers and commentators. The erudite Florentine Domenico Silvestri, who around 1400 composed a treatise on Mediterranean islands, *De insulis et earum proprietatibus,* emphasized this geographical reality (*"Corissa et Melite vicine sunt"*), but located the shipwreck site in Mitylene.[55]

Until the fifteenth century, Christian cartography was more concerned with an interpretation of the Bible and a demonstration of religious themes and references, than with geographic correctness. Paulus Orosius's *Descriptio Terrarum* was an important pioneering document, but the map at the Vatican is of uncertain date,[56] and the first truly significant exponent of the theological dictatorship which stifled genuine geographic research was the sixth-century author Cosmos of Alexandria, who, before becoming a Christian and embracing monastic life on Mount Sinai, had sailed, as a trader in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and earned for himself the title of *Indicopleustes* ("Indian Sailor").[57] The *Topographia Christiana* which he composed between 535 and 548

[52]As convincingly argued in Freller, *St. Paul's Grotto,* pp. 38-49.

[53]*Ibid.,* p. 47.

[54]As suggested T. Freller, "St Paul's Grotto, Malta, and its Antidotic Earth in the Awarness of Early Modern Europe," J. Azzopardi (ed.), *The Cult of St Paul,* p. 196.

[55]For Silvestri's treatise see C. Pecoraro, *Domenico Silvestri - De Insulis et earum propietatibus* (Palermo, 1955). See also J. Zammit-Ciantar, "Malta and Gozo in a Fifteenth Century Codex," *Studi Magrebini,* XXIV (1992), 63 who however mistakes Mitilyene for Malta.

[56]*Supra*

[57]The treatise survives in two copies: one a tenth-century MS in the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana, Florence (Nova Collectio Patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum); the other an eighth-or-ninth-century uncial MS in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. On Cosmas: *Kosma Aigyptiou Monacholi Christianikē Topographia—The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk,* tr. and ed. with notes and introduction by John W. McCrindle, Hakluyat Society, Series 1, vol. 98 (London, 1897).

A.D. contains the oldest surviving Christian maps,[58] and conditioned a cartographic tradition that found crystalization, in about 776 A.D., in the *mappamundi* of Beatus of Liébana (d. 798 A.D.)[59] where the "great ocean" is fused with the Mediterranean and the two seas are sprinkled with many islands that include Tule, Britain, Hibernia, the Fortunate Isles, Corsica, Sardinia, Crete, Sicily, Cyprus, and six others.[60]

Nearer the time of Konrad of Querfurth and Ludolph of Suchen, the tradition found an eloquent expression in the Ebstorf *Mappamundi*,[61] which is generally ascribed to the learned Englishman Gervase of Tilbury (*ca.* 1150-1220),[62] who was widely traveled and had spent a period of time, around 1189, in the court of King William II of Sicily. The map, which is possibly related to the *Otia imperialia,* a compendium of history, geography, and physics, which Gervase, composed *ca.* 1210-1214, for Otto IV,[63] is a brilliant synthesis of Christian cosmography, intended for instruction and pious meditation. Divine intervention in human history and geography is emphasised, and the map is drawn in the manner of a Roman road plan to facilitate the contemplation of God's miracles and the holy sites of the Bible and the Christian story, regardless of distances and geographic exactitude. Gervase followed the Ancient Roman technique of dividing the world into three parts and of tracing twelve circles (the homes of the twelve winds) in the cosmic ocean,[64] but the treatment is stylized and generalized and there is no attempt to display real coastline or detail. Africa is little more than the segment of a circle and the Mediterranean is sprinkled with islands and sweeps in a northerly direction around a landmass which is presumably the Greek peninsula. Sicily appears as a heart shaped island in close proximity to Venice which juts into the Adriatic.

[58]It is possible that the sketches in the Bibliotheca Laurentiana MS are original drawings by Cosmas , or under his direction.

[59]The map is known through a number of copies, the most important of which is the so-called *St Sever* or *Paris I* executed about 1050 in the the Aquitanian Monastery of St Sever (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Lat. 8878 [S. Lat., 1075], fol.45).

[60]C. Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography,* 3vols. (London 1897-1906), II, 550-559, 591-604, remains a standard reference.

[61]So called after a Benedictine monastery near Illzen where it was discovered in 1830. It was destroyed during World War II, in 1943, but is well known through reproductions and photographs. For notes and information on the map: W. Rosien, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte* (Hanover, 1952).

[62]Tilbury in the county of Essex. Gervase is thought to have been of royal blood.

[63]The treatise is variously known *Liber de mirabilibus mundi, Solatia imperatoris,* and *Descripio totius orbis.*

[64]Gervase relied especially on the writings of Mela and Pliny the Elder.

It is against such a background of popular and highly colorful geographic misinformation that the accounts of Konrad of Querfurth and Ludolph of Suchen must be read and interpreted. In the case of Malta, the difficulties are further aggravated by confusion over the name of the island. The Mengaulum debate of the late Roman and early Byzantine periods found an echo in late medieval and early modern controversies when documents referring to Melitene in Armenia, Meleda in the Adriactic, and Mileto in Calabria were erroneously associated with Malta and used as proof for a vigorous early Christian presence.[65] Tommaso Fazello,[66] Rocco Pirri,[67] and Giovanni Francesco Abela,[68] among others, used such unreliable sources which resulted in unintentional falsifications as, for example, the myth of a Melivetan Council, supposedly held in Malta and attended by 214 bishops, who included St. Augustine and a Sylvanus Bishop of Malta,[69] or of a Maltese Benedictine monastery.[70] The Pauline legends and traditions were fueled by similar misinformed geographic identities, and while there is evidence for deliberate inventions,[71] the mistakes were often the result of toponomastic confusions.

Ludolph of Suchen's account contains the first known reference to the medicinal properties of rock sanctified by St. Paul which, if pounded into dust and diluted in wine, was a potent antidote against venomous substances. In Malta such attributes have, since at least the early modern period, been associated with stone chipped from a man-made cave, in the ditch of the Roman city of Melite, that the apostle is

[65]A.T. Luttrell, "Gerolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela," p. 108 et *passim.*

[66]T. Fazello, *De Rebus Siculis Decades Duae,* 1st ed. (Palermo, 1558). Reprinted Venice, 1574. Italian translation by R. Fiorentino (Palermo, 1817).

[67]R. Pirri, *Notitiae Sicilieium Ecclesiarum* (Palermo, 1641). Reprinted in Italian Translation as *Sicilia Sacra* (Palermo, 1733 ed.).

[68]G. F. Abela, *Della Descrittione di Malta* (Malta, 1647), p. 49.

[69]The myth had been firmly established by the early sixteenth century when J. Quintinus, makes specific reference to it. See: V. Borg, "Tradizioni e documenti storici" in *Missione Archeologica Italiana a Malta: Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1963* (Rome, 1964), pp. 43-44, and A.T. Luttrell, "Gerolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela," p. 115.

[70]G. F. Abela, *Della Descrittione,* p. 49. The monstery was actually founded on the island of Meleda (Mljet) in the Adriatic in 1130: Luttrell, "Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela," p. 108.

[71]Such as in the writings of Girolamo Manduca and *De Sacto Publio martyre Melite principe, et Athenarum episcopo Divi Pauli hospite. . .* (National Library of Malta, MS.25). Manduca's only proofs were often the recollections of fantasticating old men: Luttrell, "Gerolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela," p. 119.

credulously thought to have used as a place of refuge.[72] Ludolph's account (if it does in fact refer to Malta) pushes back the belief in the palliative qualities of the rock from the cave by at least two hundred years. By 1366, a church ("Sancti Pauli de Cripta") with a burial ground had been built above the cave,[73] presumably testifying to the fabrication of a Pauline apocrypha that was intimately related to the consolidation of the Christianization and Latinization process. The dedication of the cathedral to St. Paul, securely documented in 1299,[74] is probably an indication that Malta's association with the apostle that achieved formal recognition by the last decades of the thirteenth century.

This not withstanding, voices of dissent continued to contest Malta's claims, which, as can be deduced from the *Descriptio* of the Abbé Jean Quentin d'Autun, were sometimes taken in a light vein. Informed late medieval treatises and travelogues indicated other Mediterranean islands. One important exception was the early thirteenth-century Bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry, who may have stopped at Malta in 1216 while sailing from Genoa to take possession of his see. In a letter composed in the winter of the same year he describes his journey and makes specific reference to Sicilian Malta and its Pauline association.[75]

Mitylene was the place most frequently indicated, but some travelers, such as Jacopo di Verona, who departed for Palestine in 1346, favored Crete,[76] and his ideas were shared by the canon from Milan Pietro Casola, who stopped at Crete in 1494.[77] The German Dominican friar from Ulm, Felix Fabri, who around 1480-1483 made two pilgrimages to the Holy Land, certainly did not have Malta in mind when, in the account of his second pilgrimage, he reported on the danger incurred by travellers sailing "among the isles called Cyclades, and in

[72]G. Zammit Maempel, "Rock from St Paul's Grotto (Malta) in Medicine and Folklore," in J. Azzopardi (ed.), *St Paul's Grotto, Church and Museum at Rabat, Malta,* Friends of the Museum of St Paul's Collegiate Church Rabat (Malta, 1990), pp. 169-216.

[73]The document which survives in a late copy (Cathedral Archives, Mdina, Curia Episcopalis Melitensis, Acta Originalia, Vol. IX, fol.37), is published by G. Wettinger, "A Land Grant by Bishop Ylario to Bochius de Bochio at St Paul's Grotto, 1366," in J. Azzopardi (ed.), *St. Paul's Grotto,* p. 66.

[74]H. Bresc, "Malta dopo il Vespro Siciliano," *Melita Historica,* VI (1974), 313-321.

[75]R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry* (Leiden, 1960), p. 97 ff. Mr. Thomas Freller generously brought this publication to my notice.

[76]Freller, "St Paul's Grotto, Malta, and its Antidotic Earth," p. 198.

[77]M. M. Newett (ed.), *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage in the Year 1494* (n.pl, 1907) cited by Freller in "St Paul's Grotto and its Antidotic Earth," p. 198.

the Athaenian sea, and off the coast of Illyria and Dalmatia . . . which danger was feared by the sailors who carried St Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, xxvii.29."[78] In the second half of the sixteenth century, Malta was likewise excluded by the pharmacist Reinhold Lubenau, who in 1587 accompanied a legation of Emperor Rudolph II to Edrine and Istanbul. He reports that on a visit to the Eastern Mediterranean island of Levkás he was informed by the natives that the place, together with the neighboring islands of Andípaxoi and Paxoi, had been freed of poisonous creatures by the virtue of St. Paul, who had preached there after his shipwreck.[79]

The arguments against Malta were masterfully synthesized in 1730 by Ignazio Georgi, Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Veliko Jezero on the Dalmatian Meleda (Mljet),[80] provoking a vociferous Maltese reaction.[81] The Pauline legend had by that time become the central element of Malta's Christian and European credentials. Questioning it was both irreverent and unpatriotic, and the island's geographic location on the fringes of Christian Europe and Muslim North Africa lent the debate a sinister political dimension. The plethora of pseudo-scientific *dissertazioni*, produced by distinguished Maltese and European apologists to refute Georgi's arguments,[82] received the active backing of the Knights of St. John, who had a vested interest in promoting their island principality as a bulwark of Latin Europe with a prestigious Christian tradition that could be traced back to apostolic times.

[78]The account occurs in a description of the dangers of the sea at the start of the second pilgrimage: *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri* ca. *1480-1483*, edited and translated by Aubery Stewart, Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society (London, 1896), vol.1, Part 1.

[79]W. Sahm (ed.), *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau* (Königsberg, 1912-1915), II, 285.

[80]I. Georgi, *Divus Paulus apostolus in mari, quod nunc Venetus sinus dicitur, naufragus, et Melitae Dalmatanensis insulae post naufragium hospes, sive de genuino significatu duorum locorum in Actibus apostolicis, cap.27:27, cap.28:1 inceptiones anticriticae* (Venice, 1780).

[81]M. Buhagiar, "The St Paul Shipwreck Controversy," pp. 187-188.

[82]*Ibid.*, p. 188.

CONSTRUCTING ANOTHER KIND OF GERMAN: CATHOLIC COMMEMORATIONS OF GERMAN UNIFICATION IN BADEN, 1870-1876

By

Pontus Hiort*

This essay discusses how Badenese Catholics responded to the nationalist rhetoric surrounding German unification in 1871. Faced with a Protestant dominated commemorative discourse aimed at reinforcing the Protestant hegemony over the definition of Germanness, Catholics successfully contested this ideological message. By creating an alternative commemorative discourse, Catholics were able to manifest their own understanding of national identity instead of becoming subsumed in a new nation-state based on Protestant values. The uneasy coexistence of Protestant and Catholic versions of German identity suggests that confessional elements constituted integral parts of German nationalism and that Catholic and Protestant integration into the Kaiserreich should be viewed as a contested debate over the definition and legitimization of the new state.

Just six months after the triumphant foundation of the Second German Empire in January 1871, the Radolfzell Roman Catholic daily *Freie Stimme* complained that German Catholics had become targets for domestic warfare following the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war: "The loyal Catholics, especially the clergy, sacrificed greatly during the war; now, when peace has been celebrated, the liberals demand a war with the church. . . ."[1] The newspaper maintained that liberals and Protestants sought to cast doubts on German Catholics' loyalty to the Fatherland by spreading rumors such as, "The Ultramontanes and the French are sworn allies who seek to ruin Germany's greatness!"[2] Its polemics aside, *Freie Stimme* was painting a fairly accurate picture of

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[1]*Freie Stimme*, July 22, 1871.

[2]*Ibid.*

the ill-treatment of many Badenese Catholics in the immediate post-unification period. As the conflict became more distant, the more Protestants and liberals had tended to "forget" Catholic efforts in the war, focusing instead on the allegedly traitorous behavior of the Catholics.

During this time, Catholics and Protestants heatedly debated the role Catholics had played in the Franco-Prussian war and the unification process. In July 1871, Luise, the consort of Grand Duke Friedrich I of Baden, had traveled to Freiburg to honor the volunteer work of the Sisters of Mercy in the recent war. In a well-publicized ceremony, she placed a cross on their building, and respectfully enumerated the important contributions the nuns had made to the war effort.[3] Only a few days later, the lead article of the liberal *Karlsruhe Zeitung* asserted that over the last few years, Baden's Catholics had proven useless in the defense of the Fatherland. Disloyal to Wilhelm I and lacking "true love" for the German nation, they had allegedly proved more a burden than an asset in the recent war against France. The article insisted that the true *Heimat* of the state's Catholics was neither Baden in particular, nor Germany in general, but rather Rome. Indeed, the wars of unification had been won despite the efforts of Badenese Catholics rather than thanks to them.[4]

Shortly afterward, Stephan Braun, one of Baden's leading Catholics, published a reply to the Karlsruhe paper in *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt*. He encouraged Protestants and liberals to question Grand Duchess Luise concerning the wartime behavior of Catholic clergy and laity—she would set the record straight. To demonstrate how important his fellow Catholics had been to the military success, he recounted the activities of the local Maltese order in painstaking detail. Braun cited statistics on the knights' undertakings during the war, from how many had volunteered as doctors and nurses to the number of bandages they had applied.[5] The list reflected the pressure that Badenese Catholics faced in a post-unification period that witnessed the resumption of a fierce prewar *Kulturkampf*. Repeatedly singled out as enemies of the German nation, Catholics often considered it necessary to justify their existence in the new nation-state. Determined not to let Protestants and liberals exclude them from the memory of the war and unification, they refuted their critics' accusa-

[3] *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt,* August, 2, 1871.
[4] *Karlsruhe Zeitung,* August 6, 1871.
[5] *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt,* August 28, 1871.

tions in the struggle to control the discourse and rhetoric surrounding the events of 1870-1871. Catholic determination to control the construction of the memory of war and unification became all the more important as these milestones came to constitute one of the building blocks for the new national identity that was being constructed in Imperial Germany.

Faced with a nationalist rhetoric and a constructed memory of the Franco-Prussian war that reinforced the Protestant hegemony over the definition of Germanness, Catholics actively opposed the attempts to construct national identity along confessional lines. Rejecting an official national identity frequently tinged with anti-Catholic sentiment, they employed the debates on the nature of the Franco-Prussian war and subsequent commemorative activities to manifest their own understanding of what it meant to be German in the Second Empire. This essay explores how Badenese Catholics responded to the nationalist rhetoric and the commemorative discourse surrounding German unification. By focusing on the state of Baden, which constituted an anomaly because it had a Catholic majority but was governed by a Protestant Grand Duke and a national liberal political majority, we gain increased insight into the complex interactions between Catholics and Protestants at the beginning of the Second Empire. Baden is also a useful case study because the *Kulturkampf* that liberals and Protestants had initiated there in the 1860's served as a model for the bitter conflict in Prussia and the Reich.[6]

During the 1860's relations between Catholics and Protestants in Baden rapidly deteriorated. In their attempts to modernize, the state's liberals and Protestants had grown increasingly aggressive in their rhetoric and policies against the two-thirds Catholic majority, especially after the Prussian defeat of Austria in 1866. Many of the subsequent conflicts were intimately tied to the German question. Liberals and Protestants advocated Baden's integration into the North German Confederation, while Catholics harbored strong sympathies for Austria and were unwilling to accept unification without their southern neighbor. Tensions had reached a climax as the debates over the doctrine of

[6]For an introduction to Badenese history, see Wolfgang Hug, *Geschichte Badens* (Stuttgart,1992); Hansmartin Schwarzmeier (ed.), *Handbuch der Baden-Württembergischen Geschichte.* Dritter Band: *Vom Ende des alten Reiches bis zum Ende der Monarchien* (Stuttgart, 1992); Karl Stiefel, *Baden 1648-1952,* Band I (Karlsruhe, 1978).

papal infallibility immediately before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war polarized the state's two predominant confessions.[7]

Due to the political, economic, and cultural pressure Badenese Catholics faced following unification, an investigation of their reactions to war and unification furthers our understanding of the varied responses that Catholics around Germany offered to the unification process. My analysis of Protestant and Catholic uses of nationalist rhetoric and their construction of differing memories of the Franco-Prussian war and unification suggests that the integration of Protestants and Catholics into the German nation-state should be viewed as an ongoing debate over the definition and legitimization of the new state.[8] Although the traditional view of Catholics as passive victims engulfed in a Protestant- and Prussian-dominated national identity has recently been contested, few scholars have focused on exactly how Catholics asserted their own sense of national belonging.[9] The confessional element in German nationalism has become increasingly important as scholars have recently begun stressing the centrality of religion to the everyday life of Germans in the Second Empire. Most historians no longer view the nineteenth century as a period of linear secularization. Rather, they agree that religion functioned as a social force that shaped numerous social, political, and cultural actions, emphasizing the capacity of confessional loyalties to form and mobilize public opinion. National identity did not replace religious convictions; on the contrary, Catholic and Protestant uses of nationalist rhetoric further intensified local confessional conflicts and polarized society.[10] Consequently, an analysis of Catholic responses to the war, the construction of the

[7]For a more in-depth treatment of this period, see for instance: Josef Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche in der Ära von Reichsgründung und Kulturkampf* (Mainz, 1973); Lothar Gall, *Der Liberalismus als regierende Partei. Das Großherzogtum Baden zwischen Restauration und Reichsgründung* (Wiesbaden, 1968); Friedrich Koeppel, "Baden und die deutsche Entscheidung des Jahres 1866," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte Oberrheins*, 88 (1936), 451-453.

[8]This analysis confirms some of Helmut Walser Smith's theories on German nationalism. See Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870-1914* (Princeton, 1995), esp. pp. 237-239.

[9]*Ibid.*; Smith (ed.), *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany 1800-1914* (New York, 2001). The latter work contains some promising research into how Catholics integrated into the Empire. See especially the essay by Anthony J. Steinhoff, "Building Religious Community: Worship Space and Experience in Strasburg after the Franco-Prussian War," pp. 267-297.

[10]For instance: Wolfgang Altgeld, "Religion, Denomination and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Germany," in Smith (ed.), *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in*

memory of the unification process, and the new national identity promises insights into how and why confessional affiliations came to play such an important role in the *Kaiserreich*.

During the past decade, scholars have produced a plethora of works on the multifaceted nature of German national identity in the Second Empire.[11] Today, most agree that the official identity emanating from Berlin was not unconditionally accepted throughout the Reich, but rather mediated and altered depending on geographic location, class, confession, and ethnicity. Several of these studies have focused on the importance of commemorations and public culture for the construction of a national identity.[12] However, these scholars have tended to overestimate the cohesiveness of the constructed memory of the Franco-Prussian war and unification, failing to recognize the importance of the contested memory of these events as a source of tension as Germans tried to integrate into the new nation-state. This omission

Germany, pp. 49-66; Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of the Catholic Revival in Nineteenth Century Germany," *The Historical Journal*, 38 (1995), 647-670; Olaf Blaschke, "Das 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Zweites Konfessionelles Zeitalter?" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 26 (2000) 38-75; David Blackbourn, *Marpingen. Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth Century Germany* (New York, 1994); Wolfgang Schieder, "Kirche und Revolution. Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der Trier Wallfahrt von 1844," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 14 (1974), 419-454; Smith (ed.), *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany*.

[11]For instance, Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, 1990); John Breuilly (ed.), *The State of Germany. The national idea in the making, unmaking, and remaking of a modern nation state* (London, 1992); Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill, 1997); Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 2001); James Retallack (ed.), *Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830-1933* (Ann Arbor, 2000); James J. Sheehan, "What is German History? Reflections on the role of the *Nation* in German history and historiography," *Journal of Modern History*, 53 (1981), 1-23.

[12]For instance: Reinhard Alings, *Monument und Nation. Das Bild vom Nationalstaat im Medium Denkmal—zum Verhältnis von Nation und Staat im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Berlin, 1996); Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor;* Dieter Düding, Peter Friedemann, and Paul Münch (eds.), *Öffentliche Festkultur. Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Rheinbeck bei Hamburg, 1988); Wolfgang Hardtwig, "Der bezweifelte Patriotismus—nationale Bewußtsein und Denkmal 1786 bis 1933," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 44 (1993), 47-75; Ute Schneider, *Politische Festkultur im 19. Jahrhundert: die Rheinprovinz von der französischen Zeit bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges (1806-1918)* (Essen, 1995); Charlotte Tacke, *Denkmal im sozialen Raum. Nationale Symbole in Deutschland und Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1995).

is somewhat surprising because collective memory plays so important a role in the construction of identity, a topic that has been illuminated by social scientists during the last decade.[13] The contested memory of the war and unification suggests that Germans did not all share the same foundation upon which to base their new identity. Instead, the construction of national identity became a fluid, contested, and often contradictory project in which both Catholics and Protestants attempted to convince the other of the pre-eminence of their own view of German history and the future of their common nation-state. Liberal and Protestant determination to establish their own sense of Germanness led to a polarization of local society as struggles over the concept of national identity infused the political and cultural discourse. Throughout Baden, locals on both sides often politicized commemorative activities and the construction of monuments, using them as means to increase their political power. Instead of creating a more cohesive society after 1871, German nationalism facilitated an intensification of conflicts on the local level.[14]

As news of the outbreak of war spread throughout the German lands in July 1870, most Germans initially set aside their differences to unite in a nationalist furor. As the first excitement evaporated, however, old tensions resurfaced with surprising speed. Moreover, citizens were now equipped with a new weapon to use in their quarrels: the nationalist discourse popularized at the outset of the war. Furthermore, as Germans began constructing the memory of the Franco-Prussian war and unification, it became evident that Catholics and Protestants nourished different, often opposing collective memories of the conflict and unification process. These recollections, rather than facilitating increased understanding among citizens, provided them with additional means to maintain and often intensify existing disagreements. More importantly, at the local level, citizens now cast their disputes against the backdrop of an emerging fixation on national consciousness and the construction of a national identity, which tended to raise stakes, further exacerbating tension. This suggests that we should analyze more carefully the divisive effects that the popularizing of

[13]For instance: Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989); John Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994); Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983); Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, 3 vols. (New York, 1995-1997).

[14]This view permeates Smith's work, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict*, esp. pp. 10-11, 13-15, 237-239.

nationalism had on local communities, instead of assuming that nationalist excitement provided for a more cohesive society. National identity did not develop at the same speed and in the same manner as it replaced existing local, regional, religious, and class identities, but instead often facilitated an intensifying of already existing differences.

Like citizens elsewhere in the German lands, Badeners responded with enthusiasm when the on-going conflict between Prussia and France escalated into war in July 1870.[15] Hoping that war against France would unify Germany, the citizens of Baden proclaimed that the political and confessional struggles that had divided their state during the last few years had now finally come to an end.[16] Indeed, the first weeks of the war witnessed a unity of purpose that superseded all previous economic, religious, social, and political divisions. For a brief period, residents of Baden were no longer Protestants, Catholics, or Jews, but Germans, especially since citizens were well aware of their precarious geographical position as a bordering state to France. To add to the uncertainty, most soldiers normally stationed in cities around the state were incorporated into the Fourteenth Army Corps that departed for France, leaving many Badeners fearing the threat of a French invasion.[17]

After a few tension-filled weeks, Catholics and Protestants alike embraced the first military victories. Both camps interpreted these triumphs as signs that Germany's position in Europe was about to improve dramatically. They began calling for annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, which had not been fully integrated into France after the French Revolution.[18] The German victory at Sedan on September 2 caused great public excitement as people gathered in the streets to celebrate the surrender of Napoleon III.

Although Catholics and Protestants had greeted the news of early victories with great relief, it quickly became evident that they viewed the war differently. Already in the beginning of August, the *Konstanzer Zeitung* argued that though domestic peace should be maintained, locals must not turn a "blind eye" to the activities of the Catholic clergy during the war. Newspapers quoted several liberals as stating that this

[15]For instance, *Freiburger Zeitung*, July 21, 1870; *Freie Stimme*, July 21, 1870.
[16]*Konstanzer Zeitung,* July 21, 1870.
[17]For instance, *Freiburger Zeitung*, August 30, 1870.
[18]*Badischer Beobachter*, September 2, 1870; *Konstanzer Zeitung,* October 2, 1870.

war had little to do with the Prussians and the French; instead the Jesuits and their actions at the Vatican Council were to blame for it. They also claimed that the hatred Catholics had displayed toward Prussia and Otto von Bismarck had convinced Napoleon III that he could provoke war without having to face a united German army.[19] In contrast, Catholics, while expressing general support for the war, remarked that at least this time, all Germans would be fighting on the same side, which constituted an improvement over 1866. Because Baden had been a member of the German Confederation that suffered defeat in the Austro-Prussian war, many Badeners were still smarting that setback.[20]

The Catholic responses to the initial developments of the war reflected their complicated relationship to the unification project. When Baden was engulfed in a harsh *Kulturkampf* during the 1860's, most of which was focused on eliminating religious control over the schools, Badenese national liberal politicians such as Franz von Roggenbach and Julius Jolly had made it all but impossible for Catholics to support any of the government's policies.[21] Although most Protestant national liberals supported a closer relationship with Prussia, especially after the latter's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, Catholics opposed the push toward a more unified Germany. These sentiments became especially evident in the elections to the newly created Customs Union in 1868. Led by Jakob Lindau, Catholics organized a successful election campaign, which had stunning results. Although the liberals won the popular vote with 89,000, the Catholics with 78,000 were close behind. Since Catholics had campaigned on an anti-Prussian platform, the vote provided a clear indication of the discord between state policies and popular Catholic opinion.[22]

After Sedan, many German leaders began contemplating the reorganization of their territories. In these discussions, Protestants often claimed that due to the alleged backwardness of Roman Catholicism, the Catholic faith could not be allowed to play an integral role in their

[19]*Konstanzer Zeitung*, July 24, 26, 28; *Freie Stimme*, July 26, August 2, 1870.

[20]*Freie Stimme*, July 26, 1870.

[21]Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche*, pp.120-130; 132-133.

[22]Excellent accounts of these elections include Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche*, pp. 208-214; Julius Dorneich, "Die Entstehung der badischen 'Katholischen Volkspartei' zwischen 1865 und 1869 im Tagebuch von Baurat Dr. Karl Bader," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, 84 (1964), 349-370; Walter Scühbelin, *Das Zollparlament und die Politik von Baden, Bayern und Württemberg, 1866-1870* (Vaduz, 1965), pp. 71-102.

future state. Following the surrender of Napoleon III, many Protestant-liberal newspapers claimed that the primary goal of the war was to defeat Catholicism and found an Empire based upon the only true religion—Protestantism.[23] Protestants and liberals referred to the imminent defeat of the French and the removal of the pope from Rome as two major victories for modern civilization, signs that the primitive and anti-modern Catholic spirit was finally about to be broken. To bolster their arguments, many papers cited a letter from the Prussian general Friedrich von Holstein to the French General Gorardin, in which he prophesized: "The future belongs to the nordic or Protestant race . . . Catholicism stupidifies . . . God will remain with the ones who seek progress, which is why he is abandoning the Roman people."[24]

Especially after Sedan, much German nationalist rhetoric explained the collapse of the French forces by claiming that Roman Catholicism had obstructed France's transition to a modern nation-state, echoing the views many Protestants would express after the war about the degenerative effect of the Catholic faith.[25] Leading Protestants cited Italy, France, and Spain as examples of poorly developed nation-states plagued by widespread illiteracy, poverty, and political disarray—attributing all of these problems to Catholicism.[26] Catholics vehemently rejected this assertion, pointing out that Protestants and liberals had misinterpreted the religious lesson of the war. Catholics maintained rather that the conflict represented God's way of showing both French and Germans how alienated they had become from the Christian spirit.[27] The disintegration of the French Empire was not due to the Catholic faith, but rather the result of French inability to remain good Catholics. Catholics were especially critical of what they considered Napoleon III's un-Catholic behavior. They cited his decision to support the anticlerical Italian nationalists against Austria in 1859 as a strong indication of how far he had strayed from his Catholic convictions. Newspapers stressed that though French Catholics were currently in great agony, this ordeal would assist them in reconnecting with their Catholic faith.[28] The suffering caused by the war, not only to

[23] *Freiburger Zeitung*, October 5, 1870. For an excellent discussion of the relationship between Protestantism and the unification, see Ernst Bammel, *Die Reichsgründung und der deutsche Protestantismus* (Erlangen, 1973).

[24] *Freiburger Zeitung,* October 3, 1870.

[25] For instance, *Freiburger Zeitung*, October 3, 5, 1870.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt,* August 10, 1870.

[28] *Ibid.*

Germans and French, but to the pope as well, should remind Christians of all nationalities of the importance of religion. This war did not pit one confession against another; rather, it served as a confirmation that in their quest for modernization, Germans must not neglect their faith.[29] These sentiments constituted a continuation of the resistance that Catholics had offered to the modernizing reforms that Badenese liberals had initiated during the past decade. Catholics argued that these reforms were signs that the uninhibited striving for modernity was increasingly corrupting the German national character.[30]

Even before the fighting had ceased, Protestants had begun constructing a memory of the war that highlighted the importance of the Protestant victory over the Catholic spirit, an interpretation which only increased the hostility toward Catholics. When Protestants and liberals outlined Germany's promising future that was sure to follow military victory, many questioned whether there was room for Catholics in the new Empire: "Should Germany really contain a large part whose *Heimat* is not in Germany, but on the other side of the Alps? After a struggle in which the best blood of the Fatherland was spent, that would constitute treason and must under no circumstances be allowed by the nation."[31] Although Catholics had contributed to the war effort, these voices implied both that their efforts had been insignificant and that their Catholicism excluded them from the future German nation-state. Some Protestants and liberals viewed this military victory as an opportunity to limit the influence of the supposedly backward Catholics in the new state. They believed that military success would considerably enhance their chances of transforming Germany into a dominant European power. Many German Protestants believed that the nation-state functioned as the bearer of progress in which education, the economy, and political conditions would be greatly improved. This notion clashed with the presumed parochialism of Catholic Germany. Even before any peace treaties were signed, the state-sponsored official nationalist discourse interpreted the impending victory as a signal for Germany to assume its rightful place as the most powerful state in Europe. Catholics, on the other hand, placed less emphasis on the "positive" aspects of the war, and instead expressed concern about their minority status in the future Empire, the increasing secularization of society, and the fate of the pope,

[29]*Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt*, July 20, 1870.

[30]For instance, *Freie Stimme,* October 10, 1871.

[31]Quoted in *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt,* October 19, 1870; see also *Heidelberger Wochenblatt*, September 24, 1870.

who had come under attack from Italian anticlericals in 1870 as French forces left Rome to fight the Germans.

Relations between Catholics and Protestants in Baden deteriorated steadily in 1870. Emboldened by the German military success, liberals and Protestants soon began complaining about Catholic wartime behavior. They especially targeted Catholic priests, and in several well-publicized cases accused local clergy of praying for French victory.[32] During the war, allegations of Catholic priests convincing entire villages to support the French surfaced, which increased tensions between the two confessions.[33] The behavior of Catholic priests during times of war was not, however, a new source of tension in Baden. After the Austro-Prussian war, liberals and Protestants had denounced members of the clergy for allegedly boasting that in case of Austrian victory, all German Protestants would be forced to convert to Catholicism.[34] The case that attracted most attention in 1870-1871was that of the Catholic priest Manfred Burgweiler in Pfullendorf, a rural community near Lake Constance. During the fall of 1870, Burgweiler had reportedly led his congregation in prayer for French victory on several occasions, claiming that a Prussian triumph would endanger German Catholicism.[35] These accusations not only reflected Protestant-liberal concerns about the loyalties of Catholic clergy, but also fears about the increased influence of Catholic priests, especially in rural areas. Since the election of Herman von Vicari as Archbishop of Freiburg in 1842, there had been a gradual ultramontanization of the Badenese Catholic clergy. Coupled with the popular religious revival that took place throughout the German lands during the 1840's and 1850's, these developments had created an increasingly powerful local clergy. The influence that priests enjoyed in their communities intimidated non-Catholics.

Toward the end of 1870, when unification of Germany seemed a certainty, Protestants intensified their efforts to link the imminent military victory and founding of the German Reich to their religion. At a banquet in Constance to celebrate the conquest of Metz, the Protestant city council member Zogelmann proclaimed a new version

[32]Documentation regarding many of these cases can be found in Erzbischöfliche Archiv Freiburg (hereafter cited as EAF), B2-29 Staat und Kirche.

[33]*Freiburger Zeitung,* October 7, 13, 1870.

[34]See for instance, *Freiburger Zeitung*, February 10, 12, 1867.

[35]EAF, B2-29 Staat und Kirche; *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt*, August 31, September 7, 1870.

of the "Our Father." Modeled on the Lord's prayer, Zogelmann's version, entitled "A Pious German's Wish," was not directed to God, but to Wilhelm, King of Prussia. Zogelmann pleaded with the King to grant Germans what they had so long desired: a unified nation-state. Although this request in itself would not have offended Catholics, the city council member also asked Wilhelm to destroy the power of the "blacks," who sought to divide and weaken the German nation.[36] In the following days, Zogelmann's speech, considered blasphemous by Catholics, was hotly discussed, and local Catholics expressed their outrage in numerous ways. They asserted that asking Wilhelm to undermine Catholic influence was not only futile, but also constituted a grave insult to the King. Although not Catholic, Wilhelm had often proven himself to be a man of proper religious convictions. Judging from his frequent praise of God after German military victories, it was evident that he was a pious man who would never deliberately hurt his Catholic subjects. By suggesting otherwise, Zogelmann had offended the King, and should be punished accordingly.[37] Catholics, though critical of the official commemorative discourse, strove to stress their respect for and loyalty to the future German Emperor, providing evidence that they often excluded him from their criticism of the official canon of nationalism.[38]

Catholics also argued that Zogelmann's agenda for Catholics proved that he and his fellow liberal Protestants were attempting to deepen divisions among Germans. His blasphemy reflected his lack of respect for religion, which was important to all Germans, whether Catholic, Protestant, or Jew. Catholics argued that by opposing demands to execute Napoleon III, their clergy displayed a better sense of patriotism than most Protestants.[39] They claimed that only a German lacking a deep understanding of nationalism would call for further punishment of Napoleon III, who had already lost everything. This incident represents an early instance of Badenese Catholic understanding of the requirements of patriotism. Contrary to most official canons of nationalism, Catholics often emphasized the humane aspects of their patriotism. As nationalism grew increasingly chauvinistic and populist, they often

[36]The poem was published in its entirety in *Freie Stimme*, November 9, 1870. The banquet took place on October 29, 1870.

[37]*Freie Stimme,* November 9, 1870.

[38]Catholics displayed similar sentiments regarding Wilhelm's involvement in the *Kulturkampf*. They were quite willing to absolve him of all guilt, instead blaming primarily Bismarck and Falck for the persecution of Catholics.

[39]*Freie Stimme*, November 12, 1870.

complained that it appealed to the worst aspects of people, encouraging greed, intolerance, and ignorance. Catholics argued that their ability to display compassion for the fallen enemy made them better Germans.

The approach the Catholics of Conatance took to the controversy over Zogelmann's comments illuminates one of the ways that Catholics integrated themselves into the Second Empire. Highlighting the negative qualities of the national liberal version of patriotism, they stressed their own sense of Germanness by being what Protestants and liberals were not. When faced with accusations of not having a fatherland, Catholics remained steadfast in their convictions, gathering strength by portraying themselves as martyrs, falsely criticized for their un-German behavior. Their use of the Protestant-liberal "Other" enabled them to consolidate and strengthen their own identity. Catholics often pointed out that national-liberals considered it patriotic to aid the government in persecuting local Catholic priests and to label falsely Catholics enemies of the Fatherland. Most importantly, Protestant patriotism seemed to be based on the notion that German Catholics were without a fatherland, who did not deserve to have a nation to call their own.[40] Catholics implied that simply by refraining from constantly deriding their fellow Protestant citizens, they were being better Germans.They often pointed out that they never called for the exclusion of anybody from the German nation. Of course, this was a slightly idealized self-portrait as Catholics often engaged in anti-Semitic rhetoric and were sometimes overtly hostile to the inclusion of Jews into the German nation.[41]

When Bismarck initiated negotiations with the south German states in November 1870, making it evident that Germans were heading towards unification, Badenese Catholics, though pleased with the defeat of France, remained ambivalent about their immediate future. Gravely concerned about the fate of the pope, they realized that in the aftermath of a German victory, his security would be even more threatened. After French troops left Rome in August 1870, Italian forces had occupied the city on September 20. Relegated to the small territorial

[40]*Freie Stimme*, November 11, 1871.

[41]The small Jewish community in Konstanz often faced discrimination. See the discussions regarding the establishment of a synagogue in Gert Zang, *Konstanz in der Grossherzoglichen Zeit*. Vol. 4.2 (Constance, 1993) pp. 97-98. For a somewhat different view of relations between different confessions in Baden, see Ulrich Baumann's excellent essay "The Development and Destruction of a Social Institution: How Jews, Catholics and Protestants Lived Together in Rural Baden, 1862-1940," in Smith (ed.), *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany, 1800-1914*, pp. 297-315.

enclave that constituted the Vatican, surrounded by liberal Italian nationalists, Pius IX's independence appeared unsure. This matter was of great concern to German Catholics, and it occupied their attention for years to come. Badeners repeatedly stressed the need to protect the pope, arguing that if the French could not do it, the Prussian government should assume the task.[42]

Catholic concerns about the independence of the Holy See, and especially their belief that the Prussian government should intervene in this matter, was the source of great controversy.[43] By incorporating the pope's struggles into their analyses of the Franco-Prussian war, Catholics employed a non-nationalist discourse, which triggered charges of treason from Protestants and liberals. Catholics rebutted these attacks, claiming that their concern for the pope did not lessen their loyalty to the German cause or make Rome their true *Heimat*. They claimed that their opponents failed to understand that though their spiritual home was in Rome, that did not make them Italians.[44] German Catholics, with their strong ties to Rome, constructed parts of their identities around the persona of the pope. They did not consider loyalties to Berlin and Rome to be mutually exclusive, but sentiments that could—and should—be nourished simultaneously. In this aspect, they differed from their Protestant counterparts, who did not include any similarly strong "non-German" component into their identities. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with its exclusive focus on national groups, these loyalties further complicated Catholic integration into the Second Empire, particularly while the controversial Pius IX was still pope. After his death in 1878, the more conciliatory nature of his successor, Leo XIII, limited some of the damaging effects that the Catholic attachment to the Vatican exercised on their acceptance as Germans.[45]

Although Badenese Catholics participated in the celebration of the proclamation of the Reich on January 18, 1871, misgivings about their status in the Empire soon replaced any feelings of elation. To be sure,

[42]For instance: *Badischer Beobachter*, October 2, 1870, February 2, 1871.

[43]For a good discussion of this issue, see Margaret Anderson, *Windthorst: A Political Biography* (New York, 1981), pp. 146-149. I would like to thank the anonymous referee for this journal who pointed me to this citation.

[44]*Badischer Beobachter*, September 20, 1871.

[45]For general accounts on the lives and careers of the two popes, see: Owen Chadwick, *A History of the Popes, 1830-1914* (New York, 1998); Georg Schwaiger, *Papstum und Päpste im 20. Jahrhundert: Von Leo XIII zu Johannes Paul II* (Munich, 1999).

they approached the new Empire with guarded optimism, but the recent anti-Catholic rhetoric concerned them. Catholics entered the new nation-state with both different expectations about the future, and a different memory of the Franco-Prussian war and the subsequent unification. While most Protestant Germans constructed their memory of the recent conflict around notions of military victories, success, prosperity, and unity, for most Catholics the war had different connotations.[46] Although they were proud of the achievements of the German troops, the accusations of anti-Germanness and the aggressive Protestant nationalist rhetoric caused Catholics to construct a different memory of the war. Catholics often pointed out that it was not certain that Germany would now enter a new time of prosperity. To be sure, Germany was now unified, which was worth celebrating. However, they repeatedly warned against the over-confidence of their fellow countrymen that accompanied the military victory. The official commemorative discourse surrounding unification was littered with references to Germany's greatness and how the new nation-state would soon be dominating European affairs. Although they took care to emphasize the value of sound national pride, Catholics claimed that other Germans were not behaving in a manner befitting their supposedly religious character. They consistently pointed out that these attitudes were becoming part of what it meant to be German, and that these sentiments revealed how the Protestant-liberal stress on individuality and ego-centrism had poisoned the German national character.[47]

These criticisms reflected Catholic concerns about the way in which political and economic power was distributed. Fully aware that Protestants were in control of most of Germany's financial and cultural capital, Catholics often criticized the former for focusing too intently on material issues and paying too little attention to the spiritual aspect of their lives. Because substantial parts of the new national identity were constructed around the memory of the war, the existence of separate memories made the consolidation of the German nation-state much more difficult. Instead of being able to create Germans around common notions about the unification process, bourgeois elites were faced with competing versions of these events and the future of the Empire.

[46]For a stimulating discussion of the creation of the memory of the war, see Alfred Kelly, "The Franco-Prussian War and Unification in German History Schoolbooks," in Walter Pape (ed.), *1870/71-1989/90. German Unifications and the Change of Literary Discourse* (Berlin, 1993).

[47]For instance, *Badischer Beobachter*, October 20, 1870.

From the outset in commemorating recent events, Protestants and liberals consciously excluded Catholics from much of the discourse surrounding the wars of unification and the foundation of the Reich. In celebrating these milestones, German Protestants emphasized the defeats of Austria and France on the road to unification. Many of the commemorative efforts in the wake of the war highlighted the religious aspect of the Franco-Prussian war, as Protestants stressed that Germans should be grateful to (the Protestant) God for their victory over Catholic France.[48] Ceremonies staged throughout the Empire to mark the return of the troops sometimes served as commencements for the national *Kulturkampf*, which would function in part as an attempt to construct a national identity along confessional lines. In Zweibrücken, near Freiburg, the Protestant minister Heinz Roth used the peace celebration to proclaim that now that the external enemy had been defeated, it was time to root out the internal ones. Attacking social democrats and Catholics, he claimed that their behavior during the recent war proved that there were many anti-German elements among the true (Protestant) Germans. If Germany was to grow as a European power, these elements had to be removed from the nation so that the new state could embark successfully on the modernizing project. Although Roth was vague in regards to exactly what Catholics would have to do to become worthy members of the nation, these threats still represented a serious affront to Catholics.[49]

The construction of a memory of the war and the subsequent formation of a national identity did not occur only in conjunction with war commemorations. Catholics and Protestants often employed nationalist vocabulary when engaged in conflicts over seemingly non-national topics. Consequently, insights into the construction of memory and identity can be found even outside the immediate arena of commemorations. The campaign for the national parliamentary elections in late February 1871 constituted one of the first instances in which Catholics and Protestants began to construct the memory of the recent war and unification. Taking advantage of the favorable political situation, liberals and Protestants conducted a very aggressive election campaign in which they used the military victory and the unification as proof of the superiority of their policies–all expressed through a discourse adapted from the war.[50] The Protestant-liberal campaign

[48]For instance, *Konstanzer Zeitung*, April 24, 1871.

[49]*Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt*, March 29. 1871.

[50]Zang, *Konstanz in der Grossherzoglichen Zeit*. Vol. 4.2, p. 24.

focused on portraying their opponents in the Catholic People's Party as traitors who had not contributed to the war effort, and in some instances even prayed for French victory. The traitorous Catholic clergy became a prominent theme in the election campaign as liberals used the nationalist discourse to promote their political agenda. This was consistent with the Protestant and liberal tendencies to collectively "forget" Catholic efforts in the war, while instead focusing on their allegedly treacherous behavior.

In Constance, the recent war dominated the political debates during the election campaign. Liberals often noted that before 1870 the Catholic candidate, Franz von Bodman, had advocated decreased military spending, which, had it been adopted, certainly would have led to the demise of the Badenese Fatherland.[51] In his campaign, von Bodman was frank about his past policies, admitting that though he was thrilled that Germany had been unified, he would have preferred the unification process to have involved Austria as well. He was, however, quick to stress that his sentiments did not prevent him from being a true German, and that if elected, he would ensure that the unified Fatherland would become strong, just, and powerful.[52] His statement was important since its reference to Austria revealed that Catholics subscribed to their own particular notions of Germanness. When von Bodman admitted that he was still very much attached to the Austrian cause, he publicly expressed what many Catholics privately thought. Indeed, by declaring his pro-Austrian sentiments in such a closely scrutinized public arena as an election campaign, he was attempting to legitimize beliefs located outside the now official nationalist discourse.

Unfortunately for von Bodman and his fellow Catholics, their assertions that these feelings did not mean that they were any less German than their liberal and Protestant opponents fell on deaf ears. The first few years of the Kaiserreich were characterized by the prominence of the *kleindeutsche* (Borussian) historiographical school of Heinrich von Treitschke and Heinrich von Sybel. They and many other historians propagated a teleological view of recent events, which declared that the war against Austria had been a necessary step on the road to unification.[53] In the view of these historians, the events of the seventeenth

[51] *Konstanzer Zeitung*, February 14, 21, 1871.

[52] *Freie Stimme*, February 23, 1871.

[53] For discussion of the Borussian historiographical school, see Georg Iggers, *The German Conception of History* (Middleton, Connecticut, 1968).

century, especially the successes of the armies of Counter-Reformation Austria, had prevented German religious unity and caused centuries of political division.[54] Thus, pro-Austrian sentiments were sure to provoke accusations of treason and anti-Germanness.

As the election neared, local Protestants intensified their efforts at portraying Catholics as disloyal Germans who had contributed little, if anything, to the war effort. A few days before the election, the auxiliary bishop Lothar von Kübel published a pastoral letter, in which he only briefly mentioned the recent military and political events, instead focusing on the debate over papal infallibility. Liberals claimed that the pastoral letter proved that Rome was the true *Heimat* of the Catholics. They accused Kübel of ignoring what the majority of Germans wanted: to continue celebrating unification. Liberals repeatedly returned to this pastoral letter, emphasizing how it displayed the alienation of Catholics from the German nation, and how important it was that voters note Catholic attitudes toward the recent historical events. Protestants and liberals stressed that Catholics could not be trusted with political power, since they lacked sufficient knowledge of what Germans considered to be the most important contemporary issues. Consequently, Protestants and liberals both accused Catholics of disloyalty, and declared them unfit to hold political power. These accusations were not uncommon and reflected a growing Protestant and liberal concern about the potential success of organized political Catholicism, which after the founding of a Catholic People's Party in 1869 had become a concrete threat.[55]

The electoral results proved disastrous for the Catholic People's Party. Although Constance had a large Catholic majority, the liberal candidate received more than twice the votes of his Catholic opponent. This result was repeated throughout the province, as liberals won twelve out of the fourteen seats that Baden held in the German Reichstag.[56] Local liberal politicians were quick to utilize this election result as yet another piece of evidence that the citizens of Constance were tired of the poor Catholic leadership and that people had faith in the national liberals' ability to integrate the city properly into the new Reich. Most of their

[54]Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict*, pp. 5, 24, 57-58.

[55]*Konstanzer Zeitung*, February 21, 1871.

[56]For instance, *Konstanzer Zeitung*, March 6, 1871. For a complete treatment of election results in Baden during the Kaiserreich, see Fred Sepainter, *Die Reichtagswahlen im Großherzogtum Baden. Ein Beitrag zur Wahlgeschichte im Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt, 1983).

election analyses were framed in nationalist terms, and the fact that the results were announced and celebrated in conjunction with the celebration of the peace indicates how keen liberals were to tie their political victory to the emerging nationalist discourse. They consistently stressed that people had cast their votes based on patriotic and nationalist sentiments and that voters had recognized their efforts during the past decade to integrate Constance into Germany.[57]

The electoral success of the national liberals was due not only to the support of Protestants; an unusually large number of Catholics voted liberal as well. This tendency displays that though both the Protestant-liberal and Catholic-conservative blocs were fairly cohesive, exceptions to this pattern did exist. Contrary to many other areas in Germany, more Badenese Catholics remained outside the Center party than Protestants from the national-liberals, especially during the first decade of the Empire. As many scholars have pointed out, throughout the nineteenth century Baden had enjoyed a relatively strong tradition of liberal Catholicism.[58] Particularly important here was the influence of Vicar Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg (1774-1860). His demands for reforms within the Church initiated the movement for a more liberal Catholic faith. Even as the Catholic religious revival set in during the 1840's and '50's, many Badenese Catholics opposed the ultramontanization of the Church. Furthermore, Thomas Mergel has analyzed the connection between the strong liberal political tradition and reforms within the Church, which also made Badeners more receptive for liberal Catholicism.[59] Especially around the time of unification, as the Badenese bourgeoisie was growing increasingly powerful, some Catholic burghers elected to support the more progressive and modernizing policies of the liberals. Given the relative strength of these sentiments, the number of so called Old Catholics, who opposed the declaration of papal infallibility, should come as no surprise. Although an investigation of Old Catholic attitudes toward the nation-state is outside the immediate scope of this article, we should note that they did play a role in many communities. However, these differences within the Catholic community notwithstanding, its cohesiveness remained fairly stable during most of the Second Empire.

[57] *Konstanzer Zeitung*, March 11, 1871.

[58] For instance, Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche*.

[59] Thomas Mergel, "Für eine bürgerliche Kirche. Antiultramontanismus und Bürgertum 1820-1850. Rheinland und Südwestdeutschland im Vergleich," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte Oberrheins*, 144 (1996), 397-427.

One problem that Catholics encountered when attempting to express publicly their memories of the last war was that the official state-sponsored discourse failed to provide frameworks through which Catholics could manifest their sense of Germanness as well as their view of unification. Many scholars have pointed out that the act of remembering a war occurs through personal experience and pre-existing cultural narratives.[60] Consequently, Badenese liberals and Protestants, aided by political and economic power, sought to rework the meaning of earlier historical episodes such as the war of 1866 to fit the official narrative. On the other hand, Catholics struggled to preserve an alternative discourse that was threatened to be subsumed by the increasingly hegemonic Protestant-liberal discourse. In the Protestant-Prussian teleological view of unification, the wars against Denmark, Austria, and France constituted an ideal way to achieve unity and nation-state status. In this official discourse, Germans had been divided for centuries, by the machinations of the pope and Austria, within the framework of the Holy Roman Empire, until the threat of external enemies brought them together in joint defense of their common Fatherland.[61]

Baden's Catholics rejected this ideological message for several reasons. First and foremost, Baden had sided with Austria in 1866 as a member of the German Confederation that demanded that Prussia demobilize in 1866. Although the liberal government and Grand Duke Friedrich I had hoped to join a Prussian-led unification up until the outbreak of war, many Badenese had supported Austria. Consequently, Badenese Catholics did not accept the notion that the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 constituted a logical step on the road to unification. Badenese Protestants, on the other hand, most of whom had supported the philoprussian policies of the Grand Duke, and of the liberals Franz Roggenbach and August Lamey, simply suppressed Baden's role in the Austro-Prussian war in their construction of the memory of unification.

Badenese Catholics also resented that the commemorative discourse declared that Germans, as in 1870, had defended their Fatherland in 1866. Especially for Catholics in the southern part of the

[60]For a useful addition to the vast literature on this topic, see T. G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper (eds.), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* (London, 2000); see also Peter Burke, "History as Social Memory," in T. Butler (ed.), *Memory, History, Culture and the Mind* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 97-113; Samuel Hynes, "Personal Narratives and Commemorations," in Emanuel Sivan and Jay Winter (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1999).

[61]For instance, Heinrich von Treitschke, *Zehn Jahre deutsche Kämpfe* (Berlin, 1874).

state, which had belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy for several centuries prior to Napoleon's reorganization of much of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, the term "Fatherland" had a different meaning from what it had for other Germans. Catholics argued that in 1866, most liberals and Protestants had been quite confused about what constituted their Fatherland. Thus, it was inconsistent to claim now that they all along had advocated this specific solution to the German question.[62] Protestants and liberals admitted that at the time of war, many had viewed Bismarck's actions as a case of Prussian expansionism, but history had proven that it constituted a necessary clarification of the relationship between the two great German powers. In their attempts to rewrite the history of the previous war, they always stressed how anti-Prussian the Catholics had been, failing to mention that they had too been critical of both Bismarck and Prussia.[63]

Determined to establish their own cultural script in which they could construct and express their own memories of the wars and unification, Catholic newspapers often focused on outlining and explaining some of the events (in which Bismarck's role was becoming increasingly suspect) that had caused the war of 1866.[64] During the first few years of the Empire, they expended considerable effort trying to uncover the "true" causes of the war, and many of these arguments were subsequently used to attack Bismarck and the liberals' official version of nationalism. Drawing upon evidence surfacing from the biographies of retired Italian diplomats, ultramontanes highlighted Bismarck's role in orchestrating these wars, attempting to prove that he and his fellow Prussians had been the aggressors in these conflicts. They accused the Chancellor of having negotiated behind the back of his King, and quoted him as having stated repeatedly that he was ". . . much more Prussian than German. . . ."[65] According to the ultramontanes, in 1866 Bismarck had been prepared to cede [non-Prussian] German territories to France to avoid a conflict. This was cited as evidence of Bismarck's and his liberal supporters' lack of patriotism. Furthermore, by tracing Bismarck's plotting in 1866, Catholics claimed to have debunked the myth that in 1870 the Fatherland was under attack and that great sacrifices were needed to save the nation. As ultramontanes strove to clarify Bismarck's role in these wars, they criticized the national liberal

[62]For instance, *Badischer Beobachter,* May 11, 1871.
[63]For instance, *Freiburger Zeitung*, August 4, 1872.
[64]These efforts intensified with time. See for instance, *Freie Stimme*, August 12, 1871.
[65]Quoted in *Freie Stimme*, September 20, 1873.

notion that there had been something almost holy about the unification process. Instead, they noted that the German lives lost in these wars had primarily served to satisfy Bismarck's appetite for territorial gains.[66] These sentiments were an indirect condemnation of the national liberal version of patriotism. Catholics often criticized their opponents for attempting to change the definition of the nation to fit a variety of different political, cultural, and economic causes. Catholics argued that the attempted rewriting of the war of 1866 served to illustrate how liberals and Protestants were rewriting history to fit their notions of Germanness. Furthermore, their willingness to reconstruct their notions of German national identity indicated that they had a limited understanding of what it meant to be a German.

These sentiments tied into a Catholic argument that liberals and Protestants only used the concept of national identity as a means to other ends. The Protestants' alleged preoccupation with materialism and their tendency to use the nationalist discourse to gain material, financial, and economic advantages, proved that their Germanness was not as rooted in the German historical and philosophical tradition. Their definition of the concept was obviously highly superficial and did not reflect any profound understanding of their own identity.[67]

One of the most popular ways of commemorating the recent war and unification was to construct a monument. Especially in the first decade after 1871, the German national landscape was filled with statues as cities and towns honored their troops and political leaders. As many scholars have noted, monuments are especially suited to the construction of memory.[68] Made out of durable material, monuments facilitated the anchoring of collective memories in shared public spaces, in

[66]*Ibid.*

[67]*Ibid.* For an additional example of these sentiments, see *Freie Stimme*, December 9, 1871.

[68]There is a voluminous literature on the topic of monuments and commemorations. See for instance: Alings, *Monuments und Nation*; Avner Ben-Amos, "Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism," *History & Memory,* 5 (1993) 50-77; Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, (eds.), *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present* (West Lafayette, Indiana, 2001); Wilfrid Lipp, *Natur, Geschichte, Denkmal: Zur Entstehung des Denkmalbewußtsein der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt, 1987); Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann (eds.), *Der Politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne* (Munich, 1994); Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (Berkeley, 2000); Thomas Nipperdey, "Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 206 (1968) 529-585.

which their majestic forms helped legitimize a particular interpretation of past events, and functioned as depositories for memories for future generations. Particularly in the age of nationalism and the nation-state, they served as confirmation of the importance of the rise of a particular nation; they were the vehicles that made the abstract idea of the nation real and credible. In Germany, the ideological message accompanying a statue most often fell within the confines of the Prusso-Protestant-dominated official national discourse. Catholics seldom constituted the driving forces in these projects and were frequently indifferent or even opposed to them.

In Baden, the discourse around the *Siegesdenkmal* in Freiburg indicates that while Catholics were inclined to embrace certain aspects of German national identity, they were reluctant to accept the official commemorative discourse, which portrayed Prussia, the Hohenzollern dynasty, and Bismarck as the driving forces in the unification process. For many of Baden's ultramontane Catholics, the ideological message of the monument, while stressing the contributions of local soldiers and political leaders, did not represent their own sense of Germanness.[69] Most of the bourgeois city fathers who spearheaded this project were either Protestants or Old Catholics (who had broken with the Church over papal infallibility), while ultramontanes remained largely excluded from this exercise in local patriotism and nation-building. A brief analysis of some of the Catholic responses to this project provides useful clues to their relationship to the highly complex web of loyalties that constituted the post-1871 national identity.

At the suggestion of the Freiburg city council in January 1871, an organizing committee was formed to explore the possibility of constructing a monument to honor the Badenese soldiers and their commander, General August von Werder. Letters were sent to all the major cities in the province to inquire about the potential support for this kind of project.[70] While most communities were supportive, not everyone agreed on the ideological message and overall value of the commemorative effort. For instance, members of the town council of St.

[69]For a discussion on some of the ideological messages stressing the contributions of local soldiers and political leaders, see Ute Scherb, "Das Freiburger Siegesdenkmal–ein badischer Alleingang? Eine Untersuchung vor dem Hintergrund national-und partikularstaatlicher Denkmalstiftungen im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts" (Freiburg: Unpublished Thesis, 1990).

[70]Stadtarchiv Freiburg (hereafter cited as St. AF), C1/Denkmäler/5. Protocol from *Bürgerausschuss* meeting, January 23, 1871.

Blasien, all of whom were conservative Catholics, rejected the proposed monument as a waste of money. Council members were willing to donate only if local soldiers were to receive monetary compensation from the new German nation-state, for which they had "so valiantly" risked their lives. The city councils of Triberg and Breisach, both comprising ultramontane Catholics, also opposed spending money on anything other than the veterans. Instead of constructing a monument, they argued that funds should provide assistance to crippled veterans to help them cope with life after the war. All three cities referred in their responses to the Austro-Prussian war, an event that was largely missing from the official commemorative discourse. St. Blasien complained that the veterans of 1866 had not been honored in the same manner as those of the more recent war, although they too had risked their lives to protect their Fatherland. Triberg echoed these sentiments, pointing out that many veterans of 1866 had experienced economic difficulties when they returned to civilian life.[71] This was a recurring theme as Catholics often criticized various commemorative activities for wasting money that should instead aid the war veterans whose economic situation was often precarious. As part of their opposition to the construction of the *Siegesdenkmal*, some Freiburg Catholics reminded members of the *Bürgerausschuss* that if the veterans of 1870-1871 were to be commemorated with a monument, attempts should be made to include the veterans of 1866 in this discourse as well.[72]

Although enjoying only tepid support from Badenese Catholics, the process of constructing the *Siegesdenkmal* in Freiburg progressed steadily, and was ready to be unveiled in September 1876. In addition to securing the presence of Emperor Wilhelm I at the unveiling, the members of the organizing committee attempted to include all residents of Freiburg in the festivities. They planned a parade from the train station to the statue. Organizers also arranged for different ceremonies to be held throughout the city and were careful to include the Catholic Church in these ceremonies. This was obviously a thorny issue, especially since the Badenese *Kulturkampf* had now reached new heights during the summer and fall of 1876 as the state parliament had passed legislation that abolished confessional schools.[73]

[71]St. AF, C1/Denkmäler/5. Letters to the *Bürgerausschuss* from Breisach, February 9, Lörrach, February 11, and Triberg, February 16, 1871.

[72]St. AF, C1/Denkmäler/3. This was discussed in a meeting on March 10, 1871.

[73]On the planning of the unveiling ceremony, see St. AF, C1/Denkmäler/5. On the intensification of the *Kulturkampf*, see Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche in der Ära von Reichsgründung und Kulturkampf*, pp. 358-364.

Catholic attitudes toward the monument were rendered even more ambivalent because, while monuments were being built all over Germany to celebrate the efforts of the soldiers, members of the Jesuit order were being driven out of the new state. In the first decades after the war, Germans clashed over conflicting interpretations of the Jesuits' role in the Franco-Prussian war. While liberals and Protestants accused them of having hoped and prayed for French victory, Catholics pointed to the courage and love for the Fatherland they had displayed when volunteering for the war effort.[74] Most Catholics believed that the Jesuits had played an important role in caring for the wounded, some had even been awarded the Iron Cross for their services.[75] Especially in 1874-1875, when reports about mistreatment of Jesuits surfaced in the press almost daily, Catholics were critical of the actions of both the national and state governments.

Consequently, members of the *Erzbischöfliches Ordinariat* in Freiburg found themselves in a difficult position. On the one hand, the monument honored unification, and they were hesitant to associate with celebrations commemorating an event that in many ways constituted the beginning of the national *Kulturkampf.* On the other, they faced on-going accusations of being enemies of the Fatherland who maintained closer ties to Rome than to Berlin. If they elected not to participate, liberals and Protestants would interpret their decision as further confirmation of their hostility toward the Second Empire. Finally, following negotiations between the organizing committee and Auxiliary Bishop von Kübel, the latter agreed to deliver a speech that day, not at the monument, but at the cathedral. His decision to participate in the ceremony was made easier because the monument contained no specifically anti-Catholic symbolism.[76]

The Catholic attitudes toward the *Siegesdenkmal* reflected their approach to much of the commemorative culture in the early years of the Second Empire. Although their greater economic prosperity usu-

[74]See Michael B. Gross, "Kulturkampf and Unification: German Liberalism and the War Against the Jesuits," *Central European History*, 30 (1997), 545-566. *Idem, The War against Catholicism: Liberal Identity and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2004). Roisin Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany* (Boston, 2003).

[75]These debates resurfaced in conjunction with different types of commemorative activities. See for instance *Freie Stimme*, September 9, 1874.

[76]St. AF, C1/Denkmäler/5. Letter from Kübel to the organizing committee, September 30, 1876.

ally provided Protestants more opportunity to control the process of memory construction and nation-state building, thus disadvantaging Catholics, the latter played an active role in debates surrounding these projects. While they seldom displayed overt hostility to the ideological message(s) accompanying a monument, they made sure to voice complaints about anti-Catholic sentiment, since their version of Germanness often clashed with the Protestant one. Thus, these projects seldom facilitated increased understanding among Germans. Instead, locals often politicized monuments and other commemorative activities and used them as means to increase their political power.

Few commemorative activities caused more controversy that the annual celebration of the victory at Sedan. Almost immediately after the capture of Napoleon III, a number of Germans demanded that the nationalist exhilaration that had accompanied the military victory should be manifested in a ceremony. Members of the Protestant Association in Bremen first requested an annual celebration in which Germans could showcase their patriotism and love for the Fatherland. During the first few months of 1871, the well-known lawyer Franz von Holtzendorff and Johann Caspar Bluntschli, the president of the Protestant Association, discussed initiating an "*allgemeines Volks und Kirchenfest.*"[77] During the 1860's, Bluntschli, who lived in Heidelberg, had became known as one of the fiercest advocates of the Badenese *Kulturkampf*. Although he and Holtzendorff initially claimed that the celebration would have an intra-confessional character, their private correspondence reveals their intentions to use it to exclude parts of the population from the German nation-building project. In February 1871, Holtzendorff wrote Bluntschli, "No law or parliamentary debate can damage the radicals, the socialists, the Jesuits, and the ultramontanes, as seriously as a *Volksfest*, in which people are annually reminded just who the founders of the Empire were, and who the enemies of the German Reich in 1870 were."[78]

Especially in the first two decades after unification, local communities in Baden engaged in fierce debates concerning the value and meaning of this celebration. Throughout Germany, most of the speeches at the festivities focused on the need to intensify the *Kulturkampf* rather than to celebrate the victory at Sedan. Speakers emphasized the religious aspect of the war. The victory was most often dis-

[77]Becker *Liberaler Staat und Kirche*, p. 310.
[78]*Ibid*, pp. 310-312.

cussed in the context of a triumph over the Roman spirit, which had supposedly prevented a Jesuit takeover of the German lands.[79] In much of Germany, Catholic citizens staged counter-demonstrations; parents kept their children away from school on September 2, and people from all classes and confessions clashed. Although social democrats and others also abstained from participating, confessional and not class issues were at the forefront of the controversies, at least until 1890. Both Catholics and Protestants used this commemoration to present their own views of the current situation in the Reich. Instead of creating unity, the celebration deepened fissures in society.

In 1873, the local liberal association in Constance organized a Sedan Day celebration complete with a banquet at the *Konzilsaal* on the eve of September 2. Liberal politician Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch's plenary speech focused on the connection between the recent war and the *Konzilsaal,* where the decision to execute the Bohemian religious reformer Jan Hus had been taken in 1415.[80] He urged his audience to remember that the events surrounding the injustices done to Hus marked the pinnacle of clerical power in Constance, and though the last war as well as some of the domestic efforts since 1871 had been successful in the battle against the internal enemy, the war was not yet won. He asserted that the clerical spirit was resilient, and it would require much determination and dedication on behalf of "true" Germans if they were to break the stranglehold which the Church had long maintained on local society. He ended his speech by conjuring the spirit of Hus, stating that it was unfortunate that they could not burn the spirit of the clericals as they had burned Hus.[81] Throughout the Kaiserreich, especially during the *Kulturkampf*, Badenese liberals and Protestants often compared the current situation to the martyrdom of Hus.[82] Thus, liberals not only tied their cause to one of the best-known

[79]Excellent accounts of Sedan Day include: Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, pp. 27-51; Claudia Lepp, "Protestanten feiern ihre Nation—Die kulturprotestantsichen Ursprünge des Sedantages," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 118 (1998) 201-222; Schneider, *Politische Festkultur*. The last argues that since Catholics seldom organized counter-demonstrations on September 2, they did not utilize Sedan Day as a means of rallying support to the same extent as social democrats, who often staged alternative meetings on the very day of the celebration. However, this interpretation fails to take into consideration the important role that the debates surrounding this annual celebration played for the Catholic community.

[80]*Konstanzer Zeitung*, September 4, 1873.

[81]*Ibid.*

[82]*Konstanzer Zeitung*, January 21, March 27, 28, April 10, 1862. See also Jiri Koralka, "Konstanz als Reiseziel tschechischer Husverehrer um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts,"

historical figures in the area, but in doing so created a continuous historical narrative of a struggle against papal power from the time of Hus's conflict with Rome.

In the wake of unification, liberals and Protestants argued that it was evident by how people celebrated Sedan Day that it had become the new national holiday. Catholics, however, rejected this claim. They pointed out that in many places, only the Veterans Association had organized celebrations, and that it was apparent that people were growing tired of this commemoration. They also pointed out that a number of liberals boycotted the event, joining the ranks of Catholics and socialists, which rendered Sedan Day an increasingly artificial celebration. Indeed, they claimed that the celebration had developed into "... a farce arranged by the [liberal] party leadership. ..."[83] This interpretation was far removed from the liberal and Protestant attempts to portray the festivities as something that had emerged from the people. *Freie Stimme* noted, "It would be more than enough to do it every ten years. The French are just happy that Napoleon is gone, and for us Germans, who are more divided and hostile toward each other than ever before–all because of the *Kulturkampf* that began in those September days of 1870–it would be enough to celebrate the great national liberal St. Sedan every ten years."[84]

Such statements illustrate how differently Catholics and Protestants viewed the war and unification. It was difficult for most Catholics to relate to the commemorative discourse that soon surrounded September 2. While Protestants celebrated it as one of the greatest days in German history, and a victory over Catholicism, Catholics rejected it for the same reasons.[85] Liberal behavior proved that they, claiming to be the true representatives of Germanness, attempted to use Sedan Day to complete their victory over the Catholic Church. Rather than creating unity, the celebrations of this victory served to further alienate the two confessions from each other, as it confirmed the different fates they had suffered as Germans. Catholics also claimed that the more divided Germans became, the more certain sectors of society

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Schrr VG Bodensee [=Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung], 1987, pp. 93-130; Helmut G. Walther, "Konstanz und Hus—Zur Geschichte einer Beziehung," *Konstanzer Almanach*, 1980, pp. 9-13.

[83] *Freie Stimme,* September 2, 1873.

[84] *Freie Stimme,* September 12, 1876.

[85] *Ibid.*

insisted on staging public celebrations and commemorations of unification. They sarcastically noted,". . . [I]f a foreigner would arrive in Germany, he would think that we Germans did not have a problem in the world, since all we do is celebrate the greatness of our nation."[86] Catholics offered stinging criticism of this trend and demanded that it stop, otherwise it would completely demoralize the German nation.

Badenese Catholics and Protestants engaged in fierce contestation of the nature of the German national identity during the first years of the Kaiserreich. Helmut Walser Smith has pointed out that ". . . national ideas made sense to different groups in society not by a generalized notion of what the nation is but by an appeal to the historical memories and experiences of disparate groups within the nation."[87] The Protestant attempts to link the wars and the unification process to the strength of their confession reflected the need to support their newly found national identity with memories, myths, and histories. However, while Protestants shaped the memory of the three wars of unification to fit their view of the process of unification, Badenese Catholics sought to correct some of the fabrication behind this constructed memory.

Often politically and economically disadvantaged, Badenese Catholics faced pressure from a Protestant-Prussian-dominated nationalist discourse, which frequently contained a strong anti-Catholic bias. We should not interpret Catholic attitudes of indifference and hostility toward war commemorations and nationalist rhetoric as signs of submission to a Protestant-shaped national identity, but rather view the experiences of Badenese Catholics as successful manifestations of their own sense of Germanness. Their persistence in uncovering the true reasons for the war of 1866 and their fierce opposition to the celebration of Sedan Day display their unwillingness to be subsumed by a national identity tainted by assumptions about Catholic backwardness and anti-German sentiments.

While the immediate outbreak of hostilities triggered sentiments of nationalist unity, citizens soon returned to their old struggles. They attended different churches; they argued over how best to modernize their state, and they quarreled about who constituted better patriots. The behavior of members of both confessions suggests that despite the calls for unity during times of war, the contestation of national

[86] *Freie Stimme*, September 16, 1876.
[87] Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict*, p. 233.

identity prevailed and in many cases intensified. Especially on a local level, the debates over what constituted Germanness tended to further polarize society following unification. As citizens used the new-found rhetoric to improve their position in local society, the nationalizing project became a source of great tension and conflict throughout the German lands. Catholic insistence on manifesting their own version of the German nation indicates that though they were eventually integrated into the Second Empire, theirs was a rather different nation-state from what Protestants and liberals imagined. Catholics' frequent insistence that their version of Germanness was superior to its Protestant counterpart confirms that confessional sentiments constituted integral parts of German nationalism.

The struggles over the construction of the memory of unification indicate that German nationalism and national memory divided as much as they united. Since Catholics and Protestants constructed different memories of this event, which came to constitute one of the most important building blocks for the national identity, their integration into the Empire should be viewed as part of a debate over the legitimizing effects of the nation-state. Protestants considered the founding of the nation-state to represent the apex of the long struggle for German unity that had preoccupied Germans since the Reformation. Catholics, with their traditional loyalties to both Rome and Austria, were more ambivalent about the absolute value of the nation-state. Protestants often mistook this hesitancy for anti-Germanness, which prompted anti-Catholic rhetoric. Especially in Baden, with its long history of church-state hostility, confessional affiliations played an important role in shaping the everyday lives of ordinary citizens. The advent of the nation-state and the increasing appeal of nationalism did not mean that the latter replaced all previous loyalties. Although many scholars have tended to consider nationalism as a sort of *force majeure* that quickly took precedence over all other loyalties, the experiences of these Badenese Catholics suggests that nationalism coexisted with many of the old loyalties. Instead of replacing loyalty to the pope in Rome, German nationalism came to constitute one part in the complex web that comprised the late nineteenth-century identities of Badenese Catholics.

THE AMERICAN COLLEGE OF LOUVAIN

By

Kevin A. Codd*

The American College of the Immaculate Conception in Louvain (Leuven), Belgium, has been preparing young men for service as priests to the Church in North America for one hundred and fifty years. Conceived in 1857 by Martin J. Spalding, Bishop of Louisville, and by Peter Paul Lefevere, Bishop of Detroit, the seminary in its early decades took advantage of a flourishing of missionary interest and vocations in Europe to provide much needed clergy to the Church in North America. It also provided to American seminarians the opportunity to study philosophy and theology in the famed Catholic University of Louvain in preparation for priestly ministry. It has served as an intellectual, spiritual, and pastoral cradle for many of America's missionaries, pastors, and educators, and continues to do so to the present.

The twin notions of training American seminarians in Europe and of preparing European seminarians for the missions of America were nothing new to the Church in the United States at the mid-point of the nineteenth century. Both concepts had been advanced and attempted by American bishops almost since the foundation of the nation in the previous century. The two young men John Carroll hesitantly sent to the Urban College in Rome in 1787 were the first to cross the Atlantic in hope of receiving a priestly formation distinct in quality and character from what was available to them in their own country.[1] Likewise, it was not long before foreign-born priests had proven useful in the American missions, the famous Belgian missionary, Charles Nerinckx,[2] for example, being already at work in Kentucky by 1805.

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[1]James M. White, *The Diocesan Seminary in the United States: A History from the 1780s to the Present* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1989), pp. 86-87.

[2]Nerinckx, Charles (1761-1824) was ordained a priest in 1785 in Mechlin, Belgium. He served the archdiocese until 1801 when, in the wake of the French Revolution, he

The need for many more priests to serve the growing church in America became ever more critical as the young nation developed. Two pastoral pressures were at work: First, immigration from Europe was quickly changing the face of the ecclesiastical landscape in North America. James T. Fisher reports that in 1826 there were approximately 250,000 Catholics in the United States out of a total population of eleven million; but over the next three decades the Catholic population skyrocketed to more than three million.[3] The number of priests to support these Catholic communities remained dangerously low. According to Patrick W. Carey, in 1830 there were 232 priests in the United States, and by 1866 the number was ten times greater but still only 2,770 to serve the entire Catholic population of the country, by then in the millions.[4]

Second, in the more distant reaches of the continent to the west, the Church found itself still very much a missionary church as it attempted to establish itself among the indigenous populations (often in fierce competition with Protestant missionaries) as well as ministering to far-flung but growing Euro-American populations of miners, trappers, and settlers. The situation of the three missionary bishops ministering in the northwest corner of what is now the United States and Canada's Vancouver Island is illustrative. When Francis Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers in 1838, and later, Augustine Magloire Alexander Blanchet, arrived in the Oregon country as young priests from Quebec, they found themselves mostly alone as priests and later as bishops in a vast region for which they had been given responsibility (covering what are now the states and province of Alaska, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Vancouver Island). They found some assistance

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chose to go to the Indian missions of North America. By 1805 he was serving in Kentucky, where he spent most of the remainder of his life. See Camillus P. Maes, *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx: with a chapter on the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky; copious notes on the progress of Catholicity in the United States of America from 1800 to 1825* (Cincinnati, 1880). See also: Ben J. Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884), pp. 184-193. John Tracy Ellis, "The Influence of the Catholic University of Louvain on the Church in the United States," *Louvain Studies*, IX (1983), 269-320. Nerinckx, of course, was far from alone; French Sulpician priests, for example, were also at work in America from early in the nineteenth century. See John Tracy Ellis, "The Formation of the American Priest: An Historical Perspective," in *The Catholic Priest in the United States: Historical Investigations*, ed. John Tracy Ellis (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1971), pp. 16-19.

[3]James T. Fisher, *Communion of Immigrants: A History of Catholics in America* (New York, 2000), p. 41.

[4]Patrick W. Carey, *The Roman Catholics in America* (Westport, Connecticut, 1993), p. 36.

from Pierre Jean DeSmet, S.J.,[5] and his small band of Jesuits stationed mainly in the Rocky Mountains and from even fewer Oblates of Mary Immaculate. F. N. Blanchet described the situation as he took up his role as archbishop of Oregon City:

> The Archbishop started with 10 priests including T. Mesplie, two Jesuit Fathers at St. Ignaces residence, 13 Sisters and two educational houses. The Bishop of Walla Walla was starting with 3 Secular priests including a Deacon, 4 Oblate Fathers of O.M.I., and 12 Jesuit Fathers at the Rocky Mountains. The Bishop of Vancouver Island had not even one priest to accompany him to Victoria.[6]

If North American bishops needed priests and religious for its immigrants and its western missions, then Western Europe was the place to look for them. The Catholic Church in Western Europe was in the midst of a profound revival that took root in the wake of the 1801 Concordat with Napoleon. One result of Europe's Catholic revival was a boom in vocations to the priesthood and religious life. In Belgium alone, Vincent Viane notes, the increase was remarkable:

> After a long "warming up" period, there was therefore a sudden explosion of religious energy in the wake of the Belgian Revolution, which peaked in the early 1840's. Whereas the country counted 4791 regulars in 1829, their numbers had more than trebled by 1856, surpassing those from the last years of the ancien régime.[7]

Alongside the vocation boom, the Catholic revival in countries like Belgium was accompanied by an expansive impulse that was deeply connected to the increasing influence of ultramontanism in these same countries. Even as there was a conviction that the true faith should be defined by a single voice from Rome and that this faith should be defended vigorously, so too there was an accompanying con-

[5]Peter John De Smet (1801-1873) was born in Dendermonde, Belgium. De Smet was a Jesuit scholastic when he first arrived in St. Louis in 1823. He was ordained a priest in 1827. He made his first voyage into the Rocky Mountains in 1840 and developed an enduring relationship with the Flathead and related tribes of the region. See E. Laveille, S.J., *Le P. De Smet: Apôtre des Peaux-Rouges, 1801-1873* (Brussels, 1922). Robert C. Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet: Jesuit in the West*, ed. Richard Etulain (Norman, Oklahoma, 1995).

[6]Francis Norbert Blanchet, *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon*, trans. Edward J. Kowrach (Fairfield, Washington, 1983), p. 130.

[7]Vincent Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See from Gregory XVI to Pius IX (1831-1859): Catholic Revival, Society and Politics in 19th Century Europe*, KADOC Studies, vol. 26 (Leuven, 2001), pp. 170-171.

viction that the one, true faith should be propagated to the far ends of the earth with as much zeal and energy as possible.[8] The surplus clergy of Europe offered the Church the laborers to undertake a vast new missionary outreach.

In search of laborers for their vineyards, bishops from throughout North America regularly undertook long and expensive trips to Europe. Many of the American bishops who traveled to Europe in search of priests for their dioceses made it a point to spend time visiting the parishes and seminaries of Belgium. A number of them had already benefited from the service of Belgian clergymen, most notably Nerinckx and DeSmet. But other Belgians had also made their way across the Atlantic and taken up service in the American missions. Peter Paul Lefevere came to the United States as a seminarian and was ordained a priest for the Diocese of Detroit in 1831. He labored in an extensive mission field covering Missouri, southern Iowa, and western Illinois before being named administrator of the nine-year-old diocese in 1841. It was not long before he was recruiting fellow Belgians to his struggling diocese, among them Peter Kindekens, who arrived in Detroit in 1842 from the Diocese of Ghent and was straightaway named pastor of Lefevere's cathedral parish. In 1851, at Lefevere's request, Kindekens traveled to their home country in search of more priests, at which time he brought back with him a fellow Belgian, John De Neve.[9]

Lefevere would soon go further in his efforts to bring European clergy to North America by joining forces with the young bishop of Louisville, Martin J. Spalding.[10] Together, they would promote an alternative to the bishops' recruitment trips to Europe: an American seminary in Belgium that would funnel some of Europe's surplus clergy directly into their dioceses.

In 1852 Spalding embarked on his first recruitment trip to the continent, first visiting France, then moving into Belgium, a place that impressed him as "a truly Catholic country."[11] While in Belgium he

[8]Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, trans. Owen Chadwick, 2nd ed. (London, 1990), p. 213.

[9]John D. Sauter, *The American College of Louvain (1857-1898)*, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie (Louvain, 1959), pp. 26-27.

[10]For details of Spalding's ancestry in America and his early life see Thomas W. Spalding, *Martin John Spalding: American Churchman* (Washington, D.C., 1973). Also see Spalding's first biography: John Lancaster Spalding, *The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York and San Francisco, 1873).

Peter Paul Lefevere, Bishop of Detroit. Image taken from J.Van der Heyden, *The Louvain American College: 1857-1907* (Louvain: Fr. & R. Ceuterick, 1909), p. 19.

came to know the professors of the University of Louvain, whom he admired for "their faith, humility and learning."[12] He also visited the Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin-Brussels, Engelbert Sterckx; in the course of a meal with Sterckx on January 7, 1853, Spalding proposed for the first time the establishment of a missionary college in Belgium. This proposal, Spalding reported later, was warmly received by the archbishop, who promised all possible assistance.[13] Sterckx proposed that such a college be sited in the university town of Louvain.[14] Before day's end, Spalding had written Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick of Baltimore, who himself had been a priest of Louisville prior to his ele-

[11]Sauter, *American College*, p. 16.

[12]*Ibid.*

[13]Spalding, *American Churchman*, pp. 63-64; Spalding, *Life of M. J. Spalding*, pp. 158-162; Sauter, *American College*, pp. 16-17.

[14]A. Simon, *Le Cardinal Sterckx et son temps (1792-1867)* (Wetteren, 1950), vol. 2, p. 402.

vation to the episcopacy. Spalding was clearly animated by the idea and had already formed in his mind the outlines of the project:

> I dined to-day with Cardinal Sterckx, a most holy and learned prelate. Conversing with his eminence on the utility of establishing here a Missionary College, he entered warmly into the project, and promised to second it with all his influence, which is very great, apart from his high position. He suggested the following plan, of the success of which he entertains no doubt. I lay it before you for your opinion and advice:
>
> The college is to be for the education of young men for the American Mission, and is to be established in connection with the University of Louvain, which is in the Archdiocese of Mechlin.[15] The students in the beginning will occupy a rented house, and will have the privilege of attending the courses of study at the university free of charge. The discipline of the college will be under the direction of an American missionary, who will teach English, and exert himself to procure the necessary funds for keeping up the establishment, which, the Cardinal thinks, can be easily realized in Belgium; and this is the opinion of all those clergymen with whom I have conversed on the subject. Students will not be wanting, for in this diocese particularly the number of candidates for the ministry far exceeds the demand for clergymen.
>
> Such are the outlines of the plan, which if carried out, will be of great utility to our missions. The studies at Louvain are of a high order; and, perhaps, some of our bishops may send students of talent to perfect their education in this renowned university. The ecclesiastical spirit here is admirable, and the simple piety of the people contrasts strongly with the comparative coldness of Catholics in Protestant countries.
>
> A hundred young men educated at Louvain for the American missions! Is not the thought enlivening? And yet, it is very far from impossible; and, if the Cardinal's anticipations be well grounded it may be done with little or no expense to the American prelates.[16]

Kenrick was not so animated by the vision of "a hundred young men educated at Louvain." Like other American bishops, he preferred American priests to be trained in American seminaries.[17] Opinion against foreign-trained clergy was still strong among the American bishops; Ireland's All Hallows College, for example, had been in exis-

[15]"Mechlin" is the same city as "Malines" as it is known in French, and "Mechelen" as it is named in Dutch. It has been the primatial see of Belgium and its political antecedents since 1560. In 1961, the name of the archdiocese was expanded to include the capital city of Brussels.

[16]Spalding, *Life of M. J. Spalding*, p. 162. See also: Sauter, *American College*, pp. 17-18; Spalding, *American Churchman*, p. 66; Ellis, "American Priest," p. 27.

[17]Sauter, *American College*, p. 20.

tence since 1842, but its offer of Irish priests to the dioceses in America had been met with a tepid response from the American hierarchy. Not only was it expensive for the American dioceses to adopt the Irish seminarians; there was also among the bishops a fundamental distrust that Irish-trained priests would be culturally in tune with American values and ways.[18] Furthermore, Pope Pius IX was putting considerable pressure on the American bishops to found an American seminary in Rome. The Louvain project seemed to many to be in competition with that intended for Rome; in any case, neither went forward due to lack of episcopal support.[19]

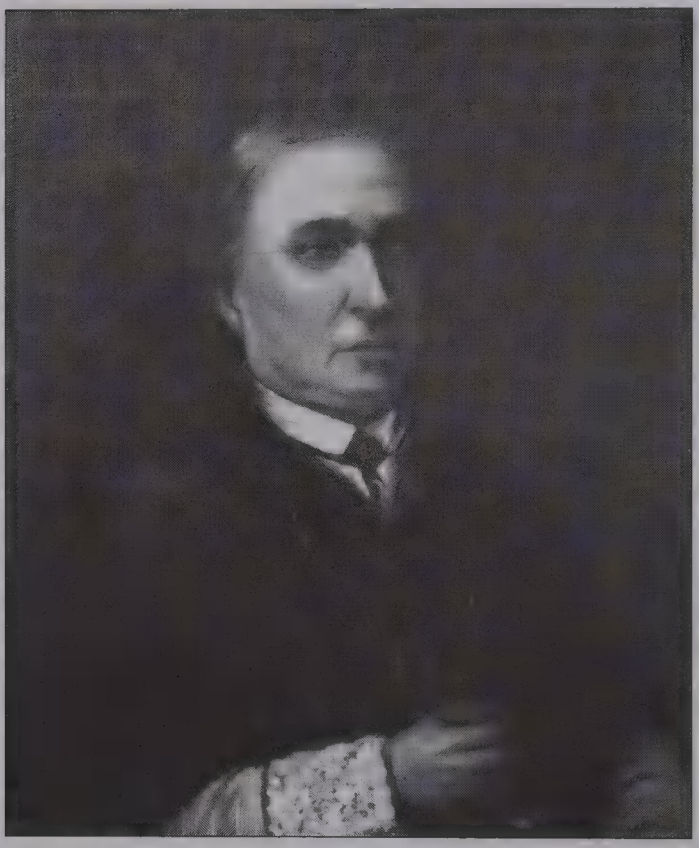
Spalding did not let his "enlivening thought" die but rather, together with Lefevere, looked for the appropriate moment to give the idea some concrete form. In 1856, Lefevere assigned his vicar-general, fellow Belgian Peter Kindekens, the task of going to Rome to represent the diocese in an unrelated issue it had with the Redemptorist order. In the meantime, Baltimore's Kenrick had failed in his efforts to have one of his priests go to Rome to open an American College there. Kenrick therefore asked Lefevere to have his man in Rome, Kindekens, take up the charge. One might suspect in hindsight that Kindekens and Lefevere were not altogether dedicated to Kenrick's summons, their eyes perhaps already set north of the Alps for any future American seminaries in Europe; be that as it may, Kindekens at least gave the impression of having fulfilled Kenrick's request, though without the success hoped for by the prelate. Kindekens continued on to Belgium, where he became aware of certain wealthy members of the Belgian nobility, most notably Count Felix de Mérode,[20] willing to fund an American missionary college in Louvain; within a matter of days he had also spoken with Cardinal Sterckx and several other Belgian bishops who all supported the proposal. With the promise of 60,000 francs from de Mérode and the encouragement of the Belgian bishops the Louvain project suddenly came to life while that of Rome remained stalled.[21]

[18]White, *Diocesan Seminary*, pp.88-89.

[19]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 22-23. White, *Diocesan Seminary*, pp. 100-103.

[20]Felix de Merode (1791-1857) was a Belgian patriot and member of the nation's provisional government that proclaimed independence. He served as a Minister of State and was a member of the Chamber of Representatives. See: Sauter, *American College*, p. 29. See also: Joseph Van der Heyden, *The Louvain American College: 1857-1907* (Louvain, 1909), p. 14.

[21]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 28-30. Simon, *Cardinal Sterckx*, Vol. 2, p. 403.



Martin J. Spalding, Bishop of Louisville. Original portrait in the Archives of The American College, Louvain. Used with permission of The American College.

In November of 1856, Kindekens sent out a circular letter to the bishops of the United States explaining his failure in Rome:

> My Lord:—When, during the past summer, at Rome, I endeavored with the utmost diligence, by the special request of the Most Rev. _____, the Archbishop of Baltimore, to look for and secure a suitable location for the projected "American College" in that City, I found that not only is it impossible at present, but that it will probably remain impossible for some time to come, to establish such an institution in the Holy City. In point of fact, the Holy Father assured me that, under present circumstances (the occupation of Rome by the French, &c.,) he could not say when it would be in his power to assign a suitable building for the purpose. [22]

[22]Kindekens to A. Blanc, November 7, 1856, University of Notre Dame Archives, VI-1-K-6, New Orleans. The same text is found in handwritten form in: Liber primitivus de initio Collegii Americani Immac. Concept. B. M. Virginis, *Archives of The American College* (Louvain, 1857), p. 1. See also: Van der Heyden, *Louvain American College*, pp. 14-15.

Kindekens then presented his case for the Louvain college and made an appeal for financial support. Of particular importance to the college's future is the paragraph in which Kindekens states its dual purposes:

> Your Lordship will easily perceive that the object of the institution in Belgium would be, 1st, to serve as a nursery of properly educated and tried clergymen for our Missions; and 2nd, to provide the American Bishops with a College to which some at least of their students might be sent to acquire a superior ecclesiastical instruction and a solid clerical training, without much expense, as the college will require no other Professors than those for the English and German language.[23]

Response to Kindekens' circular from the American episcopate was not heartening. There are eight responses held in the archives of The American College, that of Mathias Loras, bishop of Dubuque, is typical:

> In answer to your circular . . . I cannot say much about the erection of a new college in Belgium for the U.S. I leave the decision to wiser men. I say only that I cannot provide much help from poor Iowa.[24]

Martin Spalding continued his efforts to win over Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore, writing to him in February, 1857: "I cannot see why Belgium should not have a missionary college, like Ireland, France and Italy, or why we should not profit by the abundant missionary zeal of her clergy."[25] On February 4, 1857, Spalding and Lefevere addressed their own circular letter to the archbishops and bishops of the country presenting to them a lengthy prospectus for the Louvain college and petitioning their support:

> We take the liberty to request that if you should approve the general objects and regulations of the college, and desire to become one of its Patrons, you should have the kindness to signify the same to the Bishop of

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William Stang, "The American College of the Immaculate Conception at Louvain, Belgium," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, New Series VI (XVI) (1897), 256. This document is reprinted in full in: John Tracy Ellis, ed., *Documents of American Catholic History*, 3 vols. (Wilmington, Delaware, 1987), I, 315-317. Also see the full text in: John A. Dick, "The American College of Louvain," in *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*, ed. Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1997), pp. 90-91.

[23]*Ibid.*

[24]Mathias Loras (Dubuque) to Peter Kindekens (Detroit), November 11, 1856, Archives of The American College.

[25]J. L. Spalding, *The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York, 1873), p. 163.

> Detroit, at as early a date as possible as the Rector proposes to leave for Europe early in March, and it will be highly important to his success that he should have the donation of as many American prelates as possible. Should you feel inclined to contribute towards the foundation of the college, you will please to specify the amount, that the Rector may be able to calculate his resources. The eight articles of the Prospectus will indicate the benefits accruing to contributors. We also beg to mention, as an evidence of our own Confidence in the advantages likely to result from the proposed College, that we have each agreed to contribute one thousand dollars toward its establishment. Should you desire to adopt any student according to the ninth article, you will please instruct the Rector accordingly.[26]

The prospectus specified that Kindekens would be the first rector and that those European men recruited into the new college would be free to choose their future field of work among the dioceses that subscribe to the college's foundation. Those who could not pay the tuition would be available for "adoption" by the subscribing dioceses.[27] It was understood that the subscribing bishops would also form a sort of board of trustees for the new institution.[28]

In the meantime, Kindekens's principal financial backer, Count Felix de Mérode, suddenly died and left nothing in his will for the proposed seminary.[29] With little more than $1,000 each from Spalding and Lefevere by way of financial support, Kindekens returned to Louvain

[26]Circular letter of Martin J. Spalding and Peter Paul Lefevere to the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States, February 4, 1857, Liber Primitivus, pp. 6-7.

[27]*Ibid.*

[28]The situation of inadequate episcopal oversight of the college was addressed by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884; it was decided that the original system was impractical and should be replaced by a committee of three bishops to whom the rector would be responsible. The rector remained accountable as well to the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith for the spiritual and temporal administration of the seminary. The rector was obligated to send an annual report on the college to both the bishops' committee and the Congregation. Rectors were appointed by the Congregation upon the recommendation of the committee of bishops. The board of three bishops had to be formed anew at the end of the World War I and served until the closure of the college in 1939 due to the onset of the World War II. In the postwar era, the college has been under the supervision of a committee of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), previously the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. The committee of fourteen bishops also presently serves as the college's corporate board of trustees. See J. A. M. De Becker, "The American College," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al. (New York, 1907), 424-425. Also see Richard E. Cross and Eugene L. Zoeller, "The Story of the American College," *The American College Bulletin* (1957), p. 36.

[29]Kindekens's subsequent efforts to gain access to the promised 60,000 franks from the Count's relatives seemingly came to naught. See Sauter, *American College*, p. 61, fn. 2.

shortly thereafter and purchased a decrepit butcher shop not far from the town center that had once been a part of the Cistercian Aulne College, closed and sold off in parcels in the wake of the French Revolution. The foundation of the American College of the Immaculate Conception in Louvain was declared accomplished by Kindekens on the Feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1857.[30]

Kindekens's rectorship was short-lived. Though Belgian by birth he had lived in the United States for almost twenty years, become an American citizen, and adopted many American ways. His direct and blunt manner as well as his lack of diplomatic finesse did not make him an attractive figure to the Belgian episcopacy; nor did his prickly personality endear him to a number of American bishops or the proprietors of the Paris-based Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which was an essential institution to cultivate if the new college were to survive financially.[31] By 1859, Spalding and Lefevere arranged for John De Neve, whom Kindekens himself had recruited to Detroit from Belgium in 1851, to travel to Louvain and take the rectorship from Kindekens. Though previous histories of the American College have painted the transition from Kindekens to De Neve as cordial, in fact, the correspondence among the principals reveals considerable misunderstanding and hard feelings, especially on Kindekens' part. He wrote to Spalding:

> Since the arrival at Louvain of Father De Neve, I find myself painfully disturbed. On the one hand, listless and tired from the difficulties which harass me; but inseparable from these, from an important undertaking, and especially disgusted by the arbitrary manner of the measure which has been taken (a measure in which has been neglected the customary courtesies given to the lowest servant). I feel compelled to ignore all other consideration and pack my bags immediately. [32]

[30]Stang, "American College," p. 258. Joseph Van der Heyden, "The Louvain American College," *Catholic Historical Review*, II (New Series) (1922), 232. Besides the American College in Rome, there was one other attempt to found an American seminary in Europe, that of Joseph Ehring in Münster, Germany, in 1865; it closed in 1874. See White, *Diocesan Seminary*, pp. 102-103. American seminarians were also sent in significant numbers to Innsbruck for theological studies.

[31]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 64-69, 87-88.

[32]"Depuis l'arrivée à Louvain de Mr. De Neve je me trouve dans un tourment fort pénible. D'un côté las et fatigué de difficultés harassantes; mais inséparable d'une entreprise importante et surtout dégouté de la mesure arbitraire qu'on vient de prendre (mesure où on a même négligé les convenances qu'on a coutume d'observer envers le dernier de valets) je me sentais poussé à braver toute autre considération et à faire immédiatement mon paquet." Kindekens (Louvain) to Lefevere (Detroit), February 9, 1860.

Despite his inadequacies, Kindekens was able to attract a small number of European priests and seminarians, Flemish, Walloon, French, Dutch, Prussian, all desirous of serving in the North American missions, as well as a few Americans; in his two years as rector he registered about twenty students in all,[33] and in this he brought to life much of Spalding's original vision for the place.

As the college's first rector Kindekens established in the institution a unique ethos that endured for decades after him. His contribution was threefold. His new American College was from the beginning a *missionary* seminary, one dedicated to extending the Church to the distant corners of North America. His seminarians were fed a constant diet of missionary spirituality, and this with a typically American flavor. Such was not usual fare for diocesan seminarians in Europe, whose vision seldom rose beyond the needs of their own diocese or region. Secondly, it was a fundamentally *cosmopolitan* seminary made up of young men from a variety of nations and cultures who were expected to live together in mutual respect and real fraternity. Kindekens' house rule was no different from any standard seminary rule of the day except in one aspect; he added one imperative not usually found in such documents:

> They [the seminarians] are to live together with one heart, loving each other in fraternal charity, anticipating one another in carrying each other's burdens. They are to be most careful in avoiding any tendency to speak badly of one country over another.[34]

Thirdly, Peter Kindekens made the most of what many saw as a great disadvantage; he taught his new seminarians to accept the *poverty* of the new college as something valuable for their formation as missionaries. His leadership imposed a simple but sober spirit on those living under his wing.[35] The deprivation was real enough. One American student, David Russell of Louisville, in an unguarded moment described the college building as "the rat hole," yet he also wrote of his life there

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University of Notre Dame Archives, Box: Detroit III 2-j-1, 1860, January 2–May 25. Translation by P. Wallace Platt, C.S.B.

[33]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 72-75.

[34]"8. Inter se concordes vivant charitate fraterna invicem diligentes, honore invicem praevenientes, alter alterius onera portantes. Caveant quam maxime a propensione qua solet una natio de altera male loqui." *Liber Primitivus*, p. 16. Translation by Aurelius Boberek, O.S.B.

[35]Sauter, *American College*, p. 78.

in elegiac terms: "I could not have believed that I could so soon have become attached to those whom I never saw nor heard of before. We live like true brothers, all aiming at the same end by the same means."[36]

John De Neve brought a softer personality and a more skilled diplomatic touch to the position of rector, especially in his affairs with bishops and financiers. Within the seminary itself, he continued what Kindekens had begun and did not change its fundamental direction or spirit. De Neve was at heart a pastor,[37] and it would show particularly in his relationships with his students. He added to the formation of his students an extraordinary talent for engaging them personally and forming deep "father-son" bonds with them. For those coming to the American College from other seminaries, this was a most surprising quality: that the seminarians should actually take a walk with the rector was extraordinary to their minds. One young student, Charles John Seghers (later bishop of Vancouver Island and archbishop of Oregon City), having just arrived from the seminary in Ghent, wrote to a fellow seminarian:

> Dear Friend,
>
> Taking advantage of the first free moment that I find, I hasten to furnish you, not with news, but with a few small details that concern our position, our way of life at the American Seminary. I was received here by these gentlemen, the 30th of September, with a cordiality that one rarely finds on this earth: from the first moments I had already come to know the Germans, the Brabantois, the Americans and the one Dutchman, who have taken possession of our establishment. You would hardly believe the admirable accord which reigns here among all these men so different in country, language and customs: I can assure you that there is not one with whom I have not already had a conversation. What can I say? To walk around the garden with the Rector or with the Vice Rector, is a thing which happens almost every day.[38]

[36]Van der Heyden, *American College*, p. 46. Van der Heyden cites: *The Record, Louisville*, January 20, 1859.

[37]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 91-93.

[38]"Profitant du premier moment libre que je rencontre, je m'empresse de vous munir non pas de nouvelles, mais de quelques petits détails qui concernent notre position, notre manière de vivre au Séminaire Américain. J'ai été reçu ici de la part des messieurs, le 30 Septembre, avec une cordialité comme on en rencontre rarement sur la terre: et dès les premiers moments j'avais déja fait connaissance avec des Allemands, des Brabantois, des Américains, et avec le seul hollandais que possède notre établissement; Vous ne sauriez croire quel admirable accord règne ici entre tous ces hommes si différents de pays, de langage, et de moeurs: je puis vous assurer qu'íl n'en est plus un seul avec lequel je ne me sois pas encore promené ou avec lequel je n'aie déjà entretenu la conversation. Que dis-je? Se promener autour du jardin avec le Recteur, avec le Vice-recteur, c'est l'affaire de

De Neve supported his teaching and formation of the future missionaries by establishing in 1862 a "Union of Prayer," a spiritual sodality to which his departing students joined themselves as means of supporting one another in their coming missionary lives. In the constitution of the union, De Neve wrote:

> 3ly. Our blessed Lord has promised, that He would be in the midst of two or three assembled in His name; and although the members of this association will be separated by great distances, they can unite, at least in spirit, round the throne of God, and beg Him to be with them, in their labors for the glory of His divine Son.[39]

The rules of the Union of Prayer were dominated by promises to pray rosaries, to add a special intention to the third hour of their breviary office for the members of the association, and to say annually at least three Masses for both the association's living and dead members. Further, De Neve asked his Union of Prayer members to write at least one letter back to the college each year offering a short account of his mission of the current year.

From his own experience in America, De Neve saw the need for a formal support system for his young missionaries. Mutual support in prayer, ongoing fatherly advice from their rector even after they had left for the missions, and the maintenance of an ongoing relationship to their *alma mater* requiring them to write annual accounts of their ministry to edify and encourage those following them, were all part of De Neve's project of forming and maintaining his missionaries.

De Neve stabilized the college's financial situation and, in the course of his first decade as rector, was able to purchase and reunify almost all of the property that had once belonged to the Cistercian Aulne College as part of his new American College.[40] De Neve also worked to have the college receive complete approval from the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* and its head, Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò, something that had not been fully accomplished by his predecessor.[41] During his first decade as rector, the college admitted 185

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presque tous les jours." Seghers (Louvain) to Van Loo (Ghent), October 7, 1862, Archives of The American College, Louvain. Translation by P. Wallace Platt, C.S.B.

[39]Van der Heyden, *American College*, p. 120.

[40]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 98-99. The deeds for the college's property remained in De Neve's or other priests' hands until 1912, when they were turned over to the University of Louvain.

[41]*Ibid.*, pp. 100-104.

students. And with these increasing numbers of seminarians, so too the number of young priests sent to North America also rose dramatically: 120 between the years 1863 and 1870.

The burdens of administration and of pastorally caring for his seminarians and his young priests in North America took its toll on De Neve's emotional health. After eleven years as rector, his first term came to a sad end with a complete mental collapse in 1871. De Neve's physical and mental decline led to a sharp drop in the number of new students coming to the college in 1870.[42] As 1871 began, he became bed-ridden and his mind continued to deteriorate. In October of the same year, he finally asked to be relieved of his duties, and shortly thereafter, a broken man, he reached the depths of his illness by attempting to take his own life.[43]

De Neve's act also inflicted a wound to the life of The American College; like his own, though serious enough, it was not, in the end, mortal. The events of that night sent De Neve's colleagues, the Reverends Edmund Dumont, J. J. Pulsers, and John Leroy, into a frenzy of activity as they took over administration of the institution and attempted to limit the damage as news of the crisis spread to America. To Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet of Nesqually alone, they wrote at least seven letters between September 1871 and the end of December 1872 advising the bishop of De Neve's condition, the affairs of the college, and the progress of their students. In one letter, acting rector, Edmund Dumont, shared the hard truth:"the situation of the college is very precarious at this moment."[44]

The search for a new rector was a frustrating process. Dumont had the support of some American bishops but was appointed bishop of Tournai in November of 1872 before he could be named to the rectorship. Former students John Fierens and Charles Seghers were con-

[42]*Ibid.*, p. 136.

[43]*Ibid.*, p. 36. The incident was described some years later in considerable detail by a student, A. J. Penartz, who was present for the event: "It was not Peter but the terrible shriek of a woman's voice coming from the Rector's room that aroused the students. The first man in the room was Mr. Brincke, but the man who disarmed the insane man was Mr. Schram. No artery was severed and all that Prof. Michaud had to do was to put in a few stitches and to send for a Brother and a straight jacket." Pennartz (Sigel, Illinois) to Van der Heyden (Louvain), January 3, 1906. Archives of The American College, Louvain.

[44]"... que la situation du collège est très précaire en ce moment." Dumont (Louvain) to A. M. A. Blanchet, May 25, 1872. Archives of the Archdiocese of Seattle.

1867 photo of American College seminarians, perhaps the first photograph taken of American College seminarians. Identifiable among those pictured: Francis A. Janssens, future bishop of Natchez and later archbishop of New Orleans (seated, third from left), Peter Hylebos, Diocese of Nesqually (standing, middle row, first from left), Augustine Van de Vyver, future bishop of Richmond (standing, middle row, second from left), Augustine Brabant, Diocese of Vancouver Island (standing, third row, first from left), William Van der Hagen, Louisville (standing, middle row, fourth from left), John Willemsen, Diocese of Detroit, future rector of The American College (standing, middle row, fifth from left). Photographer unknown. Archives of The American College, Louvain. Permission granted for reproduction from The American College.

sidered but not pursued, probably because of their youth. Finally, everyone settled on Francis Janssens[45] of the Diocese of Richmond, but Janssens' bishop refused to release him from his diocese.

Lacking a decision by the American bishops responsible for the college to name a permanent rector, Dumont led it from 1871 to 1873; thereafter Pulsers remained as "pro-rector" from 1873 until 1881.

[45]Francis J. Janssens (1843-1897), was born in Tilburg, ordained a priest in Louvain for the Diocese of Richmond, Virginia. He was appointed bishop of Natchez in 1881 and in 1888 archbishop of New Orleans. Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley, eds., *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1997), pp. 716-717.

In 1881, much to Pulsers's consternation, De Neve returned to reclaim his title as rector.[46] De Neve's return was the result of a rather masterful and complex process of lining up support from a variety of ecclesiastics in Belgium, Rome, and the United States by assuring them of his full recovery and claiming that he had never officially been removed from the office. Restored to Louvain, De Neve was able in the ensuing ten years to make a significant transition from its financial security's being dependent on Belgian generosity to its being dependent on the generosity of a growing cadre of alumni serving in the United States.[47] He was also able to increase again its enrollment and bring in new clergy as his collaborators, most significantly, Reverend Jules De Becker, a young canon lawyer who had recently completed his studies in Rome, and the man who would lead the college up to the cusp of the World War II.[48] De Neve, for his part, retired from the rectorship in 1892, once again a broken and mentally frail man.

The modest rectorship of John Willemsen followed, lasting only until 1898.[49] Willemsen was the first alumnus of the American College to serve as rector and was known in Louvain as a fine Latinist and a very able theologian. During his years as rector he oversaw construction of the present chapel and, like his predecessor, bought additional pieces of the old Aulne site to add to the college's property. He initiated the drafting of a new *Constitutions and Rules* for submission to Rome, rules which were largely written by De Becker. Willemsen submitted his resignation as rector for reasons of poor health after only six years in office. Correspondence from the time indicates that his resignation was not actually due to health reasons, but to accusations made against him in Mechlin, perhaps claiming that he was sympathetic to "Americanism."[50] He resided in Italy until his death in 1932.

Eighteen of the college's alumni were raised to the episcopacy in America before the turn of the century;[51] several made enduring marks on the growing church in the country. Patrick Riordan was appointed the second archbishop of San Francisco; he founded the major semi-

[46]The story of these transitions in leadership are well documented in Sauter, *American College*, pp. 138-156.

[47]*Ibid.*, p. 157.

[48]*Ibid.*, p. 158.

[49]*Ibid.*, pp. 174-191.

[50]Brian Dick, "Het Amerikaans College in Leuven van 1898 tot 1951" (Licentiate in History, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1998), pp. 39-41.

[51]Sauter, *American College*, p. 205.

nary for his archdiocese in Menlo Park in 1898 and a few years later presided over San Francisco's reconstruction after the devastating earthquake and fire of 1906.[52] Charles John Seghers, despite his chronically bad health, proved to be a dynamic and zealous bishop, first of Vancouver Island, then as archbishop of Oregon City, finally returning to the see of Vancouver Island. The poor diocese included all of Alaska, a land that was deeply attractive to Seghers's missionary impulse. He used Victoria as a staging ground for a dramatic missionary voyage into the heart of the frozen northland. There he was murdered by one of his own traveling companions, a death which shocked the faithful both in America and in his homeland of Belgium.[53] Francis Janssens, the one-time candidate for the rectorship of the American College, was named bishop of Natchez (now Jackson), one of the poorest areas of the nation, serving there for seven years before being appointed archbishop of New Orleans in 1888, where he was noted for his establishment of Catholic parishes for blacks and Catholic schools for the poor living in rural areas.[54] John Lancaster Spalding, nephew of Martin, was named the first bishop of Peoria in 1875 and was considered one of America's significant "men of letters" in the late-nineteenth century; he was instrumental in founding the Catholic University of America on the model of his *alma mater,* the University of Louvain"[55] William Stang, ordained for the Diocese of Providence, served as vice-rector of the college from 1895 to 1899, during which time he also taught pastoral theology, English, and moral theology to the seminarians.[56] During these years,

[52]Glazier and Shelley, eds., pp. 1210-1211.

[53]See: Gerard George Steckler, S.J., "Charles John Seghers, Missionary Bishop in the American Northwest: 1839-1886" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Washington, 1963). Gerard George Steckler, S.J., *Charles John Seghers, Priest and Bishop in the Pacific Northwest, 1839-1886: A Biography* (Fairfield, Washington, 1986). Maurice de Baets, *Mgr. Seghers: l'Apôtre de l'Alaska* (Ghent, 1896).

[54]Glazier and Shelley, eds., pp. 716-717.

[55]Of Spalding's role in founding the Catholic University, John Tracy Ellis, writes: "For it was to this young prelate more than any single individual that the University at Washington owed its birth in 1889. In spite of a pervasive lethargy and indifference on the part of most of his episcopal colleagues, the Bishop of Peoria persisted year after year, efforts that culminated in his forceful sermon at Baltimore's Third Plenary Council on November 16, 1884, entitled 'The Higher Education of the Priesthood.'" Ellis, "Louvain," p. 272. See also: John Tracy Ellis, *John Lancaster Spalding: First Bishop of Peoria, American Educator* (Milwaukee, 1961). Ellis, "American Priest," pp. 321-322. David Francis Sweeney, O.F.M., *The Life of John Lancaster Spalding: First Bishop of Peoria, 1840-1916*, Makers of American Catholicism, vol. 1 (New York, 1965). C. Walker Gollar, "John Lancaster Spalding on Academic Freedom: The Influence of Louvain on an American Catholic Bishop," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 72 (1996).

[56]Dick, "Amerikaans College," pp. 44-45.

Stang had the honor of being the first American to be named a professor of the University of Louvain. He was named bishop of Fall River in 1904 but died only three years later. Perhaps Stang's most significant influence on the Church in America was through his manual of pastoral theology,[57] initially published as a text for the seminarians of the American College. As the first pastoral theology text available in English, the manual came into wide use in many American seminaries, forming a generation of priests with its practicality and emphasis on the priest's pastoral role as "preacher and teacher."[58]

The second fifty years of the American College would be scarred by two world wars: the first it barely survived, and the second left it closed by its patrons in the American episcopacy. A native son of Louvain, Jules De Becker, already briefly mentioned, would be the guiding spirit of the seminary through most of its second half-century, just as John De Neve had been in its first half. What De Becker brought to the college by way of inspiration and direction was significantly different from De Neve's contribution. If De Neve was at heart a pastor, De Becker was fundamentally a lawyer. Born in Louvain in 1857, the very year the American College was founded, De Becker completed his degree in civil law at the university of his own hometown and was admitted to the Belgian bar in 1878. Only a few days later he left for Rome to enter the Belgian seminary there. Over the course of seven years he completed a license in theology and a doctorate in canon law in Rome's Gregorian University. He was ordained a priest in the Basilica of St. John Lateran in 1881 and worked for two years in the offices of the Congregation of the Holy Office. Upon De Becker's return to Louvain in 1885 De Neve snapped up the young and promising cleric, assigning him to teach canon law and liturgy to his seminarians.

De Becker was the clear choice as rector when the position opened upon Willemsen's resignation in 1898. With his Roman connections he provided a valuable asset to the college in keeping relations with the Vatican congregations positive.[59] By his very person he was able to dilute

[57]William Stang, *Pastoral Theology*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1897).

[58]White, *Diocesan Seminary*, pp. 214-215, 253. Stang's manual on pastoral theology was followed in 1899 by that of a fellow Louvanist, Frederick Schulze, who was then teaching at St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee; like Stang's, it became widely used in American seminaries, going through at least nine editions over the next thirty years. See White, pp. 215-216, 253, 369.

[59]At the request of a number of unhappy Louvanists in the Archdiocese of Victoria (previously Vancouver Island), De Becker would use his relations with the Vatican to

Post card image of the garden of The American College in Louvain with the ordination class of 1885 posed informally about the yard. Photographer unknown. Archives of The American College, Louvain. Permission granted for reproduction from The American College.

any fears Romans or Americans might have harbored about the orthodoxy of the instruction being received by future priests studying in Louvain, concerns that might have led to the resignation of his predecessor.[60]

Almost from the start De Becker began transforming the American College into something quite new: a proper seminary in the Roman model. He developed the rule first proposed by Willemsen and had it approved by Pope Pius X almost immediately. He carried his copy of the new *Regulae Collegii Americani* with him at every meeting with his seminarians, it serving, in the words of his successor, Pierre De Strycker, "simultaneously both as a symbol and a weapon."[61]

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facilitate the forced resignation of American College alumnus, Archbishop Bertrand Orth from the Victoria see in 1907. Heynen (Nanaimo) to De Becker (Louvain), December 21, 1907. Archives of The American College, Louvain. For more on Orth's resignation, see Vincent J. McNally, *The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of the Oblates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia* (Edmonton, Alberta, 2000), pp. 231-233.

[60]Dick, "Amerikaans College," pp. 42-43.

[61]Pierre de Strycker, "In Memoriam: Mgr. Jules de Becker," *The American College Bulletin*, XXX, no. 1 (1937), 9.

He reordered the academic life of the college by negotiating with the rector of the University of Louvain for the re-establishment of *Schola Minor* of the Faculty of Theology expressly for his seminarians.[62] Prior to this development, the seminary courses had been taught partly by the priests of the college staff and partly by the Jesuit priests of Louvain. The Jesuits continued to offer spiritual direction to the students along with De Becker's good friend, the prior of the local Benedictine abbey of Mont César, Dom Columba Marmion.[63] De Becker himself continued to lecture on matrimony in the field of canon law, an area in which he was considered a world expert. By 1906 he had announced the establishment of a program in philosophy for his seminarians, allowing his seminary, for the first time, to be responsible for the full course of study and formation of a young man for the priesthood.[64]

Early in his rectorate De Becker began publishing *The American College Bulletin*, which provided to the college's alumni and friends news both of the college and of its many alumni and their labors in America. The Reverend Joseph Van der Heyden, a college alumnus who had served for many years in the Idaho missions (he had returned to Louvain due to the loss of a leg from frostbite while riding a stagecoach in Idaho), was made its first editor. Van der Heyden took to his task with gusto and collected information on the college's history and its clergy wherever he could find it.

In 1901 De Becker made his first formal visit to Rome on behalf of the college, meeting with the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide and Pope Leo XIII. Following his journey to Rome, De Becker sailed straightaway to America; in the course of his six-month journey he visited alumni throughout the country. He also took the opportunity to visit as many bishops and archbishops as possible, making himself and his college known to them. This was the first of four such tours of the United States, tours that would take him to virtually every corner of the nation

[62]Dick, "Amerikaans College," p. 21.

[63]Columba Marmion, O.S.B. (1857-1923) was born in Dublin, Ireland, and ordained a diocesan priest in Rome in 1881, together with De Becker. In 1886 he joined the Benedictine Abbey of Maredsous in Belgium and from 1899 to 1909 served as first prior of the newly established Abbey of Mont César (Keiserberg) in Louvain. In 1909 he was elected abbot of Maredsous, a position he held until his death. He was beatified by Pope John Paul II in 2000. See Mark Tierney, O.S.B., *Blessed Columba Marmion: A Short Biography* (Dublin, 2000).

[64]J. de Becker, "To the Friends of the American College," *The American College Bulletin,* IV, no. 2 (1906), 58-59.

and included Canada's chronically impoverished Vancouver Island. De Becker visited his alumni in their parishes, saw their work firsthand, and came to admire deeply the unique vigor and energy of the Church in America as it tackled the many challenges facing it. Though never a pastor or missionary himself, he appreciated what his alumni were accomplishing and how they were accomplishing it, and he then applied these lessons to his seminary program back in Louvain. He was, for example, quite liberal in offering his seminarians an unsupervised life during their summer vacations in Europe, a policy that evidently caused discomfort on the part of others. De Becker's response to their concern:

> I know that there exist serious objections to this system of spending far from home the long holiday period. We ought therefore to have at Louvain only young me capable of leading during the school term the rather austere life of a clerical seminary and of persevering in that life of their own volition during vacation. Often, whilst musing over the large amount of freedom accorded to the clergy in the Untied States, I said to myself whilst traveling about the immense country, "How absurd to subject the future priest to a régime of extreme supervision, of privation of liberty, during the entire period of his formation and then, upon the morrow of his admission into the ranks of the priesthood, to let him loose into this vast world of which he knows perhaps but imperfectly all the dangers!"[65]

As the fiftieth anniversary of the college approached, De Becker had something grand in mind to mark the occasion: a bold new building to take the place of much of what had previously served as quarters for the seminarians. He had already developed the gardens of the college and restored a seventeenth-century Cistercian chapel on the lower property, but his new scheme was of a far grander scale than that which anyone before him had ever dreamed. In 1904 he undertook another visit to Rome followed by a second visit to the United States, where he met almost one hundred of the college's priest and bishop alumni at a formal reunion in St. Louis. His intentions in making the visit almost certainly included preparatory work for the announcement of the construction of a grand new edifice to replace what he referred to as the "ramshackle student quarters."[66] By the time of his formal announcement of the project in April 1905 he already had completed his architectural plans for a building designed to house one

[65]Jules de Becker, "The Past Year," *The American College Bulletin,* XV, no. 1 (1922), 5-6.

[66]Van der Heyden, *American College*, p. 308.

hundred and twenty seminarians. In his letter to the alumni, De Becker made clear he had the permission to proceed of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith and the bishops serving on the college's board of directors. Perhaps more to the point, he indicated in his letter that, even as he was writing, the old buildings were being leveled and the students "forced to seek shelter wherever they could find it."[67]

The new building was completed by October 1905 at a cost of $38,000. De Becker raised all but $10,000 of the total, an amount he covered from his personal wealth. On its exterior, the architect placed a sculpture of an Indian chief, arms crossed and looking out over the street below with great dignity: a permanent sign of the college's missionary tradition and its bond with the Catholic Church in the United States.

In 1911, De Becker negotiated with the University of Louvain a significant change in legal status for the college. Previously, all the deeds for the college real estate had been held either in De Neve's hands or in those of other alumni priests at work in the United States. The deal was simple: the deeds would be turned over to the university even as the university promised full and complete rights to the property in perpetuity to the American College as long as it should exist. The new situation meant a much more stable ownership situation for the college as well as reducing the weight of Belgian taxes on the extensive property and buildings.[68]

The great test of De Becker's leadership would come less than ten years after the construction of the new College. By 1914 the threat of war was felt in Belgium, despite its neutrality. At the time, over one-third of the seminarians in the college were Germans, another third Americans, and the remainder Belgians, French, and Irish.[69] With the student body as nationally diverse as ever, the rector had to tend carefully to the relations among the seminarians if he were to maintain among them a spirit of fraternity as European political pressures were building. With the coming of summer vacation, most of the seminarians had gone to their homelands, never to return.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[68] *L'acte de cession de la propriété du Collège Américain à l'Université Catholique,* August 12, 1912. Archives of The American College, Louvain. The agreement was the basis both for the American bishops to turn over the property to the university at the onset of World War II and for those same bishops to make claim to the property again after the war. It continues to be the operative agreement between the college and the university to the present.

[69] Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," p. 28.

By the 19th of August, Louvain had been occupied by the advancing German forces. De Becker had already volunteered his new building as a Red Cross center so that it flew above its roof both the American flag and that of the Red Cross.[70] That evening, a German officer demanded use of the building for his troops, but De Becker convinced him to make use only of the large classroom on its main floor. The next day another German officer assured De Becker that the American building would not be harmed. A week later, after a skirmish with Belgian troops followed by a disastrous "friendly fire" exchange among the Germans, the invaders began to execute Louvain's citizens and set fire to the city. The ancient University of Louvain Library was one of the first buildings to be put to flames.[71] De Becker and his vice-rector, Pierre De Strycker, remained within the college buildings while the city burned and the executions continued for the next two days.[72] During the same two days and nights, the university's *rector magnificus*, Monsignor Paulin Ladeuze,[73] joined them by climbing over the wall that separated his garden from that of the American College. Three days further on the German forces ordered De Becker, De Strycker, and Willemsen, who happened to be visiting, to flee the city altogether. They joined thousands of other refugees on the road to Brussels. Upon arriving in the capital city, they were brought to safety through the intervention of the U.S. Ambassador, Brand Whitlock.[74] Whitlock later described his meeting with De Becker in poignant detail:

> He sat there at my table, a striking figure—the delicate face, dignified and sad, the silver hair, the long black soutane and the scarlet sash, in his

[70]Hugh Gibson, *A Journal from our Legation in Belgium* (Garden City, New York, 1917), p. 78.

[71]Chris Coppens, Mark Derez, and Jan Rogiers, *Leuven University Library: 1425-2000* (Leuven, 2005), pp. 135-179.

[72]Gibson, *A Journal*, pp. 154-155. The burning of Louvain in 1914 has been widely written about by historians; see Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Guns of August*, Reprint, March 9, 1994 ed. (New York, 1962), pp. 311-324.

[73]Paulin Ladeuze (1870-1940) was doctor and magister in theology at the Catholic University of Louvain, where he taught patrology and New Testament exegesis from 1898 to 1900. In 1900 he, along with Albert Cauchie, established the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*. Ladeuze became Rector Magnificus of the Catholic University of Louvain in 1909 and remained rector until his death in 1940. In 1929 Ladeuze was ordained bishop. Leo Kenis, *The Louvain Faculty of Theology in the Nineteenth Century. A Bibliography of the Professors in Theology and Canon Law with Biographical Notes* (Leuven, 1994).

[74]For the ambassador's own recollections of these events, see Brand Whitlock, *Belgium Under the German Occupation: A Personal Narrative*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (1919), 99-117. See also: Gibson, A Journal, p. 153.

white hand a well-worn breviary. . . . Monseigneur described the experience. He told it calmly, logically, connectedly, his trained mind unfolding events in orderly sequence: the sound of firing from Hérent, the sudden uprising of the German soldiers, the murder, the lust, the loot, the fires, the pillage, the evacuation and the destruction of the city, and all that.

The home of his father had been burned down and the home of his brother; his friends and his colleagues had been murdered before his eyes, and their bodies thrown into a cistern; long lines of his townspeople, confined in the railway-station, had been taken out and shot down; the church of St. Peter was destroyed, the Hôtel de Ville—the finest example of late Gothic extant—was doomed, and the Halles of the University had been consumed. And he told it all calmly. But there in the Halles of the University was the Library; its hundreds of thousands of volumes, its rare and ancient manuscripts, its unique collection of incunabula—all had been burned deliberately, to the last scrap. Monseigneur had reached this point in his recital; he had begun to pronounce the word *bibliotèque*—he had said "*La biblio. . .*" and then he stopped suddenly and bit his quivering lip. "*La bib. . .*" he went on—and then, spreading his arms on the table before him, he bowed his head upon them and wept aloud.[75]

When De Becker was eventually allowed back into Louvain, he found his college intact. Not one to stand helpless in the midst of his destroyed hometown, he headed a committee to tend to the material wants of the survivors and returning refugees; the American College became one of the city's primary relief centers for the remainder of the war. Six of his seminarians managed to return to the college, and for them Monsignor Ladeuze officially reopened the ancient University of Louvain, they being its only students for the 1914-1915 academic year. The college served the university in another way: the medieval statue of the *Sedes Sapientiae,* the very symbol of the university, as well as the town's most important reliquary, that holding the remains of Blessed Margaret of Louvain, were housed in the college's chapel throughout the war years.[76]

With the end of the Great War in November of 1918, the question of the continued existence of the American College arose. There were serious issues of financing the college in the wake of the war, as well as those that had always nipped at the heels of the institution in times of crisis. Had it not outlived its missionary purpose? Could not American seminaries form American priests better? If America needed

[75]Whitlock, *Belgium*, pp. 104-105. Also see Coppens, Derez, and Rogiers, *Leuven*, p. 158.

[76]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," pp. 29-34.

a seminary in Europe, was not the one in Rome enough? And more lately, was not the academic quality of institutions like the Catholic University of America now equal to that of the University of Louvain? De Becker journeyed to America in 1917 to re-establish a board of directors among the American bishops, reaffirm the college's importance to the bishops, and round up support for his seminary's continuation. De Becker succeeded admirably and upon his return set about getting the buildings back in order and renovated where needed.

Evident in all this was a noticeable change in De Becker's vision for the college: from this point onward he would, of necessity, look primarily to America for his seminarians, postwar immigration rules having changed in the United States, severely limiting the ability of many European seminarians to immigrate legally. He chose a vice-rector accordingly: an American from the Diocese of Providence, Charles Curran. In November 1919, his new students began arriving: two from Newark, sixteen from Hartford, and six Belgians, one of whom was a prewar seminarian of the college. With these twenty-four men, the American College began a new life in the postwar era. De Becker continued to appeal to the Church in America for students, outlining in every way possible the unique advantages of study in Louvain, including the benefit of spending vacations in European countries, being immersed in their cultures, and learning their languages.[77]

De Becker's persistent efforts at recruitment were effective, for in the following years enrollment increased gradually, giving the college renewed stability; by 1930 and the golden anniversary of his ordination, De Becker had the satisfaction of counting eighty-six seminarians filling his building.[78] That same year he accepted his former vice-rector, Pierre De Strycker,[79] as his coadjutor rector; a year later, feeling the weight of his increasing age and after thirty-three years of leadership, De Becker resigned his rectorship altogether, remaining in residence as rector-emeritus until his death in September 1936.[80]

Though a Louvanist by birth and a Roman by education, De Becker, in his vocation as rector of the American College, became, in a manner, an American in spirit. Shortly after his death, one of his former

[77]*Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.

[78]*Ibid.*, p. 39.

[79]De Strycker's Curriculum Vitae may be found in *Collectanea Mechliniensia*, vol. 34 (1949), 639.

[80]De Strycker, pp. 6-11.

students and at the time spiritual director in the college, Louis Smet, wrote of him:

> Although he never labored in America, he had a genuine love and admiration for our great country. He took a pardonable pride in being the Rector of the *American* College, never tired of speaking about his journeys to America, had Old Glory flying over the college on all solemn occasions. (This reminds us that it was the American flag that saved the college from destruction during the War.) All the alumni will remember with what zest Monsignor De Becker used to sing "*omnes in Americam*," the concluding words of our College hymn each year at the eighth of December. He was an American *in voto*![81]

De Becker's successor, Pierre De Strycker, when not serving the American College as a professor or vice-rector, had served as rector of the nearby Pope Adrian VI College. He had gained further stature in the years after the Great War as the man most responsible for organizing Cardinal Désiré Mercier's[82] triumphal tour of the United States at war's end.[83] The rectorship of Pierre De Strycker was neither a long nor pleasant one. Even as he was taking hold of the reins from De Becker, fearsome noise was coming once again from Belgium's neighbor to the east. The hot breath of the Third Reich was first felt in the college itself in September of 1938 when rumors of imminent war cut short the summer vacation of the seminarians, forcing them to race back to Louvain. War itself was delayed, and sixty-one seminarians began the new academic year. During that year De Strycker managed to make additional improvements to the college buildings and added a few amenities, but his work was cut short as more and more students were called home. There were only thirty-eight students to open the 1939 academic year, but even they began to dwindle as the weeks passed and the threat of war became ever more

[81]Louis J. Smet, "Mgr. De Becker and the American College," *The American College Bulletin,* XXX, no. 1 (1937), 15.

[82]Désiré J.Mercier (1851-1926) was ordained in 1874 and eight years later became professor of philosophy at the University of Louvain; at the request of Pope Leo XIII, he organized in Louvain the Higher Institute of Philosophy, which dedicated itself to the study of St.Thomas Aquinas. He was appointed archbishop of Mechlin in 1906 and made a cardinal in 1907. During World War I, Cardinal Mercier became the pre-eminent opponent to the German occupation of his land. See: John A. Gade, *The Life of Cardinal Mercier* (New York, 1934). For more on Mercier's opposition to the German occupation of Belgium see, Désiré J. Mercier, *Cardinal Mercier's Own Story* (New York, 1920).

[83]Roger Aubert, "Cardinal Mercier's Visit to America in the Autumn of 1919," in *Studies in Catholic History: In Honor of John Tracy Ellis*, ed. Nelson Minnich, Robert B. Eno, and Robert Trisco (Wilmington, Delaware, 1985), p. 321. See also: Gade, *Life of Mercier*, pp. 212-222.

serious. By Christmas the enrollment had shrunk to twenty, at which point De Strycker judged the continuation of the college program no longer viable; he announced to his students that the college would be formally closed on Christmas day, 1939. Some of the twenty seminarians still at the college upon its closure returned to the United States, while others continued their studies in Rome, St. Brieuc, or Genoa.

De Strycker, his vice-rector, Harold Gonder, and a few others remained in the college building, preparing it for the probable invasion of Belgium by hiding valuables behind secret walls. On May 10, 1940, the invasion began, and that same evening Louvain endured its first bombardment of the new war. Gonder evacuated the next day while De Strycker heroically vowed to remain in Louvain; by May 12 the rector of the university, Honoré van Waeyenberg, advised De Strycker to leave as well. The abject rector worked his way to Bordeaux and finally caught from the port there the last ship to the United States, where he remained in exile for the duration of the World War II. On May 17 the new library of the university, built largely through American generosity, was the target of a German incendiary bomb; the library and all of its holdings, for the second time in less than fifty years, burned, and its 900,000 volumes were lost.[84]

Van Waeyenberg kept the University of Louvain in operation despite the occupation of the city and refused at every turn to co-operate with the Nazis in their multiple demands to turn over all lists of students so that they could be conscripted as laborers in the war effort. Van Waeyenberg immediately began restoring the lost library, bringing together collections from elsewhere and encouraging donations of books from professors and other individuals and institutions, much of which was placed in the halls of the American College where students continued to access them throughout the war years.[85] The college had been protected until December 1940 from German occupation by a large document from the American ambassador posted on the building declaring the buildings to be the property of the American hierarchy; after Germany declared war on the United States, the document was useless. German officials sought to occupy the space as housing for their soldiers, but that was avoided through the intervention of the occupa-

[84]Coppens, Derez, and Rogiers, *Leuven*, pp. 313-322. E. Lousse, *The University of Louvain during the Second World-War*, trans. Th. Crowley (Bruges, 1946), pp. 10-13.

[85]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," pp. 49-50. Coppens, Derez, and Rogiers, *Leuven*, pp. 327-328.

tion force's town major, who was sympathetic to the university's need for the buildings.[86] Once again, the college buildings and its holdings were largely unharmed during the various bombardments of the city.

Meanwhile, in New York, De Strycker worked to keep interest in the American College alive and joined forces with Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, a noted alumnus of the university's Institute of Philosophy, to raise funds for the reconstruction of Louvain's university library. Neither enterprise found much success, and De Strycker began to lose enthusiasm for both projects, though even as late as January 1945, several months after Belgium's liberation, he wrote a circular letter to the alumni of the college expressing his hope of reopening it.[87] He returned to Belgium in August 1945 and, after disembarking in Antwerp, immediately went to visit his family, walking unexpectedly into the midst of a family baptism to the surprise and delight of all.[88] He then visited the American College, finding it intact. He was pleased that it had had such an important role to play as the university's library during the war years, but by then, he no longer had the strength or vigor to pursue its reopening. He expressed his opinion on the matter to a Louvain alumnus, Archbishop John G. Murray of St. Paul, then serving as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, making it clear that he believed the American College had finally outlived its usefulness. The Board of Trustees thereafter commissioned De Strycker to negotiate the definitive transfer of the college property to the university; he retained his title as rector and remained in residence in the college. His own condition seriously weakened, leading to his death in July 1949 at sixty-nine years of age. For all practical purposes, the American College, at the age of ninety-two, died with him. From September 1947, the property was used as a residence for university students,[89] Canon Louis Janssens serving as rector.[90]

That the American seminary in Louvain might still be the "enlivening thought" that it had been for Martin J. Spalding one hundred years

[86]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," p. 54.

[87]*Ibid.*, 55.

[88]Personal interview with Mr. Louis De Strycker, December 26, 2005, Brussels. Mr. De Strycker, nephew of Pierre De Strycker, recalls the moment of his uncle's arrival vividly.

[89]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," pp. 55-57.

[90]In the wake of the Second Vatican Council Janssens would come to be recognized as the Louvain Faculty of Theology's most significant moral theologian in recent times. As such he influenced several generations of American Catholic pastors who studied in Louvain. See Roger Burggraeve, "The Holistic Personalism of Professor Magister Louis Janssens," *Louvain Studies*, 27, no. 1 (2002).

before, was about to be tested. The unhopeful conclusion that De Strycker had forwarded to Archbishop Murray was still very much in the air in 1949 when the question of reopening the college was again broached among the American hierarchs. The matter was discussed at the November 1949 meeting of the American bishops, and a committee was formed, with Bishop Matthew F. Brady of Manchester as its chairman, to review the matter. Bishop Brady took his job seriously and commenced substantial communication with various parties concerning the college's future. He kept in regular contact with the *rector magnificus* of the university, Van Waeyenberg, as well as the Reverend David M. Ellwood, secretary of the Alumni Association. Bishop Russell McVinney of Providence, an alumnus himself, served on the committee and became a formidable advocate for reopening the college. McVinney prepared a sheet of "talking points" responding to possible objections from other bishops; his first point took on the De Strycker issue:

I. "Has it any usefulness now for the dioceses of the United States?"
—Monsignor de Strycker thought not—
Ans. 1. Msgr. de Strycker was an old, tired man when he said this. The problems necessarily to be faced in reopening overwhelmed him.
2. Msgr. de Strycker was never over enthusiastic about the college, though he had been vice-rector for a time and was the last rector.
3. There should be an American rector. It would make a big difference.

II. "The College has lost its initial usefulness," wrote Msgr. de Strycker before his death.
Ans.-—True, it was founded to supply priests for the American Missions. But it has served another purpose almost entirely since the First World War.
N.B.-The Councils of Baltimore recommended the American College, Louvain, and urged Bishops to send promising students there as well as to the American College in Rome and the University of Innsbruck.

III. "Most American Bishops judge it useless."
Ans.—Q. E. D. Take a vote.[91]

The fact-finding committee reported back to the bishops in November 1950 with a positive recommendation. The committee was then authorized to take preliminary steps towards a reopening in 1952, steps that included sending to all the bishops of the United States a request for information as to how many students they might

[91] "Comments of Bishop McVinney on points contained in the letter of Cardinal Van Roey to Cardinal Spellman," copy, Archives of The American College, Louvain.

be willing to send to Louvain. The circular letter was sent out in October 1951; the responses came back with promises of eighty-one seminarians. With this information in hand, the bishops finally took the vote in November 1951; the result was a positive one. McVinney was thereafter made chairman of the American College's new Board of Bishops; it came as no surprise that, under his influence, the committee should choose as the man responsible for bringing the American College of Louvain back to life[92] a priest of his own diocese, the Reverend Thomas F. Maloney. He would be the first American to serve as the college's rector.

Maloney arrived in Louvain in April 1952 to begin preparations for the official reopening of the American College at the beginning of the 1952-1953 academic year.[93] The first new seminarian, James Chapman, arrived from Dubuque on September 23, 1952, followed by fifty-three others.[94] Maloney worked hard to connect his new students with the traditions of the past, celebrating anew the college's patronal feasts, hanging a portrait of De Becker in the dining room, singing again the venerable college hymn, *O Sodales*, on feast days. The new students endured privations due to plumbing problems, lack of recreational areas, and inadequate library facilities, but the spirit of fraternity that had been a hallmark of the college since its inception seemed strong among them under Maloney's care.[95]

At Mahoney's urging the *schola minor* was reopened by the university for the seminarians, and by 1954 the publication of *The American College Bulletin* had recommenced. To the readers of the first issue of the resurrected *Bulletin*, Maloney wrote:

[92]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," pp. 57-59. Also see Philip Dominic Irace, "The Louvain American College: 1952-1974" (MA in Religious Studies, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, 1974), p. 12.

[93]Maloney's arrival in Louvain in 1952 was rather floridly described five years later by Joseph Coppens in these words: "Pushed by the will of success, by optimistic temper, by the sense of endeavor and of confidence in Divine Providence, bright characteristics of the American people, they dropped as by parachute into the still gloomy sky of partially ruined Louvain, the new rector of the college, the today so deeply venerated Monsignor Maloney." Joseph Coppens, "Promotion de son Excellence Mgr Russel McVinney: Allocution de M. le Chanoine J. Coppens," *Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia* XIV (1958).

[94]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," pp. 60-61.

[95]As an example, the "Chronicles" entry for December 25, 1954, includes a reflection on what makes the celebration of Christmas in the seminary so different from anywhere else. The response: "it seems to be that most indefinable thing called a spirit of fraternal union. . . ." Donald A. Panella, "Chronicles," *The American College Bulletin*, XXXIV, no. 1 (1955).

> The reopening of the college has been a delicate task if only because of the importance of calling back to life the spirit of the place, and reviving old customs among young men of a different age and of new tastes.
>
> . . . .
>
> You would almost expect to hear and see your own former classmates among the throngs of students who crowd the college. You would find them doing the very things done in our day: playing the games we played, singing as we did, carrying on animated and profound discussions with an earnestness all their own, practicing their foreign language acquisitions as they walk the paths in the lower garden.[96]

Beginning in 1955, renovations to the building were undertaken in preparation for the one-hundredth anniversary of the college's foundation, coming up in 1957. Meanwhile, in the wake of the postwar "vocations boom" in the United States, the student census rose in the college; by the golden jubilee year, there were over one hundred American seminarians in Louvain.[97]

Maloney's celebration of the jubilee was a grand one, the highlight of which was the academic session held in the University Halls, the same ancient building that had housed the original university library until its burning in August 1914. Van Waeyenberg welcomed two distinguished guests and honorees to the proceedings, Russell J. McVinney, Bishop of Providence, and Fulton J. Sheen, Auxiliary Bishop of New York, to whom honorary degrees were awarded; McVinney was acknowledged for his efforts to reopen the college in 1952 and Sheen for his evangelical work in print, radio, and television media. In his response to the honor, Sheen proclaimed: "When we look back over a life that is rather full, we recognize how much we owe to the good Lord. But, next to God, on this earth, I owe what I am to the University of Louvain."[98]

Maloney served as rector until January 1960, when it was announced that he had been named auxiliary bishop of Providence. Only two years after his return to Providence, in September 1962, Maloney died. With Maloney's departure from Louvain, the keys of the college were handed to the Reverend Paul D. Riedl, a priest of the Diocese of Springfield. If Maloney had to breathe new life into a mori-

[96]Thomas F. Maloney, "The Rector's Letter," *The American College Bulletin,* XXXIII, no. 1 (1954), 10.

[97]Irace, p. 22.

[98]Fulton J. Sheen, "Réponse de son Excellence Mgr Fulton Sheen," *Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia*, XIV, no. 1 (1958), 47.

bund institution, Riedl had the even more difficult job of guiding it through a decade marked by startling and oftentimes disorienting reforms to the Church and seminary, upheaval and social revolution in western societies, and the division of the Kingdom of Belgium and its Catholic university over the country's long-simmering "language wars."

Riedl maintained the order and life of the college as it had been under his predecessor for as long as it was reasonable to do so. With the tectonic plates of culture and society moving under his feet, it was not long before he had to take a new approach to his ministry in Louvain. As perhaps a symbol or, better, a prophecy of what was to come, one of his first major works was to replace in 1961 the traditional stained glass in the apse of the college chapel with brightly colored glass executed in a dramatically contemporary style.[99]

The opening of the Second Vatican Council in October 1962 marked a turning point in the life of the Church and, with it, in the life of the Louvain seminary, as in every seminary around the world. For the seminarians of Louvain, a unique and privileged window into the proceedings that followed was made available. The council was an event deeply influenced by the theologians of Louvain, due to the extraordinary role given to the archbishop of Mechlin (Malines), Cardinal Leon Joseph Suenens,[100] who was called upon to serve as one of the council's principal moderators. Suenens liberally used the theologians of Louvain in preparing and revising the council's declarations, so much so that it was not a great exaggeration for some to claim later that "the Second Vatican Council was the First Louvain Council."[101] Since the professors of the seminarians of the American

[99]The new glass was designed and executed by local artist, Roger Daniels of Hasselt. The complete set of new windows for the chapel by the same artist was not completed until 1970.

[100]Leon Joseph Suenens (1904-1996), born in Ixelles, was ordained a priest in 1927 for the Archdiocese of Mechlin. He was appointed auxiliary bishop of the same archdiocese in 1945 and archbishop in 1961. In 1962 he was made a cardinal. He retired from the archbishopric in 1979 and died in 1996. See: Leon-Joseph Suenens, *Memories and Hopes*, trans. Elena French (Dublin, 1992); http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bsuenens.html, February 6, 2006.

[101]". . . non sans exagération métonymique, de se référer au Concilium Vaticanum Secundum comme au Concilium Lovaniense Primum." M. Sabbe, "Les Archives de Vatican II à la Katholieke Universiteit Leuven," in *Sources locales de Vatican II*, ed. J. Grootaers and Cl. Soetens (Leuven, 1990), p. 39. Among the Louvain professors involved in the council cited by Sabbe are: L. Cerfaux, Ph. Delhaye, A. Dondeyne, V. Heylen, Ch. Moeller, G. Philips, G. Thils, and W. Onclin.

College were often traveling to Rome as *periti* or to offer counsel to Suenens, those same seminarians found themselves in the privileged position of receiving first-hand, insider reports on the work of the council fathers. Thus, the seminarians of the American College were among the first to be "formed" by the theological and pastoral directions being taken by the council fathers.

By 1964 the *aggiornamento* of the council was having its effect in Riedl's seminary. Tensions between those looking forward to liberalization of the house rule and those who found change frightening made their way even into the pages of the usually discrete *American College Bulletin*.[102] Riedl had to find new ways to dialogue with his seminarians, involving them more in decision-making and leading less autocratically. Riedl was, for the most part, given high marks for his wise and attentive handling of the transitions.

In October 1965, a decree particularly pertaining to seminary formation, *Optatam Totius*, was approved by the council fathers; the document stressed the importance, among other things, of improved pastoral formation for seminarians.[103] To fulfill that mandate Riedl took advantage of a request by Cardinal Suenens, the task of supplying a pastor to minister to a newly founded English-speaking parish in the Brussels area. With the liturgy quickly moving into the vernacular, Anglophones living in the cosmopolitan capital found themselves without the opportunity to participate in the "new Mass" in their own language. The new parish was named "Our Lady of Mercy," and the vice-rector of the American College, the Reverend Albion Bulger, was named its founding pastor. It quickly became a center for the Louvain seminarians to be trained pastorally in a parish setting. The chaplaincies of nearby military bases offered similar opportunities for the seminarians, but Our Lady of Mercy Parish was an especially important venue for the seminarians' pastoral formation as it eventually became the testing

[102]The June 1965 issue of *The American College Bulletin* is, perhaps, where the tensions become most visible to today's historian. The first three articles are all reflections on the new conciliar decrees and their pastoral applications, while the introduction to the issue notes that a "lack of balance" in the process of "synthesizing and compromising" had resulted in "an individualism, a lowering of our esprit de corps." This in turn had led to the development of a new house rule, which, in turn, led to the development of unspecified "tensions." *The American College Bulletin*, XLIV, no. 1 (1965).

[103]Mathijs Lamberigts, "Optatam Totius—The Decree on Priestly Formation: A Short Survey of its History at the Second Vatican Council," *Louvain Studies*, 30, no. 1-2 (2005). See also White, *Diocesan Seminary*, pp. 409-412.

ground, and the seminarians of the American College the testers, of new catechetical methodologies being pioneered by the Catholic University of Louvain's lecturer in pastoral catechetics, Dr. Christiane Brusselmans.[104] Those methodologies eventually found their way into parishes throughout the United States and the English-speaking world, influencing several generations of catechists and Catholic children. Brusselmans would later become a key figure, along with some of her former American College students, in developing practical methodologies for implementing the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults (RCIA), again testing them in the college and at Our Lady of Mercy.

The renewed interest in the historical and scriptural foundations of theological studies that was promoted by the council found particular expression in the establishment of a scholarly journal by a number of the college's seminarians in 1967, *Louvain Studies.* The journal quickly became a forum for Louvain's theologians and others to publish their research in English, making it available to a world beyond the French- Dutch- and German-language communities that theretofore had been their usual audiences.

A particularly troubling challenge faced by Riedl was taking shape in the streets of Louvain just outside the gates of the college. The long-simmering resentments over language issues in Belgium and, in particular, in the Catholic University of Louvain, broke out into passionate demonstrations and student riots. The so-called "language wars" forced on the university a division into two autonomous institutions, one French-speaking, the other Dutch-speaking. Riedl decided early on that it was not his or his college's fight and remained resolutely neutral throughout. Nevertheless, the effects of the division of the city and university could not but be felt deeply within the American College. The "Flemish university" in Leuven began to offer many of its academic programs in English, including the entire course of studies in theology, philosophy, and canon law. The "French university," in its newly constructed village, Louvain-la-Neuve, or "The New Louvain," some twenty-five kilometers to the south, taught only in French. Riedl and his successors strictly enforced the college's neutrality, allowing any American College seminarian or his bishop to choose between the two, and for many years thereafter some seminarians remained in Leuven while others traveled to Louvain-la-Neuve for daily classes. Under the new

[104]Susan K. Roll and Thomas P. Ivory, "'It is a joy for me to do it': An Appreciation of Christiane Brusselmans," *Louvain Studies*, 17, no. 1 (1992).

regime, no one seminarian could have full access to all the academic resources formerly available to all. The two academic traditions that developed in the separated universities, nevertheless, lived together rather commodiously within the college, perhaps one of the few places in Belgium where such was possible.

The decade of the seventies welcomed a new rector, the Reverend Clement E. Pribil, who served in the position for only two years. Desiring to be an interim rector, in January 1972 Pribil handed over responsibility to his successor, a young priest of the Diocese of Providence and a professor of New Testament studies at the university, the Reverend Raymond F. Collins.[105] Collins divided his time and his considerable energy between his responsibilities at the Faculty of Theology and those of the rectorship. The challenges of sorting out the proper manner to form young men for the priesthood in the post-Vatican II era remained as more and more marks of former times were left behind, including use of clerical clothing and titles such as "Father" in the house. Collins was credited particularly with strengthening the college's ties to the university and expanding the pastoral opportunities available to the seminarians under his care.[106]

With the use of English in the Leuven university, it became more common for young priests pursuing higher degrees in theology, canon law, and philosophy to take up residence in the American College. No longer limited to seminarians, the character of the community began to change, as did the college's sense of its mission. More of these priests came from English-speaking nations other than the United States, giving the house once again a more international character. In 1975 a month-long summer institute in theological studies was initiated under Collins's rectorship and continues to this day; though initially designed for priests looking for theological renewal, it was later opened to all religious and laity. Finally, priests wishing to take semester or yearlong sabbatical programs began to join the college community on an increasingly regular basis. As it moved through the seventies, the American College became more than a seminary; it was evolving into a house of studies, offering a variety of academic and renewal opportunities that would benefit the mission of the Church in many corners of the world even as it guarded the seminary program as the core of its ministry.

[105]Joseph A. Selling, "Raymond F. Collins: U.S.A.-K.U.L.-C.U.A.," *Louvain Studies*, 20, no. 2-3 (1995).

[106]*Ibid.*, p. 105.

Collins's years as rector came to an end in the summer of 1978. By then, there was a sense that the rector's position, like that of most pastors, should have a set term. Five years became the norm, and with that, a series of rectors followed in rather rapid succession: the Reverend William Graytak of the Diocese of Helena, the Reverend John Costanza of the Diocese of Pueblo, Reverend Monsignor Thomas Ivory of the Archdiocese of Newark, the Reverend Melvin T. Long of the Diocese of Salinas, the Reverend David E. Windsor, C.M., and presently this author, the Reverend Kevin A. Codd of the Diocese of Spokane. With the lack of temporal distance from these rectorates to provide fitting historical perspective, it is best to draw to a close this survey of the history of the American College as it now celebrates the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. Since its opening, the American College has provided to the church in America almost two thousand missionaries, professors, pastors, lay leaders, and bishops. "A hundred young men educated at Louvain for the American missions! Is not the thought enlivening?"[107] wrote Martin J. Spalding in 1853; his vision has been fulfilled twenty times over in the past century and a half.

[107]Spalding, *Life of M. J. Spalding*, p. 162. See also: Sauter, *American College*, pp. 17-18.

REVIEW ARTICLE

PRIESTS, MOUNTAINS, AND "SACRED SPACE" IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

By

William A. Christian Jr.*

Les Prêtres des montagnes; La vie, la mort, la foi dans les Pyrénées centrales sous l'Ancien Régime (Val d'Aran et diocèse de Comminges). By Serge Brunet. (Aspet: Universatim Pyrégraph. 2001. Pp. 863.)

Clergés, Communautés et Familles des Montagnes d'Europe; Actes du colloque "Religion et montagnes," Tarbes, 30 mai-2 juin 2002. Edited by Serge Brunet and Nicole Lemaître. [Histoire Moderne 50, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne.] (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne. 2005. Pp. 421.)

Montagnes sacrées d'Europe; Actes du colloque "Religion et montagnes," Tarbes, 30 mai-2 juin 2002. Edited by Serge Brunet, Dominique Julia and Nicole Lemaître. [Histoire Moderne 49, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne.] (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne. 2005. Pp. 427.)

Defining the Holy; Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Edited by Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton. (Aldershot, Hants., and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate. 2005. Pp. 345.)

Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe. Edited by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. 350)

Mountains and Priests

Serge Brunet's monumental *Les Prêtres des montagnes* is a study of customary religious practice and institutions in the Val d'Aran in the Pyrenees and of diocesan attempts to bring this high, isolated valley to heel. Formed by the river Bavarthès, the Val d'Aran rises from an altitude of 600m at the frontier with France to peaks as high as 2500m; in a space of 633 km^2 there are thirty villages or hamlets with a total population in the early modern period of about 6000 persons. For centuries part of Spain but in a French diocese, the valley was able to garner considerable ecclesiastical independence by playing off the two jurisdictions. The book is a fascinating case study of an unusual prolonga-

*Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.The author is grateful for suggestions from a number of readers, acknowledged in the notes, and the especially careful perusal by Lisa Godson.

tion of custom in the face of the uniformizing forces of modern nation states and the Council of Trent.

Following Marc Bloch, Brunet practices a "regressive history" which shows "how much religion has left its clues which, consciously or not, the historian follows up, going back to the source" (p. 59). He does so, in the words of the historian Bartolomé Bennassar, in an exercise of "total history," starting from architecture, art, kinship, patterns of inheritance, family names, place names and travelers' reports, as well as a wide range of ecclesiastical, civil, military and administrative documents at the local, regional, and national level both in France and Spain.

For virtually every topic Brunet compares his findings (on vocations, reform, education, migration of priests, etc.) with other valleys in the diocese of Comminges, valleys in neighboring dioceses, and those of other studies of the Catalan valleys of Àneu and Boí, Andorra, Brittany, Savoy, cities of Languedoc, and Paris. The comparisons reveal great variation, and sometimes it is hard to discern the landscape in the thicket of detail.

The result is a book that, well, sprawls. The pilgrim reader has to keep an eye on the compass as the author goes on major, if rewarding, detours. Topics are scattered through the 863-page work (itself only part of his unpublished four-volume thesis). There are statistics on everything countable (those who choose to wade through them should bring hip boots) and a profusion of photographs, maps, and charts. All in all, this reader felt quite at home.

From the fourteenth until the eighteenth century, the valley pretty much had its way. Each new bishop had to come and confirm the valley's privileges "on knees, with head bowed, before representatives of valley clergy and laity, his right hand on the holy scriptures" (p. 89), then add his signature to that of his predecessors on the original 1372 parchment. These privileges, incremented by customary accretion, included valley retention of all tithes (half for the priests, half for the parish expenses), parish council presentation of curates, the figure of a local archdeacon with bishop-like judicial authority who could be appealed only to the archdiocese or the pope, and the limitation of episcopal visits (with no retinue) to once every seven years at most. On the Spanish side, the Aranese had the right to apply for benefices anywhere in Spain, and a number held them in Catalonia and Aragon.

The apogee of valley religious autonomy and prosperity came in sixteenth century during French religious wars, when Aran was pampered by Philip II as a bulwark of Catholicism with privileges for cross-border trading, especially of mules to Spain and horses and military supplies to the French Ligue. Alone among Spaniards Aranese traders had the right to circulate throughout Gascony. Church constructions, furnishings, and art from this time testify to the valley's wealth.

The Catholic Reformation in the diocese of Comminges, as elsewhere in much of France, was put off until the end of the sixteenth century by religious struggle. In Aran it had to wait much longer, with the first inroads made by Jesuits missionaries, who in the 1640's catalyzed reconciliations within and between parishes. But despite the concerted efforts of one bishop after another in the seventeenth century the Aranese were generally able to retrofit reforms to their own institutions.

Its plethora of peasant clerics were active as armed militia in the revolt of the Catalans, and later in the battles in and around Aran in the War of Succession (1701-1715) against the troops of Spain's Bourbon king. Around 1715 a French military officer reported:

> There are 360 clerics, most of whom have no scruples about using guns. It is scarcely believable that there could be so many clergy in such a small territory where there is not even a [collegiate church] chapter. The tiniest village has seven or eight, most of whom would have trouble getting by if they did not cut wood for sale or work the land. They are poorly dressed and almost all wear wooden shoes (p. 369).

But by this time the situation of the clergy was in decline. The decisive blow to Aran's privileges came when the bishop of Comminges won support for reform in the valley from the French Bourbon Philip V of Spain through the king's Jesuit confessor, after the Aranese had made strategic mistakes by throwing their lot in, first, with autonomy for Catalonia, and then, with the wrong contender for the Spanish throne.

In 1790 the diocese of Comminges was abolished, and in 1804 the Val d'Aran became part of the diocese of Urgell. Since 1814 the valley has been both part of Spain and a Spanish diocese, and its days of playing diocese and nation against each other are long over. At present there are only five priests in the valley, only one of whom, retired, is native born. A friend from the adjacent valley of Boí who attended the Urgell seminary in the 1960's tells me that he had never heard anything special about the Aran clergy or their history.

Lesser clergy like coadjutants and those without parish duties, who have left little trace in parish records, are virtually invisible in ecclesiastical history, and Brunet's book is largely dedicated to them, revealing their intense and complex participation in community and spiritual life.

In 1715 the valley's 360 clerics (of whom about 140 were priests) represented about 7% of the population. This percentage (which was higher still in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) was high for the zone; at the end of the Old Regime the valley's priests comprised 29% of those of the diocese, though the valley comprised 5% at most of the diocesan population. As in much of the Pyrenees, the production of priests was an integral part of a strong house system, whereby only one son inherited the house and the land,

and the houses that could, invested in land-secured chaplaincies that maintained generation after generation of junior sons.

The clerics were organized on a village or village-group level in corporations called *taulas* or *mesaus* (<Latin *mensa*), a kind of cooperative that held land, loaned money, and conjured storms. Each had its meeting house, which also served as a kind of dinner club and storehouse for the priests, and the whole troop of them would go for dinner whenever there was a death or anniversary. Their chief income was from death Masses, which they administered collectively, as villages and valleys administered collectively their mountain pastures. A kind of feral clergy, they wore lay garb, and often had wives or women. They were educated by apprenticeship, often by clerical uncles in village schools funded by pious bequests. In early modern Aran, priests were generally the only literate people and served as notaries.

The gradual effect of concentrated effort by the Comminges bishops over the seventeenth century was to enforce the residence of rectors in diocesan parishes and insist on stays in the seminary for new ordinations, "a situation in which the parish priest was absent and native priests were stable [making] way to one in which rectors were stable and native priests actively circulated" (p. 206). The process was slow, however. A rudimentary seminary (run by Jesuits) did not open until 1712, and the first students from Aran arrived three years later.

The new system, which prioritized formal education in order to produce priests or notaries, meant that by the mid-eighteenth century families invested less in death Masses to endow family clergymen and more in schools and seminary. Many of the "perpetual" Masses lapsed or petered out as their endowments became devalued. Lay persons took over from priests as notaries and town secretaries. In 1731, in a crippling blow to the lesser clergy, all death Masses were reassigned from the *mesaus* to the curate. In 1750 a decree of Spain's Fernando VI reduced the interest on the land-secured loans that were the basis for the system (already reduced by bishops from $8^1/_3$% to 5% in the sixteenth century) from 5% to 3%. Brunet suggests that few new chaplaincies were founded, not because of a change in "religious mentality," but because they no longer served their purpose of endowing native clergy, many of whom were no longer in the valley. Nevertheless, some *mesaus* and their dinners persisted into the 1790's.

The Aran parishioners, on the occasion of episcopal visits, seem to have protected their clergy. But the diocese made every effort to eliminate priests who drank too much, wore lay clothes, bore arms, or lived with women. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Brunet maintains, French dioceses chose to have fewer, but higher-quality priests, while Spanish ones had begun their reforms earlier, and did so by upgrading the priests they had. The result was that in this period numbers of Spanish priests continued to accumulate, while there is a dip in the number of French secular clergy. In fact,

many of the poorer Aran priests started migrating in the winters to Spain, where they survived by begging. Philip V, when he rejected the appeal of the valley's notables against their bishop's reform, did so in part, he said, because of "the multiplicity of priests . . . who since they do not have enough to live on in the valley, become vagabonds and dishonor their condition by asking for alms" (p. 407).

The last 300 pages of the book contain a historical ethnography of the "home priests"—their evolution from the married priests of the high Middle Ages in the high valleys of the Pyrenees; their involvement as valley government leaders; their exclusion from patrimonies; their role as spiritual leaders of families as godparents; their tower or section of the stem household known as the "abbey"; their communal refectory and its use as a tithe storage deposit, storm lookout, and conjuring post; and their function as record keepers, advisors, and notaries.

As in the rest of the work, these chapters are peppered with surprises. The home priest served as godparent for the children of the inheritor, not of other non-inheriting siblings. Meals were a kind of money, and priests who were remiss were penalized by the *mesaus* by having to provide a certain number of meals. The physical presence of tithe goods from the community in the *mesaus* headquarters seemed to give spiritual force to the storm conjuring performed there. Households grouped land parcels with liens for Mass foundations, and the wheat (or hay fed to animals) from that land went to feed the priests for the funeral meals. Funeral banquets also provided a community audience for the reading of wills. Feeding the dead with offerings was in some places considered the feeding of fairies, in others a way to feed the poor.

Brunet lays out the economic organization of *mesaus* for death masses in terms of different kinds of loans secured by land; the *mesaus* as a kind of bank, with loans and entailed lands as currency; and how these loans were eventually switched over to the fabrics of the parish churches, which themselves became detached from community control. Finally, he examines wills, death rituals, burial, death banquets and offerings, and the spaces of the dead. The entire system served the stem houses. The houses made foundations from which the priests lived; the priests in turn prayed for the household and community dead, provided credit, helped the household to accumulate capital goods, and, as executors of wills, guided transitions from one generation to another.

Brunet is entitled to be forgiven for the rather strange first chapter, in which he attempts a kind of atemporal synthesis of Aranese cosmology that associates carnival figures with the dead, the dead with Moors and fairies, and the devil with the high peaks. Unlike the documentary rigor of the rest of the book, this chapter is a fanciful mix of present-day usage, nineteenth-century folklore, vocabulary, and place names, with evidence from elsewhere adduced when it fits. Brunet here directly cites no living persons to support his syn-

thesis.[1] While some of what he suggests is in keeping with highly cathected notions of some older rural Basques in regard to certain mountains,[2] it does not fit this reader's experience with acquaintances in the eastern Pyrenees or the Cantabrian mountains, who tend to be quite matter of fact about their environment. The author's identification of the dead with the Moors in particular required more evidence for this reader.

It is churlish to ask for even more information and comparisons, but once one enters in the dynamic of learning about everything, a kind of intellectual gluttony takes over. The Val d'Aran Brunet describes fits well Eric Wolf's notion of a "closed corporate community."[3] In the high Pyrenees this place-corporateness is broadened to the valley level and exacerbated and concentrated by topography. The subject begs for more comparison with the Spanish side. Brunet is keyed into Catalan scholarship, but over the border from Aran in Aragon is the greatest concentration in all of Spain of district shrines visited by villages from surrounding villages, which reflects intensely and cooperatively developed valley identities.[4] Some of the idiosyncrasies of Aran compared the rest of the diocese of Comminges, may be differences between Spain, or Aragon, and France, or Gascony. The Aranese carnival, for instance, shares

[1]His article "Le carneval en Pays de Luchon, 1880-1950" in *Folklore, revue d'ethnographie méridionale*, 36: 190-191 (1983), 57, however, includes ample oral sources. Brunet has two more historical works in press: *Relation de la Mission des Pyrénées (1635-1649). Jean Forcaud, jésuite, et la montagne*, text translated, annotated, and presented by Serge Brunet with the participation of Paul Fave (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S); and *"De l'Espagnol dedans le ventre!" Les catholiques du Sud-Ouest de la France face à la Réforme (vers 1540-1589)* (Paris: Honoré Champion) based on the archives of Simancas.

[2]See José Miguel de Barandiarán, *Mitología Vasca,* 5th ed. (San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1983), and Sandra Ott, "La Montagne and 'The Old Religious' in a French Basque Mountain Commune," *Montagnes sacrées d'Europe* (hereafter cited as MSE), pp. 357-360.

[3]Eric R. Wolf, "Closed Corporate Communities in Mesoamerica and Java," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* 13 (1957), 1-18; his "The Vicissitudes of the Closed Corporate Peasant Community," *American Ethnologist*, 13 (May, 1986), 325-329; and specifically for mountain border Europe, John W. Cole and Eric R. Wolf, *The Hidden Frontier: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[4]See José C. Lisón Arcal, *Cultural e identidad en la provincia de Huesca: Una perspectiva desde la antropología social* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1986), and Enrique Satué Oliván, *Religiosidad popular y romerías en el Pirineo* (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1991). See also, for other matters María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos: Brujería y superstición en Aragón en el siglo XVI* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico," Diputación de Zaragoza, 2000). Marc Salvan-Guillotin, in the MSE volume reviewed below, demonstrates the close artistic connections between the Aragonese and Gascon sides of the Pyrenees in the sixteenth century, "Le décor peint de l'église San-Juan-Bautista de San-Juan de Toledo de la Nata et ses équivalents pyrénéens," MSE, 161-191.

aspects of others in Spain.[5] He would surely also find use for works on death and funeral customs in Spain, and for Peter Sahlins' history of the Spanish-French border in Cerdanya.[6]

This said, this reader has no doubt Brunet's work will stimulate new lines of research for Spain, especially on clerical corporations and vocations. In Spain, clergy in many larger towns were organized in formal corporations known variously as *cabildos de clérigos* (for example, Almazán, Atienza, Ávila, Béjar, Guadalajara, Madrid, Molina de Aragón, Priego in Cuenca), *cofradías de clérigos*, or *universidades de clérigos*. One author refers to these corporations as "*cabildos menores*" to distinguish them from cathedral and collegiate chapters.[7] Some of these groups, at least, owned property (including a house where they met), had special privileges, and made loans. James Melvin of the University of Pennsylvania is researching these cabildos for his thesis. He kindly informs me that the statutes of those in Ávila "suggest that the groups functioned as both trade organizations that regulated clerical comportment, adjudicated disputes between clergy over tithes, wedding stipends, etc., and likewise provided material and spiritual assistance to members."[8] That of Priego stated in 1600 that it "was founded not so much for wealthy priests as for the mercenary and poor ones."[9] José Sánchez Herrero writes, referring to

[5]Julio Caro Baroja, *El carnaval (análisis histórico-cultural)* (Madrid: Taurus, 1965); Josefina Roma Riu, *Aragón y el carnaval* (Zaragoza: Guara, 1980); Juan Garmendia Larrañaga, *Carnaval en Navarra* (San Sebastian: Haranburu, 1984); Kepa Fernández de Larrinoa, *Mujer, ritual y fiesta: Género, antropología y teatro de carnaval en el valle de Soule* (Pamplona: Pamiela, 1997); and slightly farther afield, William A. Christian, *Trovas y comparsas del Alto Nansa* (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 1998).

[6]María Cátedra, *This World, Other Worlds: Sickness, Suicide, Death, and the Afterlife among the Vaqueiros de Alzada of Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), which makes ample use of oral testimony in its construction of a cosmology; William Douglass, *Death in Murelaga: Funerary Ritual in a Spanish Basque village* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969); *Ritos funerarios en Vasconía* [Atlas etnográfico de Vasconía, Vol. X] (Bilbao: Etniker Euskalerria, 1995) [846pp.]; Josetxu Martínez Montoya, *Pueblos, Ritos y montañas: Prácticas vecinales y religiosas en el tiempo y en el espacio de la comunidad rural (Valle de Arana-Alava-Euskal Herria): Ensayo antropológico* (Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer, 1996), pp. 109-118; Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

[7]María del Carmen Martín Martín, *Dos ejemplos de Cabildos menores en la tierra de Béjar : La Universidad de Clérigos de la Villa y el Cabildo de clérigos del Cuarto de Arriba* (Béjar: Centro de Estudios Bejaranos, 2002).

[8]Personal communication; documents in Tomás Sobrino Chomón, *Documentos de antiguos cabildos, cofradías y hermandades abulenses* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba y Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 1988).

[9]Sara T. Nalle, "Inquisitors, Priests, and the People During the Catholic Reformation in Spain," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XVIII (1987), 574. I am grateful to Dr. Nalle for this reference.

the dioceses of the kingdom of León in the late Middle Ages, that those brotherhoods of clergy "that included all kinds of clerics were mainly dedicated, whether by the intention of their founders or as the result of their evolution over time, to the celebration of Masses for the dead."[10] The Spanish cabildos came in a great variety of forms, some open, some closed. As far as this reader knows, the subject is not well studied.

Brunet's book has 550 pages of text (with many photographs, maps, graphs, and diagrams interspersed throughout), 172 pages of notes, 28 pages of appendices, a 9-page glossary (though some terms in the text are neither in the glossary nor standard dictionaries), a 17-page bibliography, and a 46-page index. This reader came away from this exuberance energized by how much remains to be learned, and how much fun it can be to learn it.

Brunet and other scholars alert to the dynamics of local variation organized a conference in Tarbes in May 2002 to explore how themes that arose in his study might play out in other areas, especially mountain areas of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Massif central. The papers have been published by the Sorbonne in two separate books.

Compared with the detail and bulk of Brunet's information, that of *Clergés, Communautés et Familles des Montagnes d'Europe*,[11] in thirty twelve-page chapters, comes in less detail and smaller portions. But many of the chapters are substantial and open fresh lines of inquiry. Most deal with areas of France, three with Spain, two each with Andorra and Switzerland, and one each with Portugal, the Italian Alps, and Transylvania. Five of the papers deal with late antique or medieval periods, the vast majority with the early modern period, and two with the twentieth century.The papers are arranged in five sections—Clerics and their Families; Clerics and Community Identities; Services to or Control of Communities?; Mountains as Refuges, Mountains to be Christianized; and The Era of Religious Competition. But the great variety of places and periods within each section means that reading the volume sequentially was like a steeplechase.

Building on Timothy Tackett's work on recruitment of priests,[12] the authors examine family inheritance structures to explain the disproportionate origin of priests in some mountain zones, including systems that reserve positions for family members or pass them on from one to another. They suggest that the imbrication of clergy in local society before Trent, due to the patronage of parish posts and local rights to tithes, local clerical sources of credit, and

[10]José Sánchez Herrero, *Las diócesis del Reino de León, siglos XIV y XV* (León: Centro de Estudios e investigaciones "San Isidro," 1978), p. 389.

[11]Hereafter cited as CCF.

[12]Timothy Tackett, *Priests and Parish in Eighteenth-Century France. A Social and Political Study of the Curés in a Diocese of Dauphiné, 1750-1791* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

priests as notaries, continues after the Catholic Reformation in new and ingenious ways. In his introduction, Brunet suggests that diocesan correctives tend to reach the mountains later and mountain communities can be particularly resistant to them.

For this reader many essays were illuminating. One learns how families in Andorra from the tenth to the fourteenth century by founding chapels spun off clerical posts for younger sons and reinforced the position of the single inheritor;[13] a similar system, perhaps without the physical chapels, seemed to hold in the Gévaudan (now Lozère, roughly), where at the end of the fourteenth century almost one out of five persons who made wills endowed clerical posts for family members and one out of ten benefices studied for the fifteenth century were handed down from one relative to another by the system of *resignatio in favorem*.[14]

In Val d'Aran the community and the parish were so intertwined that the priest notary kept the parish accounts and the village accounts in the same book, one starting from the front, one from the back. *Consuetes* of communities in Andorra show a similarly interlocked administration of parish and community property.[15] The early modern period witnessed a concerted attempt on the part of dioceses to reduce community control over parishes through inspections of parish accounts, prohibition of government meetings in churches, etc.[16] For Corsica Michel Casta addresses the effort, fairly general throughout contemporary Catholic Europe, of bishops to avoid placing parish priests in their home villages.[17] Breaking that centuries-old link has not been easy, as it addresses the heart of the issues that Brunet is raising, the maintenance of local usage and custom. It appears to have been harder to do in mountain zones, because fewer outside clergy were eager to go there, and closed mountain communities were less willing to have them. While some mountain regions export priests, few are able to attract them.

[13]Roland Viader, "Le clergé dans la société andorrane (x^e^-xiv^e^ siècle)" CCF, pp. 23-34, based on documents transcribed by Cebrià Baraut.

[14]Philippe Maurice, "Famille et clergé en Gévaudan à la fin du Moyen Âge," CCF, pp. 35-45. The Gévaudan continued as a reservoir of priests; the diocese of Mende sent a disproportionate number of students to the French seminary founded in Rome in 1853, leading to a privileged connection and a reputation for the mountain zone as a bulwark of faith against modernism. Patrick Cabanel, "Une foi de granit: les montagnes romaines du xix^e^ siècle," CCF, pp. 331-342. The author's *Cadets de Dieu; Familles, vocations et migrations religieuses en Gévaudan (xviii^e^-xx^e^ siècle)* (Paris: CNRS, 1997), is frequently cited in the book.

[15]Martina Camiade, "Relations entre la paroisse et la communauté d'habitants en Andorre, aux xvii^e^ et xviii^e^ siècles, d'après *les consuetes*," CCF, pp. 125-136.

[16]Joaquim M. Puigvert i Solà, "L'histoire sociale de la paroisse de montagne en Catalogne (xvii^e^-xix^e^ siècle)," CCF, pp. 201-208.

[17]Michel Casta, "Les carrières sacerdotales dans les paroisses de la montagne corse à la fin du xix^e^ siècle," CCF, pp. 149-161.

Mountain communities could make good use of clerical outsiders, as with Jesuit missionaries in the Pyrenees. In the sixteenth-century episcopal territory of Trent, where communities had far less autonomy, the key usefulness to communities of the parish priest, often an outsider, was in servicing the dead and dying and pacifying disputes through the sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist; but his status was ambiguous, and village complaints during visitations show him in an uneasy position between leader and employee of his parishioners.[18]

Only one contribution, alas, had to do with communities of priests. Stéphane Gomis asserts that communitarian native-son priests (*"filleuls et communalistes"*) were organized right across France from the Jura to the Pyrenees, and they sang canonical hours in churches, performed anniversary Masses, elected officials, and distributed revenues. They held common property, but did not usually live together. Those in the diocese of Clermont, at least, also ran schools and hospitals.[19]

New doctrines, at least initially, must break the link between locality and religion. Cathars, Waldensians, and Calvinists arrived from cities and then over time became localized; in this process mountains came to serve as hideouts or redoubts for their perpetuation among the non-elite, sometimes long after elites had reverted to Catholicism. As with the Val d'Aran, religious exceptionalism seems to thrive in mountains that are also borders—whether between nations, dioceses, or both.[20] But Catharism held out the longest in the Pyrenees, one contributor suggests, merely because it was the last place that the inquisitor bishops got to.[21] For new doctrines this process of localization is a reverse, in a way, of the delocalizing effort Brunet describes. In parts of Protestant Switzerland it was urban ministers assigned from Zurich who in the sixteenth century applied outside doctrines and norms; by the eighteenth century, with more local candidates available, the ministers were locally born, tied in to family networks, and sympathetic to local customs.[22]

Two of the most interesting contributions regard regions in which, unlike the Val d'Aran, Protestants and Catholics lived side by side. Robert Sauzet describes the great variety in religious coexistence in the Cévennes: some

[18]Cecilia Nubiola, "Suppliques et requêtes religieuses du clergé, des fidèles et des communautés rurales au prince-évêque de Trente (XVI[e] siècle)," CCF, pp. 101-109; Claude-Marie Robion, "'Indes pyrénéenes'. Les communautés montagnardes vues par les missionnaires jésuites au XVII[e] siècle," CCF, pp. 293-304.

[19]Stéphane Gomis, "Enseignement et assistance. L'action de prêtres communalistes dans le diocèse de Clermont sous l'Ancien Régime," CCF, pp. 177-187.

[20]Gabriel Audisio, "La montagne: un refuge pour les vaudois?" CCF, pp. 23-242; Joël Fouilleron, "La montagne cantalienne et les morsures des déviances religieuses (XVI[e]-XX[e] siècle)," CCF, pp. 261-280.

[21]Pilar Jiménez, "Y a-t-il eu un catharisme des montagnes?" CCF, pp. 223-235.

[22]Anne-Lise Head-König, "État protestant, clergé de montagne et encadrement des paroissiens dans la Suisse du XVIII[e] siècle," CCF, pp. 189-199.

towns with harmonious interaction, mixed marriages and shared shrines; and some identical pairs of villages choosing opposing confessions seemingly out of prior rivalry. Overall there was a process of "confessionalization" whereby (not unlike in American small towns) a family's primary identity became its religion.[23] Valérie Sottocasa shows that at the beginning of the French Revolution, Catholics initially favorable in some of these mixed zones were led to "read" the Revolution as "Protestant," thereby turning violently against it and its local supporters, including constitutional priests.[24]

Finally, an analysis of religious practice in the diocese of Gap based on the kind of detailed information not available for earlier periods anywhere in France sounds a note of caution in regard to blanket statements about enduring zones of devotion, in mountains or otherwise, showing that the rate of religious practice and clerical recruitment fluctuated dramatically over the nineteenth century from canton to canton.[25]

Brunet and others remark on the fragility of migratory flows, especially of priests. Room in the geographical analysis of clerical vocations must also be made for migratory specialization by town. Some towns and villages, in all essential respects identical to their neighbors, develop the specialty of providing priests and religious, often handed down through family lines, just as other towns produce itinerant stone masons, hotel operators in Mexico, or waiters in Manhattan. And similarly, within regions that habitually produce clergy towns often develop specialization in particular orders that is passed from generation to generation. Such clusters may begin, as in a Spanish instance this reader was told of, with the visit of a charismatic missionary who convinces a group of youth to join his order, much the same way as whole cohorts of village youths chose to emigrate to Germany in the 1970's or become shepherds in the American West.

The question of mountains and vocations becomes: Which mountain cultures produce a disproportionate amount of priestly vocations, and why? The obvious reason is the system of impartible inheritance in many of those zones. But, as Isidro Dubert points out for the mountains of Lugo,[26] there are zones of impartible inheritance that historically have not produced a disproportion of vocations, and other explanations must come into play. For some of the

[23]Robert Sauzet, "Les catholiques cévenols, des minoritaires mal connus," CCF, pp. 307-318. In her lucid conclusion Nicole Lemaître points out, "For reasons still to be explained, religious parameters are incomparably more powerful and long-lasting in the mountains than in towns or the ordinary countryside," CCF, p. 402.

[24]Valérie Sottocasa, "Révolution et religion dans le sud du Massif central: sensibilités populaires en terre de frontière religieuse," CCF, pp. 319-330.

[25]Nadine Vivier, "La pratique religieuse dans le diocèse de Gap au XIX^{e} siècle," CCF, pp. 355-367.

[26]"Montagnes, clercs et vocations religieuses dans la Galice intérieure, 1685-1859," CCF, pp. 75-86.

poorer mountain regions, the production and exportation of priests seems simply one more kind of skilled labor export for a zone that needs children but not adults. And local studies in Spain have shown that in the last one hundred years recruitment of priests has a lot to do with family traditions, the political climate, and the effect of particular curates.[27]

Together with Brunet's opus, *Clergés, Communautés et Familles* suggests the feasibility for broad studies to identify the historical geography and ethnography of vocations in other countries, identifying regions that specialize in the production of priests and religious (such as, in Spain, portions of the northern and southern slopes and piedmont of the Cantabrian mountains), and relating this to kinship and inheritance structures, settlement patterns, and means of production.

The other volume of papers from the Tarbes conference, *Montagnes sacrées d'Europe*, is quite different, and rather more of a grabbag. The underlying themes are to what extent and in what ways mountains have been regarded as sacred (Eliade-type notions that mountains can be intrinsically sacred are quickly dispensed with[28]) and to what extent mountain people are especially devout or devout in special ways. On the whole, the essays deal more with representations than with social realities. The book has twenty-seven chapters (twenty on France), an introduction by Christian Desplat, a conclusion by Dominique Julia, and indices of persons, places, and themes.

A cultural reading of the landscape has occurred in most if not all civilizations, and the book opens with essays on the imagined mountain in ancient Greece and the template of special hills and mountains in the Bible.[29] A general pattern, identified by Brunet in his monograph and laid out here by Alain Cabantous,[30] is a switch on the part of non-mountain urbanites from considering mountains to be a fearsome zone of danger and wilderness inhabited by the uncouth and the backward, to, in the late eighteenth century, considering it to be the last reserve of the noble and God-fearing shepherds and country folk. A number of essays debunk these stereotypes, demonstrating that mountain people were neither especially backwards nor especially pious.[31] The attempt

[27]See, for instance, Antón M. Pazos, *El Clero Navarro 1900-1936* (Pamplona: EUNSA, 1990).

[28]Jean-Pierre Albert, "Les montagnes sont-elles bonnes à penser en termes religieux?" MSE, pp. 65-71.

[29]François Quintin, "À propos de l'imaginaire montagnard en Grèce ancienne," MSE, pp. 23-34.

[30]"La turbulence des sacralités montagnardes dans l'Europe moderne," MSE, pp. 47-55.

[31]Marie-Hélène Colin, "Des saints vosgiens de la montagne? Amé, Romaric et Claire," MSE, pp. 109-119; and, similarly, Philippe Martin, "Les Vosges: terre de superstitions ou terre de missions?" MSE, pp. 289-299; Philippe de Robert, "Montagnes inspirées: Histoire religieuse et romantisme chez Napoléon Peyrat," MSE, pp. 57-64; Gérald Chaix, "La montagne et les chartreux. Imaginaire et réalité d'un refuge (1816-1903)," MSE, pp. 317-323; Jean-François Galinier-Pallerola, "Le Canigou: précipices affreux ou montagne sacrée? Ruine et reconstruction de l'abbaye Saint-Martin," MSE, pp. 325-337.

to deduce from archaeological remains a particular pagan piety in mountain zones or toward peaks is considered a recent example of the topos.[32] Alpinism subsequently gave a new familiarity to key mountains,[33] and in the twentieth century skiing brought them yet a different kind of desacralization.[34]

Many essays in MSE seem to have tacked onto them the consensus of the conference that little aside from the outside ascriptions distinguishes the religion in the mountains from that of the plains. But there is no systematic, serial examination of the theme. The travelers' accounts, of course, tell more about the travelers than what they see.[35] One has the feeling that if the sense of the meeting had gone the other way, a number of the essays would have read the (largely anecdotal or literary) data to come up with another conclusion. And, indeed, Dominique Julia in his conclusion plausibly disagrees with many of the authors, pointing out aspects of mountain life that make it different and can have a discernible impact on its religiosity: transhumant pastoralism, which sets up connections with sometimes distant areas; danger in landscape, snow, and storms, which leads to the establishment of particular kinds of shrines and devotion to particular saints (like Mary,[36] Saint Michael for heights, and Saint Maurice and the Theban legionnaires in the Alps[37]). Mountains are often borders, and borders are often strategic locations for shrines that attract multiple communities. Mary has historically had this kind of agglutinative devotional attraction, and many border shrines are dedicated to her, as papers on Laus,[38] Montserrat,[39] and Catalan shrines to Mary[40] point out. Mountains lend themselves to penitential practice, especially for non-mountain people, and the topos of the mountain

[32]Robert Sablayrolles, "Être pieux en montagne durant l'Antiquité. L'apport de l'épigraphie dans les Pyrénées centrales," MSE, pp. 75-95; Jean-Luc Schenck-David, "Être pieux en montagne. L'apport de l'archéologie des sanctuaires d'altitude dans les Pyrénées centrales romaines," MSE, pp. 97-101.

[33]Three contributors cite Philippe Joutard, *L'invention de Mont Blanc* (Paris: Gallimard-Juillard, 1986).

[34]Christian Sorrel, "Une nouvelle montagne sacrée? Catholicisme, tourisme et sports d'hiver en Savoie au XX^e^ siècle," MSE, pp. 367-379.

[35]Frédéric Meyer, "Le regard des voyageurs étrangers sur la religion des Savoyards du XVI^e^ siècle au début du XIX^e^ siècle," MSE, pp. 301-313.

[36]Christian Desplat, "Des eaux, des rocs, un culte: Marie dans les Pyrénées occidentales françaises à l'époque moderne," MSE, pp. 121-135. See also Ottavia Niccoli, "Madonne di montagna: Note su apparizioni e santuari nelle valli alpine" in Ottavio Besomi and Carlo Caruso, *Cultura d'élite e cultura popolare nell'arco alpino fra Cinque e Seicento* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1995), pp. 95-121.

[37]Cyril Isnart, "Saint alpin, saint local, saint légionnaire. Usages et variations du modèle de sainteté légionnaire dans les Alpes du Sud," MSE, pp. 151-160.

[38]Marie Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, "Notre-Dame de Laus au diocèse d'Embrun. Cristallisation d'une religion des montagnes au XVII^e^ siècle?" MSE, pp. 137-149.

[39]Ignasi Fernández Terricabras, "Montserrat, montagne sacrée. Spiritualisation du territoire montagnard dans un massif catalan (XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècles)," MSE, pp. 193-206.

[40]Marlène Albert Llorca, "La Vierge et les montagnes: l'exemple catalan," MSE, pp. 207-213.

retreat for hermits is explored in a number of essays, including signally Christine Delaplace on the imitation in the West in the fifth and sixth centuries of the desert saints in the East.[41] The connection of mountains and hermits is shown to be more myth than reality, as hermits have generally preferred to be close to communities and highways.[42] (Also rejected is the Trevor-Roper idea that witchcraft is a particularly mountain phenomenon.[43])

Two key questions in the book are whether mountains were intrinsically sacred, and whether mountains (all mountains) were held to be sacred. A different question would be whether particular mountains were held to be more sacred than others around them.

This reader could have used more maps, and in the case of both collections, a glossary.

In all three books under consideration, there is remarkably little direct inquiry of living people about their ideas or conceptions, or at least few direct quotes.[44] It is as if a seventeenth-century traveler's written account were considered direct evidence for ideas about mountains, but not a twentieth-century inhabitant. Cabantous suggests that a switch has taken place, and that outsiders now have a desacralized, matter-of-fact idea of the mountains, while some mountain people have internalized the romantic and folkloric notions of an earlier generation of outsiders. Just how people do feel about their landscape, almost nobody in these books has bothered to ask. Of all the present-day clues available for a regressive history, it would seem that present-day people were the least used, or, if used, the least acknowledged.

But all in all, these three works, which belong together, are a valiant, sustained inquiry into rural religion and its clergy in the mountains of France and its neighbors, for which readers will be deeply grateful.

"Sacred Space"

In April, 2003, a month before the Tarbes conference, a somewhat similar conference was held at the University of Exeter. Fifteen of the papers presented there have been published in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* [hereafter DH], edited by Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer. The contributors include social historians, art and architectural historians, and an archaeologist. A similar collection, also published in

[41]"Aux origines du 'désert' en Occident. Érémitisme et premières fondations monastiques en Gaule et en Italie aux v^{e}-vi^{e} siècles après Jésus-Christ," MSE, pp. 217-226.

[42]Catherine Sanstchi, "Essai de géographie érémitique dans les Alpes," MSE, pp. 235-251, where, however, there appears to be a running confusion between hermits and shrine keepers, as in an essay by Philippe Masson.

[43]Oscar Di Simplicio, "La sorcellerie dans l'ancien état siennois," MSE, pp. 265-273.

[44]An exception is Ott, "La Montagne," MSE, pp. 357-366.

2005, *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* [hereafter SS], edited by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, is more focused on the context of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations; the contributors are all social historians. Many essays in both volumes are fresh and stimulating, and those interested in the subject will want to look at both. Nine of the thirty papers in the two books deal with the United Kingdom, four with France, four with Germany, two each with Flanders, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain and one each papers with Netherlands, Bohemia, Transylvania, and Moldavia. The two works share an editor, and it makes sense to talk about them together.

When one compares these two British collections with the two French ones reviewed above, aside from evident differences in the content addressed there are basic differences in the approach. The French-based collections, with the Val d'Aran study in mind, have a rural emphasis and address the dynamics of the local *terroir*: what happened here, and why it differed elsewhere; what are the demographic, kinship, geographic factors that govern variation. The Britain-based collections, which build on the work of Eamon Duffy, Robert Scribner, and Natalie Zemon Davis, are more centered on cities and more interested in laws that govern the generation and organization of sacred topography in general, the confessional doctrines and devotional trends that establish religiously-valenced precincts irrespective of locality or local culture.

The two British-based collections examine the spatial dynamics of the sacred in various arenas: the home, the church, the streets and squares of cities and villages. A good half of them examine how religious aspects of these arenas are disputed or redefined over the early modern period.

Home devotions are so important in people's lives and so little studied. Five papers examine them (all in DH). Diana Webb's lucid overview provides examples from throughout medieval Western Europe; it is particularly insightful, this reader thought, on the subject of formulaic prayer.[45] Late fifteenth-century Dutch paintings of the Annunciation apparently reflect interiors of the better-off non-noble houses of the time, the household devotions practiced, and the kinds of books and devotional paintings used; the author suggests that devotional areas were temporarily created in rooms generally used for non-religious purposes.[46] Lisa A. Banner describes the special apartments in monasteries for the married knights of the Order of Santiago in Spain.[47] And two essays lay out examples of the private religious geography of sixteenth-century England: the private gentry chapels and clandestine Mass sites of Catholics (with wonderful casuistic material on what could and could not be done); and three chapels

[45]Diana Webb, "Domestic Space and Devotion in the Middle Ages," DH, pp. 27-48.

[46]Jeanne Nuechterlein, "The Domesticity of Sacred Space in Fifteenth-Century Netherlands," DH, pp. 49-79.

[47]Lisa A. Banner, "Private Rooms in the Monastic Architecture of Habsburg Spain," DH, pp. 81-93.

of the powerful Cecil family that reflected the evolution of official attitudes toward churches over an eventful sixty-year period.[48]

Many essays deal with church interiors. A number of them emphasize the role of liturgy and ritual in creating a sense of holiness and marking its location or concentration. A reading of the *consueto* of two thirteenth-century Flemish churches, Saint Omer and Lille, show how rituals restore and maintain sacred precincts,[49] and internal manuscripts of the Cistercian convent of Wienhausen from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century show how the nuns created "a spiritual journey that involved the imaginative recreation of the *via crucis* and the *loca sancta* of Jerusalem within the convent."[50] Contributors point to the role of candles, incense, music, and liturgical bells in emphasizing key places and moments, and filling and thereby distinguishing from the exterior by their light, odor, and sound the devotional area.

Other essays describe transformations of church interiors. The remodeling of churches in Brittany made the consecration more visible,[51] and that of the "Jerusalem" type Burchtkerk in Antwerp related Catholicism to ancient traditions.[52] The partial transformation of the church interiors under Lutherans in Nuremburg, from *domus dei* to *domus ecclesiae*, left images but removed attention from them, allowing a kind of ambiguous transition period in which image-based devotion dwindled by attrition.[53] Fine essays describe more radical transformations by Calvinists in Geneva[54] and Transylvania,[55] and by Friends with their Gracechurch Street Meeting House in London,[56] revealing a new aesthetic of light and white, and a new notion of attention.

> The true ornamentation of the temples lies not in ivory, gold, and precious stones, but in the frugality, temperance, piety and all the virtues of those who are in the church.[57]

[48]Richard L. Williams, "Forbidden Sacred Spaces in Reformation England," DH, pp. 95-114.

[49]Annabel Ricketts with Claire Gapper and Caroline Knight, "Designing for Protestant Worship: the Private Chapels of the Cecil Family," DH, pp. 115-136.

[50]June L. Mecham, "A Northern Jerusalem: Transforming the Spatial Geography of the Convent of Wienhausen," DH, pp. 139-160.

[51]Elizabeth Tingle, "The Sacred Space of Julien Maunoir: the re-Christianising of the Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Brittany," SS, pp. 237-258.

[52]Cynthia Lawrence, "Ruben's *Raising of the Cross* in Context: The 'Early Christian' Past and the Evocation of the Sacred in Post-Tridentine Antwerp," DH, pp. 251-275.

[53]Bridget Heal, "Sacred Image and Sacred Space in Lutheran Germany," SS, pp. 39-59.

[54]Christian Gosse, "Places of Sanctification: The Liturgical Sacrality of Genevan Reformed Churches, 1535-1566," SS, pp. 60-80. One of this reader's favorite essays.

[55]Graeme Murdock, "'Pure and White': Reformed Space for Worship in Early Seventeenth-Century Hungary," DH, pp. 231-250. In CCF see also Péter Sahin-Tóth, "Les 'gardiens des cols' face à la Réforme. Éclatement confessionel et restructuration de la société sicule en Transylvanie (fin XVI^{e}-début XVII^{e} siècle)," CCF, pp. 111-124.

[56]Simon Dixon, "The Priest, the Quakers and the Second Conventicle Act: The Battle for the Gracechurch Meeting House, 1670," DH, pp. 301-318.

[57]Second Helvetic Confession, cited in Gosse, "Liturgical Sacrality," SS, pp. 74.

The latter cases provide the starkest alternatives to Catholicism. We hear, and hear of, the astonishment of the unconverted.

> They enter into their churches with no greater reverence than they enter into taverns; they bow or make reverence to nothing therein, for that they have made all sacred things away. . . .[58]
>
> They have leaft their churches as fit to mooue people to pietie and deuotion, as theyr barnes are, when all the corne and hay is out of them, and nothing left to be seene besides the roofes, walles and silles.[59]
>
> When [the Papists] enter our temples, they are so astonished that they are completely taken aback or feel they have entered a new world. What? (they say) a Church without any pictures.[60]

It is through juxtapositions like these that these two collections acquire a special force, as the reader confronts what striking divergences emerged from the (common?) medieval matrix.

Several essays explore the evolution of the religious use of church interiors within confessions: the exclusion of lay functions from churches, whether courts, town meetings, dances, or ales; the maintenance of gender, social, or civic hierarchy in seating and burial patterns;[61] the return of consecration ceremonies in the churches of England and Scotland,[62] and, in an engaging piece of reconstruction, the role of congregations in shaping services by singing psalms, groaning devotionally, and bringing dogs.[63]

Public areas of localities—streets and plazas—are treated in about a third of the essays. A fascinating essay on taverns as secular counterpoints of churches, in synch with the thought of Robert Scribner, nuances notions of a clear line between the sacred and the profane, showing mixes of taverns and breweries with churches and monasteries.[64] That on Lille and Saint Omer suggests that Palm Sunday, Rogations, and relic processions temporarily make civic areas sacred, con-

[58]Thomas Hill, *A quatron of reasons of Catholicke religion* ([English secret press] 1600) cited in Williams, "Forbidden Secret Spaces," DH, p. 113.

[59]*Ibid.*

[60]Calvin, *Opera*, XLIX, col. 613, cited in Gosse, "Liturgical Sacrality," SS, p. 73.

[61]Will Coster, "A Microcosm of Community: Burial, Space and Society in Chester, 1598 to 1633," SS, pp. 124-143.

[62]Andrew Spicer, "'God Will Have a House': Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England," DH, pp. 207-230; and Andrew Spicer, "'What kinde of house a kirk is': Conventicles, Consecrations and the Concept of Sacred Space in post-Reformation Scotland," SS, pp. 81-103.

[63]John Craig, "Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: The Soundscape of Worship in the English Parish Church, 1547-1642," SS, pp. 104-123.

[64]Beat Kümin, "Sacred Church and Worldly Tavern: Reassessing an Early Modern Divide," SS, pp. 17-38; Kümin is the author of *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400-1560* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996); Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, "The Delineation of Sacred Space," DH, p. 22.

verting a town into Jerusalem.[65] Surely also they are ways of marking territory in the face of other local communities, such as Jews and international enemies. This function becomes much more accentuated in the Counter-Reformation, not only where there are substantial dissenting populations, but also in the Catholic heartland of Italy and Spain. The essay on Rome shows its Post-Reformation refashioning to emphasize its ancient sacred past,[66] and those on Lyons,[67] Prague,[68] and Antwerp[69] detail a post-Reformation "refounding," in dialogue with Rome's retooling, to reassert their Catholicism, revitalize late medieval shrines, enhance their similarity with Jerusalem, and stake their claim for authenticity and antiquity in the face of dissenters and iconoclasts. In these strategic programs the "other" is kept in mind and visible, whether heretic, Jew, or Turk.

Essays on Augsburg and the enclaves in France of Orange and Avignon describe conflict and negotiation over the use of public zones. In Orange the conflict was between local Protestants, Dutch rulers who enforced a kind of tolerance, local Catholics, and the French monarchy, with intervals of equilibrium and sharp shifts due to international politics;[70] in Avignon it was between the papal legate, the town council, and the French monarchy, and it played out in festivals, shrines, and rituals.[71] In Augsburg the system of civic parity between Catholics and Protestants required constant, vigilant management.[72] All of these studies point to the emergence of neutral places, uncapped by monuments to martyrs or other confessional markers, forerunners to what we would now call civil society. Along with the contributions of Sauzet and

[65]Stijn Bossuyt, "The Liturgical Use of Space in Thirteenth-Century Flanders," DH, pp. 187-206.

[66]Simon Ditchfield, "Reading Rome as a Sacred Landscape, c. 1586-1635," SS, pp. 167-192; see also his *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy; Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For another, state-religious landscape proposal, Thomas Dandelet, *Spanish Rome 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[67]Judi Loach, "The Consecration of the Sacred Realm," DH, pp. 277-300.

[68]Howard Louthan, "Breaking Images and Building Bridges: The Making of Sacred Space in Early Modern Bohemia," SS, pp. 282-301.

[69]Lawrence, *op. cit.*

[70]Amanda Eurich, "Sacralising Space: Reclaiming Civic Culture in Early Modern France," SS, pp. 259-281.

[71]Eric Johnson, "La Ville Sonnant: The Politics of Sacred Space in Avignon on the Eve of the French Revolution," DH, pp. 319-335.

[72]Duane J. Corpis, "Mapping the Boundaries of Confession: Space and Urban Religious Life in the Diocese of Augsburg, 1648-1750," SS, pp. 302-325. On Augsburg see also Lee Palmer Wandel, "Religion, Raum und Ort" in Johannes Burkhardt, Thomas Max Safley, and Sabine Ullmann (eds.), *Geschichte in Räumen: Festschrift für Rol Kießling zum 65. Geburtstag* (Konstanz: UVK, 2006), pp. 279-292. Wandel cites Emily Fisher Gray, *Good Neighbors: Architecture and Confession in Augsburg's Lutheran Church of Holy Cross, 1525-1661*, Diss. University of Pennsylvania 2004, which I have not seen. I am grateful for Dr. Wandel's assistance.

Sottocasa in the CCF volume, these essays speak to the instability of confessional coexistence, of which we learn again and again in the news.[73]

Only two essays consider non-urban landscape: a survey of the seventeenth-century missionization of Brittany (by Jesuits, as in the Pyrenees) that shows a cultivation of local saints and capping of supposed pre-Christian sacred stones and wells, in a "conscious attempt to reconstruct the mental and physical world of the early Breton saints and Church";[74] and a study of the seventeenth-century enclosed "deserts" of Carmelite solitaries in Spain, simulacra "not only of Carmel, but of Eden," and also pagan wildernesses to be sacralized by penance.[75]

Cynthia Lawrence's bravura "contextual investigation" of a Rubens painting for Antwerp includes a consideration of the church's prospect from the wharves and wraps together cityscape, the internal sacred geography of the church, and the composition of a work of art.[76] Yet, as with virtually all the other essays (whether based on evidence from devotional treatises, custom books, works of art, material culture, or chronicles), this reader hungered for an additional kind of information: how these sacred places were experienced by people who went to them. Surely letters and diaries, art, canonization, and miracle testimony could be scrutinized for this kind of information. We are told of prescriptive "programs" but not emotional outcomes. The root question, of course, is how did the great transformation that the more radical Reformations presuppose take place in individuals?

The general pattern of reproduction of Jerusalem and the Holy Land within the church, churchyard, city, or village, often in some measured way, whether full-scale or reduced, was fed by pilgrimage to the Holy Land and in turn fed pilgrimage, not only to Jerusalem but also to Holy Land relics (the True Cross, shroud, tunic, and other clothes, Veronicas, the milk of Mary), European shrines of biblical saints, European replicas (Holy Sepulchres, Sacromonti), and relic-replicas (Loreto, on the jacket of SS).[77] This tendency was emphasized in the

[73]David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violences: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); for an influential statement of this instability, Robert Hayden, "Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans," *Current Anthropology,* 43 (2002), 205-232.

[74]Alexandra Walsham, "Holywell: Contesting Sacred Space in post-Reformation Wales," SS, pp. 211-236, quote 241. She is the author of *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 1993).

[75]Trevor Johnson, "Gardening for God: Carmelite Deserts and the Sacralisation of Natural Space in Counter-Reformation Spain," SS, pp. 193-210.

[76]Lawrence, *op. cit.*

[77]The archaeologist Martin Biddle has made a wide-ranging survey of replicas of the Holy Sepulchre in Europe. See now also Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006) (I am grateful to Felipe Pereda for this reference).

Counter-Reformation in an attempt to demonstrate religious authenticity and pedigree, but it built on late medieval spiritual exercises like those at Wienhausen in which, as in the later ones of Ignatius Loyola and those described for pilgrims to Rome, believers imagined themselves in other places and times.

While the creative and restorative power of ritual for sacralizing site is amply addressed, only two essays treat the radiating power of images, well-known relics, holy bodies, or even living saints in the creation of sacred spaces around them.[78] One deals with the Holywell shrine of St. Winefride in Wales, a rare exception in that it survived the Reformation and continued to serve as a healing site, as well as a clandestine base for Catholics;[79] another with a twelfth-century Cistercian pilgrimage site to the True Cross, Bromholm in Norfolk, for which the mapping of metal objects with metal detectors reveals much about how the precinct was used.[80]

Finally, this reader shares Simon Ditchfield's scruple about the term "space" for the early modern period, when the word used would have been "luogo," "lugar," "lieu," never "space," "spazio," or "spatium." Ditchfield worries about the "fundamentally anachronistic notion of considering space as in any way an abstract quality." In this reader the uneasiness is compounded by the feeling that "space" as used in some essays has an Eliade-like connotation of immanence.[81]

Perhaps the obliteration of devotion to images, relics, and saints from the British landscape has removed them and the landscape itself somewhat from the history of British Catholicism. Or was the landscape already less sacralized in areas that turned Protestant? Certainly, part of today's striking contrast between Northern and Southern Europe is due to the fact that the sacralization of the landscape in areas that remained Catholic has been an ongoing, cumulative process that continued well beyond the Reformation, with ever more mountains, valleys, and other natural locations, as well as city squares, being capped, imaged, and crossed.

[78]Two other collections of essays treat these themes: Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia (eds.), *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990); and, like DH with a stimulating mix of historians with art historians, María Cruz de Carlos, Pierre Civil, Felipe Pereda, and Cécile Vincent-Cassy (eds.), *Usos y espacios de la imagen religiosa en la Monarquía Hispánica del siglo XVII/Usages et espaces de l'image religieuse dans la monarchie hispanique du XVII*[e] *siècle* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, in press).

[79]Alexandra Walsham, *op. cit.*

[80]Tim Pestell, "Using Material Culture to Define Holy Space: The Bromholm Project," DH, pp. 161-186.

[81]Ditchfield, *op. cit.* SS, p. 191.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

The Catholic Church through the Ages. A History. By John Vidmar, O.P. (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 360. $18.95 paperback.)

At the outset the author notes the obvious difficulty of achieving balance in doing a one-volume history of the Church. He says one either adopts a breezy approach loosely combining broad topics or includes so much detail that the reader gives up. However, he aims to produce an outline of the history of the Church that combines substance with readability.

As to readability, I would say he has certainly succeeded though it does get a little breezy at times. He displays a fine talent for clearly and succinctly summing up a period, and he excels in his characterizations of leading figures. His depiction of Pope Paul III is a good example (p. 233). Moreover, he includes many well chosen illustrations.

In attempting to achieve substance he divides the main periods of church history into six ages following a schema of Christopher Dawson. It provides a good framework in keeping the myriad facts in some kind of order. Within each age he treats the material topically rather than following a strict chronological order, though this can at times be confusing as when he treats Modernism before Vatican Council I.

The book, of course, includes many broad all-encompassing statements. But one expects as much in a book that covers 2000 years in 360 pages though I would quarrel with more than a few of them. But they do provoke thought. For instance, in view of the many literary antecedents of the Enlightenment it is interesting to read, "Two great books heralded the Enlightenment," viz., *Newton's Principia Mathematica* (1687) and John Locke's *Essays on Human Understanding* (1690).

Let me single out a few of his judgments to which one might take exception. His treatment of Augustine, for instance, I find guilty of special pleading as he glosses over the negative features of his legacy.Then there is the way he presents Modernism as an offshoot of Liberal Catholicism, and in his treatment of the development of doctrine he mentions Mohler, Sailer, and Schlegel but curiously fails to mention Newman's great *Essay on the Development of Doctrine*.

One of the merits of his short history is the way he zeroes in on matters that are currently relevant, giving informative accounts of the issues involved.

A reader will find his treatment of the rise of Islam especially useful today. I also found helpful the eighteen pages he devotes to the relations of the Catholic Church with the Nazis, showing the considerable resistance put up by the Catholics though they were hogtied by the destruction of the Catholic press. As he says, the few diocesan papers that managed to stay alive after 1938 paid dearly for their existence by complying with the Nazis.

For those who want a rapid walk down the mine-strewn road of Catholic history, Father Vidmar will prove a useful, if sometimes controversial, guide.

Cincinnati, Ohio THOMAS BOKENKOTTER

Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale. By Anna Benvenuti, Sofia Boesch Gajano, Simon Ditchfield, Roberto Rusconi, Francesco Scorza Barcellona, and Gabriella Zarri. [Sacro/Santo, 9.] (Rome: Viella. 2005. Pp. 427. €28.00 paperback.)

Il tempo dei santi tra Oriente e Occidente: Liturgia e agiografia dal tardo antico al concilio di Trento. Edited by Anna Benvenuti and Marcello Garzaniti. [Atti del IV Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia. Firenze, 26-28 ottobre 2000.] (Rome: Viella. 2005. Pp. viii, 501. €39.00 paperback.)

No academic culture is more welcoming to the study of sanctity and holy people in Christian history than that of Italy, where even some secular universities have faculty chairs dedicated to hagiography, and where faculty in general departments of history can make careers based on the study of saints and sainthood. Anna Benvenuti, the force behind these two volumes, a professor of medieval history at the University of Florence, has long been an expert on the role of holy people in medieval Italy, just as her colleague at Florence, Gabriella Zarri, has blazed a trail for the study of different forms of Christian sanctity in the early modern period. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Roberto Rusconi, who teach, respectively, medieval history and the history of Christianity at the Università di Roma Tre, are also well known for their work on Christian saints and the role of sanctity in Christian culture, especially in medieval Italy. The first volume under review here, *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale* (*The History of Sanctity in Western Christianity*) brings this remarkable quartet together with Francesco Scorza Barcellona, who teaches the history of Christianity at the Università di Roma Tor Vergata, and Simon Ditchfield, who teaches modern history at the University of York in England, to offer a detailed and thoughtful overview of changing ideas of holiness and the roles of those we call the saints in Christian history from the beginning of the Christian *cultus* to the pontificate of John Paul II.

The material is divided chronologically, and to some inevitable extent, by theme. Francesco Scorza Barcellona begins with a chapter entitled "Origins," that brings the discussion up to the beginning of the fourth century. This chap-

ter starts with the idea of martyrdom in Second Temple Judaism and earliest Christianity, and traces the development of the Christian holy person through the beginnings of church hierarchy, the rise of the ascetic communities, and the development of sacred biography, pilgrimage, cults, and iconography specifically associated with saints.

The second and third chapters cover the Middle Ages. In the second chapter, Sofia Boesch Gajano considers the "structuralization" of Christian hagiography after the development of Christian political states, from the fourth to the twelfth centuries, as seen in monastic reforms, the role of the Papacy, holiness associated with visionary activity, and the rise of new forms of sanctity associated with holy war. Anna Benvenuti then takes over for a chapter on her specialty, late medieval urban life, in which she develops themes of local patronage as opposed to the centralized authority of Rome, new forms of religiosity among the laity, the rise of the Mendicants, and the development of a formal system of canonization.

The fourth and fifth chapters focus on Renaissance and early modern Christianity. Gabriella Zarri takes the story to the late sixteenth century, through the Council of Trent, focusing on the christianization of society and the rise of Christian Humanism, the development of formal hagiographical literature, the rise of Marian cults, and the role of political prophecy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including the "Sante Vive" of Renaissance courts, and culminating in the figure of Girolamo Savonarola. In the fifth chapter, "The World of the Reform and the Counter-Reform," Simon Ditchfield considers how ideas of Christian sanctity were formed by confessional identity (considering briefly, and for the only time in this volume, Christian sanctity in a Protestant context). Ditchfield's essay focuses on the development of saintly cults, the Congregation of Rites and the Inquisition, the impact of the liturgical reforms of Trent on saints' cults, and the sea-change that came with the missions to Asia and the Americas and brought the Society of Jesus into the forefront. This chapter ends with an analysis of the ambivalence toward saints in the Enlightenment.

Finally, Roberto Rusconi steps out of his normal medievalist shoes to consider "The Church Confronts Society," the title of his chapter on the saints in the modern world. Rusconi traces the re-emergence of saints' modernity according to new themes: the emergence of a "societal saintliness," the role of the Church in colonial and post-colonial Africa and Asia, including the new saints and martyrs associated with that story, the rising importance of male and female founders of religious orders, twentieth-century changes in the process of canonization, the increasing appeal of devotion to the Sacred Heart and modern Marian cults, and the particular role of the Papacy. These last topics bring the discussion to a consideration of Pope John Paul II, the pontiff who created saints with an "exasperated accent on the recognition of sanctity by the supreme authority of the Catholic Church," but nevertheless, according to Rusconi, did not change the basic definition of the role of saints that had developed at the turn of the nineteenth century. "In particular, the supreme ecclesiastical hierarchy

wished to inculcate in the devotion of the faithful the role of a saint as an exemplary model of Christian life, to be imitated, not an intercessor to be invoked" (p. 377). The problem of miraculous cures, and the popularity of figures such as "Padre Pio di Pietrelcina" (now of course, Saint Pio of Pietrelcina) still remain, but even here, Rusconi says, the increasing medicalization of the miraculous has put the holy power of healing into another, less miraculous, mode. Rusconi suggests (p. 379) that the future of sainthood in the Roman Catholic Church may involve a process of beatification at the local or national (episcopal) level, with actual canonization still in the hands of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

In the introduction, the authors describe this volume as an effort to bring together long paths of research and differing methodologies, individual and collective research that articulate different themes and contexts, but putting it together into a common "historical horizon" (p. 15). Overall, I think this endeavor has been successful. There is nothing quite like this in English, but it would be useful to have a translation for courses in Christian history. Such an endeavor would necessitate a few additions: an American publisher would probably ask for more about Protestant forms of holiness; and certainly now the canonization of Saint Pio and the death of Pope John Paul II have added new considerations to the account of Christian holiness in the twenty-first century.

The second book reviewed here, *Il tempo dei santi tra Oriente e Occidente: Liturgia e agiografia dal tardo antico al concilio di Trento*, presents twenty-one essays on liturgy and hagiography in East and West, from the late antique period to the Council of Trent. The majority of these essays treat questions of liturgy and hagiography either in the medieval West (mostly in Italy) (eight) or in the Byzantine or Slavic Churches (five), a few are methodological in nature, and the rest cover topics that involve both East and West, like the essay of Giovanni Battista Bronzini on the shrine of the Archangel Michael on the promontory of the Gargano (pp. 387-396).

These essays are derived from papers presented at the conference of the AISSCA, the Italian Society for the Study of Sanctity, Cults, and Hagiography, held in Florence in 2000. The organizers of the conference, Anna Benvenuti and Marcello Garzaniti, provided an introduction and an afterword, while Sofia Boesch Gajano wrote the prologue to the volume. Like many volumes of conference proceedings, this collection is a bit disjointed, although some of the essays are clearly excellent contributions. I found especially interesting Robert Taft's study of the origins, significance, and development of the liturgy and cult of saints in the Greek Byzantine and Slavic worlds (pp. 35-54), Ferdinando Dell'Oro's analysis of the genesis and development of the western Sanctorale and Sacramentary (pp. 79-119), Christian Hannick on the liturgical cult of the saints in the Greco-Byzantine world (pp. 279-291), Marcello Garzaniti on the cult of saints in medieval Slavic manuscripts of the Gospels and the Epistles (pp. 311-341), and the Bronzini study of the cult of the Gargano mentioned above. Other chapters will doubtless be of particular interest to other readers, since most of the contributions to this book are on well-defined topics.

What is of greatest interest in this volume, in my estimation, is the attempt it makes to open a dialogue between scholars of the eastern and western churches. More work of this sort obviously needs to be done, and the cult of the saints is a rich field for such comparative study. More could certainly be said about the Italian cities where liturgies from both sides of Christianity still continue to be practiced, and saints from East and West are venerated. AISSCA is to be congratulated for dedicating one of their conferences to this endeavor. I hope other scholarly associations will follow their example.

University of Pennsylvania E. Ann Matter

The Oxford History of Christian Worship. Edited by Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker. (New York: Oxford University Press.2006. Pp. xx, 916. $55.00.)

It is truly admirable that a work of this breadth (and length) is at once useful to the liturgical specialist, to the trained theologian, to the church historian, and to the educated layperson. Its scope and structure of thirty-four chapters is mostly chronological with separate topical chapters on such things as women in worship, liturgical music, spatial setting, visual arts, vestments and objects, and a retrospect by the highly qualified and well respected scholars who are the general editors of the volume. Geoffrey Wainwright brings a wealth of knowledge and experience from a decidedly theological and ecumenical approach to liturgy. His professorship at Duke University was preceded by prestigious positions in England, then Cameroon, and New York City. His masterful book of liturgical theology, *Doxology,* deserves the name "classic" with which it is often described. Karen Westerfield Tucker's contribution "Women in Worship" reflects her astute grasp of a number of issues related to liturgy, not the least of which is the contemporary relevance of such a traditional part of church life.

Among the more difficult decisions such editors have to make is how to introduce such a volume. That it begins by a fundamentally scriptural and theological approach from the pen of Wainwright himself is both an important statement of the depth of this book, as well as setting an important theological tone for much of the rest of the book. One could debate a few of his assertions; one could also opine that it is too brief. Yet on balance the theological overture struck here is admirable, especially given the way liturgical studies have been so variously described and pursued of late.

It is important to note the format of this book. Photographs, sketches, and copies of art work and liturgical vessels fill its pages. Also at regular intervals the authors quote at length from a church document, prayer book, commentary on liturgy, or another writing from the period at hand. These are easily noticed because they are set off from the rest of the print by their grayish background and dark border. These documents give an important glimpse into

the issues being discussed. They offer a primary source for the secondary reflection about the sources and phenomena under discussion.

Almost all of the over thirty international contributors to this volume represent the first tier of liturgical scholars alive today. Each is recognized in his or her field and almost always are well recognized to be connected with the chapters they have authored, e.g., John Baldovin on "the Empire baptized" (312-622 A.D.) or Andre Haquin, "The Liturgical Movement and Roman Catholic Ritual Revision" (nineteenth century on). Certainly Anscar Chupungco is well known for his work on liturgical inculturation ("Mission and Inculturation: East Asia and the Pacific") but one needs to note that his particular contribution is somewhat dated (it was the topic of his doctoral dissertation) and that in Catholic circles one would have welcomed at least some reference to the 1994 document from the Vatican's Congregation for Divine Worship, *Varietates Legitimae*, on the very topic. The editors' intention to include Orthodox, Catholic, the Reformation churches, Mennonite, Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal churches from the widest geographical spectrum (Africa, the Americas, Asia, Australia, and Europe) is sustained throughout. At times one might debate the relative importance given to a particular topic, e.g., a chapter on "The Reformed Tradition in Korea" (by Seung-Joong Joo and Kyeong-Jin Kim) without a parallel treatment of the worship of other traditions. Yet even these (admittedly brief) "windows" into what might be regarded as a surprise do precisely that, offer a window into an aspect of the world-wide liturgical scene that is not normal material for such an important dictionary.

Understandably the first part of the book is devoted to generous treatments of the apostolic era (Maxwell Johnson), the empire baptized (John Baldovin), the ancient oriental churches (Christine Chaillot), the conversion of the nations (Michael Driscoll), western Christendom (Timothy Thibodeau), and Byzantine and Slavic Orthodoxy. From these one should note the clarity of Chaillot's piece and the important methodological assertions and cautions offered by Michael Driscoll, although one would have wished for some more substantial primary sources in the notes for his interest in semiotics, etc. Otherwise his use of "classical" liturgical sources is judicious and wide-ranging.

Catholic historians and liturgical scholars might well be disappointed at the relative brevity of the treatment of (Benedictine) monasticism and the mendicant tradition. Other scholars might judge that some repetition could have been edited out for the sake of including other things, i.e., some of what Nathan Mitchell argues in "Reforms, Protestant and Catholic" is taken up more thoroughly by Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber in "The Lutheran Tradition in the German Lands," and Bruno Burki in "The Reformed Tradition in Continental Europe." One might also question whether Katarina Schutz Zell deserves a special two-page excursus when other contemporary voices are more prominent and obvious candidates for such emphasis.

Matters of contemporary debate, e.g., the authorship and dating of Hippolytus' *The Apostolic Tradition* are admirably noted and summarized. One characteristic of this volume is the attention authors pay to the historical and cultural context for the worship orders they describe. Placing texts in context is enormously important. "Proof texting" has no place in the study of liturgy. There is none in this important volume.

Given the helpful insights about liturgical method, including "context," one could only wonder what another such "dictionary" might look like if the conventional, chronological, and then topical approach were jettisoned, beginning to end, with another approach where music, architecture, visual arts, vestments and objects, etc. were integrated into the chronological approach to studying liturgy. For example, given the theological weight which many Reformed traditions place on music and which the Orthodox place on the visual arts what would a chronological study that included these topics look like? Clearly the impact of the visual and music on the liturgy is essential to understanding what the liturgy is and does.

But that is for another book. The present dictionary is well worth its (comparatively) modest price and deserves to be referred to by specialists and non specialists alike for years to come.

The Catholic University of America KEVIN W. IRWIN

Sacred Rhetoric: Preaching as a Theological and Pastoral Practice of the Church. By Michael Pasquarello III. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. viii, 143. $15.00 paperback.)

This volume seeks to situate contemporary homiletic practice within the Church's tradition. The author, an associate professor of practical theology at Ashbury Theological Seminary in Wilmore, Kentucky and an ordained elder in the United Methodist Church, is catholic in his appropriation of the Christian past by calling upon the witness of Augustine, Gregory the Great, St. Benedict, Bernard of Clairvaux, Humbert of Romans, Bonaventure, Aquinas, Erasmus, Latimer, Luther, and Calvin. This is traditional church history, that is, church history as a branch of theology in the service of the Church. While there are perceptive insights into the authors discussed, the book does not claim to break new ground historically. In fact, it does not claim to break new ground theologically or homiletically. Quite the contrary, the book is itself an example of its argument: rather than look to new theories of communication to render preaching more effective, the preacher should look to the great preachers and great Christians of the past as exemplars. This approach, of course, perpetuates tradition. The ancient and medieval Church relied on the imitation of Christ, the Apostles, and the saints to form Christians. Imitation, not rules, were what worked. As the author argues, one reason is that the Holy Spirit is not confined by rules, and it is the Holy Spirit who in the end is the true speaker. The human

voice is only its instrument. For Pasquarello, the preacher only becomes that instrument by first embodying the message that is to be communicated. In a sense (*pace* Marshall McLuhan) the message is the medium. In the end, the Gospel preaches itself. Pasquarello also hopes to recapture that tradition, at least as he saw it existing before the Enlightenment divided the theological disciplines and caused a modern homiletic poverty. For preaching to be truly effective, the preacher must reintegrate homiletics into the content and experience of faith. The goal should not be mere technical skillfulness, but Christian wisdom. Pasquarello goes too far, however, in claiming that his authors "neither presumed to be technical experts, nor were they concerned with writing theory" (p. 134). Augustine was certainly a technical expert. Both Erasmus and Calvin were "expert" practitioners of humanist rhetoric. All three were also interested in communication theory. In fact, it was the knowledge of all levels of communication (or rhetoric) that led them to choose the *sermo humilis* to reach less educated believers including many of their clerical colleagues. Pasquarello is certainly correct in emphasizing the scriptural character of the traditional sermon both in content and in the language employed. For Pasquarello, the Bible does not need to be translated into a more modern idiom since it was crafted by the divine Word, the most expert of preachers. Translation and the elaboration of new theories or practical tips only distance the speaker and the audience from the eloquence of the Gospel. That distance contributes to the "homelessness" of homiletics and the Christian people who "struggle to maintain an alternative vision, identity, and vocation in an increasingly indifferent and even hostile world" (p. 136). Pasquarello uses his sources responsibly and well, although he passes over in silence the sacramental life of the pre-Reformation Church in his exclusive emphasis on the written and preached Word in the authors he discusses. To be sure, the Word was sacramental, but "mute" sacraments also spoke to both learned and simple Christians. However, this privileging of the Word is a pardonable failing in a book devoted to preaching.

Villanova University R. Emmet McLaughlin

Natural Law, Laws of Nature, and Natural Rights. Continuity and Discontinuiy in the History of Ideas. By Francis Oakley. (New York: Continuum Press. 2005. Pp. 143. $29.95.)

This excellent book provides a sophisticated but accessible introduction to some fundamental problems in the history of natural law thinking, and the writing throughout is elegant, lucid, and persuasive. Oakley's central argument is that a major shift occurred in the fourteenth century and that it influenced both the scientific and the moral philosophies of the succeeding age. A byproduct of the argument is a reminder that the traditional periodization of Western history into ancient, medieval, and modern is "more of a hindrance than a help" in the study of intellectual history (p. 81), an observation that will be applauded by many medievalists.

Historians typically treat the physical laws of nature as conceptually distinct from the natural law that directs our moral behavior. But Oakley challenges this sharp distinction. He is not concerned to refute Hume's is-ought argument, that we cannot derive moral propositions from factual ones. His argument is rather that the same underlying set of ideas informs both kinds of thinking and that the physical laws of nature can provide a sort of "intellectual template" to which the natural moral law conforms (p. 70).

Underlying Oakley's whole argument is his concern with a persistent tension between the Greek and Hebrew sources of Christian thought. On the one hand we have the Greek idea of a divine reason immanent in an eternal cosmos, a reason reflected also in the workings of human reason. On the other hand stands the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, an all-powerful, willful God of untrammeled freedom who made the universe from nothing and out of his own good pleasure. Oakley shows how the church fathers, especially Augustine, and then the scholastic theologians, especially Aquinas, sought to reconcile the two ideas. Aquinas envisaged an eternal law, a manifestation of divine reason directing all created beings to their due ends, a ground of both the physical laws of the universe and the natural moral law known to man. As Oakley notes, in Aquinas the fit between the templates of moral and physical natural law is very close.

But a later generation of theologians, prominent among them William of Ockham, saw in this way of thinking an unacceptable restraint on God's absolute freedom and omnipotent will. Ockham argued that the characteristics of the existing universe did not flow by any kind of necessity from the reason of God; God could have made a different universe with different laws of motion and different rules of morality. And this teaching, Oakley argues, helped to shape the new scientific thought of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a contingent universe one could not explain the way things behaved by pure reason, by hypothesizing about natural ends and occult essences. The only way to understand the material world was by observation and experiment and mathematical formulations of the resulting data.

The problem is more complicated when we consider the moral natural law. Ockham's teaching that moral norms depended entirely on the will of God was reflected in some natural law theories of the early modern period. But alongside this doctrine Ockham also presented a "non-positive moral science" based on reason and experience, and this too had echoes in later thought. In Ockham's own later political writings, where he discussed explicitly the varieties of natural law, he appealed persistently to right reason as a guide to human behavior. Oakley explains the dichotomy by pointing to the common medieval distinction between the absolute and ordained powers of God. However, Oakley's argument here leaves open a much-disputed question that he raises but does not finally answer, the question whether Ockham's voluntarist theology did in fact exercise any significant influence on the content of his later political thought and his teachings there on natural law.

In a last chapter the author considers the emergence of a doctrine of natural rights, another area of current dispute, "a crowded and confusing field," as Oakley notes (p. 88). Here Oakley presents a clear and succinct account of the views of Leo Strauss, who saw a radical innovation in the teaching of Hobbes on rights, and of Michel Villey who found the origin of individual natural rights in the philosophy of Ockham. Finally, he considers more recent work (some of it my own) that finds a beginning of natural rights thinking in the juridical writings of the twelfth century. In this area Oakley leans to a doctrine of continuity, seeing "a slow, evolutionary development of natural rights talk" from the twelfth century onward (p. 105), but he also notes that there were "significant differences of emphasis and nuance" (p. 107) in the early modern writings, and rightly observes that much detailed work remains to be done.

Cornell University (Emeritus) BRIAN TIERNEY

Die Zisterzienser: Geschichte eines europäischen Ordens. By Immo Eberl. (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 2002. Pp. 614. €29,90.)

This is the most recent comprehensive history of the Cistercians from the foundation of Cîteaux in 1098 to the present day, comparable with the English-language *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (1977) by Louis J. Lekai, a landmark work but inevitably somewhat dated, and the not altogether reliable French *Les moines blancs* (1993) by Marcel Pacaut.

With over six hundred pages it contains a wealth of material, chronologically arranged. The first chapter, surprisingly little more than thirty pages long (pp. 11-46), covers the first half century to the death of Saint Bernard in 1153. New is the claim by Eberl (p. 38) that it is conceivable that Bernard and his companions deliberately spent six months preparing to enter Cîteaux in order to give the abbot, Stephen Harding, the opportunity of arranging the foundation of the first daughter-house, La Ferté. The next chapter deals with the expansion to the papal reform bull *Parvus Fons* in 1265, covering approximately twice the period of the opening chapter but over two hundred pages long, or about a third of the book's total (pp. 47-255). Much of the space is taken up by a very thorough, almost daunting, catalogue of abbeys and an equally exhaustive overview of the subsequent growth of their estates. This is followed by thematic sections on the leading figures in the Order, its privileges and constitution, its relations to its female members, its spirituality, liturgy, art and architecture, culture and learning, and the economy of the Order. By placing these topics within a chapter terminating in the thirteenth century, the treatment of later developments within these areas is inevitably precluded. For example, although the early leading figures are discussed, there is only a cursory reference later to the important abbot of La Trappe, de Rancé, after whom the later Trappists are named, and no mention at all of Thomas Merton in the last chapter. Also, although early Cistercian architecture is discussed, there is

no mention of the later elaborate Baroque churches of Austria and southern Germany or the magnificent classical buildings of many French abbeys.

The next chapter (pp. 257-385) covers the impact of the Hundred Years' War, papal schism, and the Black Death, and the general decline occasioned by the appointment of "commendatory" or absent abbots, often not even monks, whose chief interest was the revenue which went with the office. A chapter of less than one hundred pages follows (pp. 387-477) and takes the story forward three hundred years from the Reformation to the secularization of many abbeys at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Here the dissolution of the monasteries in northern Protestant countries could have been dealt with at greater length. A short chapter (pp. 479-516) covers the last two centuries with the restoration of the Order and its subsequent expansion to America, Africa, and Asia, and completes the history to the present day.

The extensive bibliography (pp. 574-614) reveals the breadth and depth of the author's research. The fact that personal and place names are invariably correctly spelt may in itself not seem an important point, but is nevertheless indicative of the author's reliability and attention to detail. It is a pity that there is no index and that the map shows only the main French and German abbeys and thus belies the text which embraces the Cistercian world as a whole. This is an important book which contains a tremendous amount of material. It is to be hoped that it may appear in an English translation.

Blewbury, Oxfordshire JAMES FRANCE

English Catholic Historians and the English Reformation, 1585-1954. By John Vidmar, O.P. (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press. Distributed in the USA by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2005. Pp. vii, 196. $69.50.)

The title could be "Some English Catholic Catholic Historians. . ." since this is largely history seen through the eyes of those in opposition to the "forward"or militant protagonists of Rome and pope. After a summarizing chapter on "History and Religion," "Exiles and Appellants" (pp. 10-22) features the Catholics in England who never criticized the popes but appealed against the baneful influence of Jesuits and Catholic exiles who, safe from Protestant persecution, could afford militancy. William Watson's rollicking prose against the hated Company gets quotation. Was it worth noting that, as he awaited execution in 1603, he retracted everything he wrote against the Society?

Two subjects recur like the themes in an operatic overture: the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth in 1570 and the insistence on an oath of loyalty or supremacy which reopened the war on papal claims in 1559. Earlier rigidity petered out in the 1770's when the government needed men to serve in the forces, even Catholics. Vidmar reminds us that Paul III drew up a bull of excommunication against Henry VIII in 1538. It was never "published" and so

no one ever remembers it. Who published the excommunication of 1570? *Cui bono?* "It is likely that the government even welcomed the pope's bull . . . and sought to exploit the resulting confusion" (p. 16). The remaining evidence suggests that the dark trio Roberto Ridolfi, Francis Walsingham, and William Cecil, who organized the Ridolfi plot, also saw to the excommunication reaching the public at the right time: see *The Dangerous Queen* (1964) and *The Marvellous Chance* (1968). "The Quest for Catholic Emancipation" (chap. 2) pursues the subject further.

These themes evolve in the remaining chapters, with a discerning recognition of the differences of emphasis affecting all shades of opinion. With the Cisalpine movement at the close of the eighteenth century, the demurring of the Appellants had become a positive murmuring against papal claims. "To the Cisalpines"—Joseph Berington, Alexander Geddes, Sir John Throckmorton, and even John Lingard—"all that stood between English Catholics and emancipation was papal claims" (p. 29). Berington wrote to John Kirk predicting "the imminent extinction of the papacy" and added, "the sooner this happens the better" (p. 39). Vidmar substantially endorses the case made by Edwin Jones for John Lingard and his history (chap. 3). "The Jesuits and Mark Tierney" (chap. 4) almost achieves light relief but there was nothing to amuse obliging archivists in his cavalier disregard for returning borrowed manuscripts. With the final achievement of emancipation, Catholic writers became outspoken in their defense of past issues—notably Gasquet and his revision of the monastic reputation and the more aggressive Belloc who reintroduced emotionalism in his defense of everything together with a nonchalant disregard for recording documentary evidence. The last two chapters largely round off and recapitulate.

Jesuit and other pro-papal writers have their mention: Robert Persons, Charles Plowden, and J. H. Pollen, notably, but with little mention of well-known writers before the cut-off line, 1954. Vidmar's brief is altogether legitimate but needed clearer statement. The anti-Jesuits are allowed generous quotation, but Vidmar, while not dismissing all they say, deals with them critically. The frequent presence of prejudice and ignorance in their flaying the victim is recognized. The book abounds with interesting facts and cogent short summaries. It is the work of a scholar and a judicious student.

London, England FRANCIS EDWARDS, S.J.

The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody. By David W. Bebbington. [A History of Evangelicalism: People, Movement and Ideas in the English-Speaking World.] (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press. 2005. Pp. 288. $23.00.)

David W. Bebbington is a general editor of the series in which this book is volume three in the projected five-volume series which will cover the eighteenth century to the present. His subject is the evangelical movement in the English speaking world—Britain, the United States, and the settler colonies of

the British Empire—in the nineteenth century. He deals with this vast subject skillfully, and has produced a useful and clearly written account based upon an impressive familiarity with both primary and secondary source materials.

The central thesis of the book is the dominant place of evangelicalism in the culture of the nineteenth century. The steps which defined the evangelical experience were the acceptance of the Bible as the source of truth, conversion as its beginning, redemption as its object, and work as its consequence. The spread of literacy and a common text, the English Bible, allowed evangelicals all over the world to share a religious bond that transcended distance and national and denominational identities. Bebbington uses two men to symbolize this unity, the American revivalist, Dwight L. Moody, and the English Baptist, Charles Haddon Spurgeon. Moody, together with his musical director, Ira Sankey, crossed the Atlantic to preach to huge audiences with a message that cut across denominational lines. Moody's powerful sermons and Sankey's upbeat hymns were followed by "inquiry rooms," a form of personal counseling, innovations widely copied. Spurgeon presided over London's Metropolitan Tabernacle, where he preached to the largest Protestant congregation in the world for nearly forty years. Spurgeon's printed sermons, published weekly, made him famous all over the world. Though a Baptist, like the nondenominational Moody, he was a man whose appeal was far beyond his religious base.

Bebbington emphasizes throughout his work the unity of evangelicals world-wide. "What is most striking about the movement is less its heterogeneity over space than its internal connections." (p.78) National historians have ignored the inner dynamic of evangelical experience which bound the faithful together. Evangelicals shared a common view of spirituality which found its expression in prayer, was reaffirmed by the home, guided by the sermon, and expressed in the conviction that Jesus was personal savior. That evangelical spirituality fueled outreach at home and the mission field abroad.

Nineteenth-century evangelicalism was influential, because it was in harmony with the dominant cultural movement of Romanticism. Bebbington argues that the evangelicals were not as hostile to the Enlightenment as generally believed, and offers as evidence the influence of Enlightenment Commonsense Philosophy, particularly the argument that belief in God was intuitive in all human beings. Evangelicals also drew upon the eighteenth-century argument from design which posits that because the universe clearly shows signs of design, there must be a Designer. Some of his quotations from nineteenth-century evangelicals offered in support of the view that they were influenced by the Enlightenment seem tortured. He is on much safer ground in suggesting the impact of Romanticism upon evangelicalism, an impact that was felt in theology, preaching, liturgical practice, ecclesiastical architecture, and in the sentimental language of outreach which appealed to the heart. A problem for many evangelicals was that in many of these areas Roman Catholic Romantic affinities were well established. Furthermore, in John Henry Newman, they had one of the great Romantic prose writers of the age. These

connections were not lost upon many evangelicals who raised the alarm against Popery loudly and often. Nonetheless, by the century's end evangelicals all over the world were building Gothic Revival churches and incorporating more ritualistic elements into worship as well as adding organs and robed choirs. Spurgeon, it should be noted, opposed all of these changes.

Bebbington offers a cogent summary of the impact of modernism within the evangelical community, attributing its success in large part to "the spread of the cultural mood associated with Romanticism as it evolved into a more popular phase" (p. 182). In response, the evangelical doctrine of the atonement became less mechanistic and there was a growing consensus that everlasting punishment was "not to be given undue weight" (p. 170).

Perhaps the greatest impact of the movement was that evangelical morality became the prevailing system of values in the English speaking world. The anti-slave movement, the temperance movement, the social purity movement, and the social gospel all had evangelical roots, as did other moral crusades which are generally less-well regarded today, such as Sabbatarianism or the strident hostility of many evangelicals to novels, social dancing, and the theater. It is not without significance that virtually every great English novelist of the century showed little sympathy for evangelicals. But it would be wrong to judge a movement by its most fallible characters. If Obidiah Slopes, the odious Evangelical clergyman in Trollope's *Barchester Towers,* had his actual counterparts, there were far more men and women motivated by genuine piety and goodness. And if evangelicals sometimes erred in their zeal to monitor the behaviors of others, perhaps it can be said of them what Bebbington writes concerning evangelical attitudes toward women, that evangelicals both circumscribed and enlarged. It is those evangelical works which enlarged that he honors in his writing.

University of Texas, Austin PATRICIA S. KRUPPA

Ancient

From Apostles to Bishops: The Development of the Episcopacy in the Early Church. By Francis A. Sullivan, S.J. (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: The Newman Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 253. $28.95.)

Father Sullivan's confessional allegiances are not unimportant in this book and neither, therefore, should mine be. I am an ordained minister of the Uniting Church in Australia (a union church of Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches formed in 1977); half my teachers during my foundational theological training in Melbourne in the late 1970's were Jesuits; I am Principal of the Uniting Church theological college in Brisbane, which is itself part of a highly integrated ecumenical consortium (the Brisbane College of Theology: Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Uniting), and with the Roman

Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane (John Bathersby) I am Co-Chair of a National Dialogue between the Roman Catholic and Uniting Churches.

The basic question which Father Sullivan explores in this very well written book is whether the historic episcopate, particularly as understood by the Anglican, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic traditions, is of divine institution, an issue he properly describes as "truly church splitting." In his own words, "[t]he question that divides Catholics and Protestants is not whether, or how rapidly, the development from the local leadership of a college of presbyters to that of a single bishop took place, but whether the result of that development is rightly judged an element of the divinely willed structure of the church" (p. viii). He acknowledges that none of the Apostles could be described as "bishops" in the historic sense, that until the early part of the second century no single bishop presided over any Christian community, and that even then, apart from in Antioch and the Roman province of Asia, probably nowhere did they do so until the middle of that century. By the end of the century, however, and this would be agreed across confessional divides, in a development which can only be described as rapid, the structure of single bishop-presbyters-deacons had become the norm everywhere. This fact leads to a number of observations: first, that the traditional Roman Catholic claim that there is, as an integral part of the structure of the Church, an apostolic succession represented by an "unbroken line of episcopal ordination from Christ through the apostles down through the centuries to the bishops of today"[1] is unsustainable as our author himself acknowledges; and second, that while the historical record alone will not support such a claim, the rapid emergence of the threefold ordering of the Church as normative does require, at the very least, the exploration of potential theological arguments arising out of that record. It is this which Father Sullivan skillfully and thoughtfully explores. That I do not believe that he has made his case does not diminish his fine scholarship.

Father Sullivan's opening chapter ("Apostolic Succession in the Episcopate: a Church-Dividing Issue") is a very fair and balanced account of the issues at stake here both between and for Catholics and Protestants. His short "Afterword," again very balanced, offers useful and positive reflections on possible ways forward in this ecumenical divide. In between he offers some observations, mainly by way of textual commentary, on the writings of the New Testament and those of both Church Fathers and other early Christian writers from Clement of Rome to Cyprian of Carthage as they either address or inform the presenting issue. In these brief commentaries there is, however, just the slightest touch of coloring by what he is trying to demonstrate, that is, evidence for a theological argument for the divine will in the early ordering of the Church and the emergence of a separate and singular episcopate.

[1] The Vatican Response to the *Final Report* of ARCIC I (1991) as quoted by Father Sullivan.

In his final chapter ("Successors by Divine Institution?"), Father Sullivan argues that the post-New Testament development of church order into a single episcopate supported by a normative threefold structure is not only consistent with what he presumes to be the divine will for the defense and maintenance of both unity and orthodoxy in the face of schism and heresy, but provides sufficient proof that it was by virtue of that divine will that such developments took place. That evidence of such consistency might point to the possibility, even the probability of divine planning and guidance, does not, however, finally prove it. That Father Sullivan offers a strong and well-argued case for the traditional Catholic position is clear; whether he has done so beyond reasonable doubt is less so.

Trinity Theological College, Brisbane DAVID RANKIN

Early Christian Literature: Christ and Culture in the Second and Third Centuries. The Apologies, Apocryphal Acts and Martyr Acts. By Helen Rhee. {Routledge Early Church Monographs.] (New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xiv, 266. Paperback.)

Most discussions of the relation between Christianity and the culture of the Roman world focus on the writings of the apologists, figures such as Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian, or Origen. Their writings respond to criticisms of Christianity and attempt, in varying ways, to show that Christians are not irreligious and respect, at least up to a point, the moral ideals that govern life in society. In the nature of things apologists seek points of intersection between the beliefs of Christians and the larger world around them. Which is to say that the writings of the apologists are a unique literary genre within early Christian literature with specific aims and characteristic features. With some exceptions, notably Tatian, they give us one perspective on the relation between Christ and culture.

The central idea behind this book, a reworking of a dissertation submitted to the Center for Advanced Theological Studies at the School of Theology of Fuller Theological Seminary, is that any assessment of early Christian attitudes toward Greco-Roman culture must take into consideration at least two other bodies of literature. The first is the apocryphal acts of the apostles, e.g. the Acts of Thomas, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the Acts of John. These are imaginative expansions of the lives of apostles written to entertain the Christian folk with edifying stories and miraculous tales of fabulous adventures that often stretch the bounds of credulity. The martyr acts, by contrast, have a historical basis and offer narratives of trial and martyrdom of individuals or groups of individuals. Examples are the Acts of Justin, the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicity, and the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs.

The sources are treated under three headings, the superiority of Christian monotheism, the superiority of Christian sexual morality, and loyalty to the

empire. Rhee, assistant professor of World Christianity at Westmont College, Santa Barbara, California, shows how differently the three bodies of literature—apologists, acts of the apostles, and martyr acts—address the topics. On the first, monotheism, the apologists attempt to demonstrate the rational foundations of belief in one God and present Christianity as the "true philosophy." Christ comes across first and foremost as a teacher. By contrast the apocryphal acts emphasize the miracles of the apostles and present Christianity as a "true power."The martyr acts contrast devotion to the one God and sacrifice to the many gods of Rome or the "genius" of the emperor. Rhee's phrase for these writings is "true piety."

The second section, on the superiority of Christian sexual morality, is the most illuminating. Rhee shows that the apologists promote marriage as a religious and social good, and see virginity and continence as a laudable virtue. The apocryphal acts, however, are strongly encratitic, and reject marriage and sexual intercourse as sinful. The martyr acts, especially those dealing with female martyrs, highlight the tension between marriage and family and commitment to Christ. Similar accents come through in the final section on loyalty to the empire, the apologists promoting allegiance to the emperor while the acts defy imperial authority.

The idea behind the book is a good one and Rhee has read widely in the ancient sources and in the modern literature. She asks intelligent questions and sheds fresh light on a well-worn topic. But I found the categories too schematic and the distinctions between the three bodies of literature too neat. To be sure, attitudes toward society in early Christianity were quite varied and the apologists cannot be taken as normative. Still I don't see that the apologists and the authors of the martyr acts necessarily represent two different attitudes toward Greco-Roman culture. It is understandable that in recounting the trial and death of martyrs, the authors of the acts reject the religious values of the society in which they live. What gives the acts their unique character, however, is not that they represent a different form of Christianity but that they were composed to celebrate the heroic death of faithful Christians and hold up the martyrs as models of total devotion to Christ.

There is no reason why the apologists and authors of the martyr acts could not come from the same communities. One of the "acts" records the martyrdom of Justin, who was an apologist in the mid-second century. It was certainly possible to commemorate the fidelity and courage of the martyrs and still live in Roman society in a Christian family with all the daily adjustments and compromises that required. The acts of the apostles, however, breathe a different spirit. They represent a more radical, even deviant form of Christianity, that appealed only to a certain kinds of Christians. Several of the acts of the apostles are clearly influenced by Gnosticism. The martyr acts, like the writings of the apologists, spring from mainstream Christian communities. Looked at from this perspective the apocryphal acts of the apostles would represent a minority view, whereas the apologists and martyr acts

reflect different ways the great Church related to culture, at times seeking limited accommodation, at other times resolutely confessing the Lordship of Christ against all earthly authority.

University of Virginia ROBERT LOUIS WILKEN

Early Christian Greek and Latin Literature: A Literary History. By Claudio Moreschini and Enrico Norelli. Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell. 2 vols. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 455; xxvi, 734. $99.95.)

Two questions are especially raised by this weighty but finely translated survey. First, what does one mean by "Christian Literature"? Second, what should one make of the new subtitle, "A Literary History"? (The original title, *Storia della letteratura*, is equally problematic; and comparable difficulty arises with titles like *Histoire littéraire* or *Literaturgeschichte*.) The authors suggest (I, xi) that "literatures" are defined by their languages, whereas *Christian* literature is defined by its content. They admit that the languages used have their own histories and therefore their own effects; but they would not divide Christian literature in the first instance according to language.

One should note at once the authors' deliberate omission of material in Syriac and other languages of the *Oriens christianus*. It is true that the earliest Christian texts have to be placed within the context of (predominantly Greek) Hellenistic culture, which they modified by their particular approach to sacred texts and sacred rituals, to the Hebrew Bible, and the sacramental life. Yet the impact of languages further east, not to mention Hebrew itself and Aramaic, had become apparent by the second century at the latest, and continued to grow in importance. It also has to be borne in mind that several elements of early Christian literature survive only in their "eastern" translations and recensions—which raises the immediate question of whether the survivals mirror accurately the originals. In short, it is no longer acceptable to fly the Greek-and-Latin flag and still lay claim to an inclusive "Christianity."

I also think an opportunity was lost when the authors turned to the Latin tradition, in which "the importance of the Bible . . . was utterly decisive" (I, 318). Here a new thread could have been identified and pursued; but that does not happen, and in particular there is never an attempt to set down in one place a comparison between the Greek biblical tradition, so conscious (with time) of both the Hebrew and the Septuagint texts, and the Latin tradition, based essentially (until Jerome) on a translation or translations. How odd, also, to confine to a chapter on "The First Christian Literature of the West" the observation that Christians "tried to find in the Bible elements that could be matched to standards by which secular texts were usually judged" (I, 323)—hardly a peculiarity of the West.

A real attempt is, however, made to define a literary *history*. "Literary forms and genres were adapted to the needs of the new faith," and "literary history focuses on the development of literary forms in relation to the development of institutions and ideas" (I, xiii). In other words, needs, institutions, and ideas have a certain priority, an explanatory force in relation to the texts themselves (even though the needs are betrayed to us only in texts). These are brave avowals, but the temptation to rest content with textual forms alone is never quite resisted. "In literature," the authors declare, "it is not possible to reach the same certainty—or probability—as in the interpretation of historical or economic facts" (whatever they are, I, 317), which is to overlook their earlier suggestion that the two have to go hand in hand: if one lacks security, then so does the other. When we come, in the second volume, to the period after Constantine, we find a more explicit emphasis on "rhetoric," which encourages or demands "a reading that includes formal structures as part of the linkage of literature with its times"—which must consist in part, one assumes, in "needs, institutions, and ideas." "In late antiquity," we learn, "reality and rhetoric were closely connected in an indissoluble symbiosis" (II, 9). Is this a new phenomenon? Why do we not hear more about it?

Let us take a particular example, relating to gnosticizing gospels. (One has to admire, by the way, the analysis of "canonical" and "apocryphal" gospels as a single phenomenon, I, 30 f.) The "Gnostic" gospels, like their canonical *confrères*, are preoccupied among other things with competing claims to authority. They display a confidence of their own in their predominantly dialogue style, which contrasts with the more historical and developmental emphases of the canonical narratives. There is a choice of leadership and instruction hidden here, which provokes a particular curiosity about the competing claims of teachers and presbyters and a general curiosity about the relationship between text and power. Not enough is made of this, either as an identifiable theme or as a theoretical issue (which comes first: the text that supports the leadership, or the leadership that is reflected in the text?). There is, indeed, little on the development of episcopacy, in spite of an early chapter on "ecclesiastical discipline and homilies" (I, 126 f.); and the papacy in particular merits a mere snippet (I, 318).

One is led to ask, therefore, how chapters function in the book as a whole. Gospels are treated, as I say, in one chapter; but then we have a separate account of "The Johannine Tradition" (I, 75 f.), and other New Testament texts are separated according to category—apocalypse (I, 85 f.), letter (I, 101 f.), treatise (I, 112). What methodological policy lies behind such groupings (and overlaps)?

There are chapters and lengthy sections devoted to writers of major significance, and they often seem to mark what are perceived as moments of major development or change. Clement of Alexandria, for example, exemplified (he did not originate) a crucial transition from an essentially post-Jewish to a neoclassical tradition: "he takes his place on the border between a Christianity that adopts secular literary forms and a Christianity wholly focused on its own

oral tradition and concerned essentially with an intense labor on its own Scriptures and sacred traditions, still substantially using the tools of Judaism" (I, 266). Origen gets a chapter entirely to himself (I, 268 ff.), and is pleasingly presented as both venturesome and loyal: "faithful not only to the Scriptures but to the church," and anxious "to offer not a close, rigid system but an open-ended study, which he urges all to pursue on their own" (I, 289). The chapter on "The Christian Literature of Africa" (I, 329 ff.)—devoted for the most part, naturally, to Tertullian and Cyprian—introduces the arresting notion that Africa's prominence in the Christian tradition merely matches its importance as the native land of Fronto and Apuleius (I, 329). As we could expect, Augustine is another figure treated separately at length (II, 362-409).

These self-contained analyses are not, however, typical of the work as a whole. It is more common to find elements oddly scattered, with corresponding breakages in sequence. I have mentioned the separation of "The Johannine Tradition" from both gospels and later apocryphal and Gnostic developments. Irenaeus is set apart from Apologists, especially Justin, which interrupts any coherent treatment of, for example, Logos theology. The formation of the New Testament canon is presented in the first volume, but in a diffuse form; and we have to wait until II, 200-235 for a fuller treatment of apocrypha and their gradual exclusion.

The difficulty is accentuated in the second volume, which makes in some ways a fresh start, and reflects the heavier influence of Moreschini. There is a more forceful definition of "literature": it does not include "documents," but represents rather "something that does not have a purely practical purpose" (II, xvii). The writers congratulate themselves here on a "disarming simplicity"; but it proves in the end only a recipe for vagueness. How does one decide whether a document is not literary? And in what sense is literature never purely practical? Poetry fares well in this work, albeit in fits and starts; but hagiographical texts, sadly, are regarded as only "marginally" literary (II, xviii), even though they merit a later treatment in at least their Latin guise (II, 348 f.). The *Life of Antony* makes no appearance as a text (except as translated by Evagrius, II, 325), even in an earlier chapter devoted in part to "Ascetics" (II, 57 ff.)—although Antony's *Letters* are mentioned briefly (II, 62-63).

The historical framework, meanwhile, is presented in familiar but now debatable form. Continuity (especially of "forms") is less evident in the West than in the East (even though, apparently, "late antiquity was marked by an evolution of literary forms," II, 11). We begin to detect, we are told, "clearer divisions" (although the implied lack of earlier clarity is not described), divisions that "herald the new (medieval) culture" (II, xvii). The differences are then explained simply by the presence or absence of barbarians—"the break in literary traditions that was caused by the barbarian invasions" (II, 236). No sector of the West, therefore, was exempt from "barbarism," and there were no barbarians in the East.

The authors' touch here is less certain. Therefore on the one hand, late antique Christianity is set firmly in an era of "decadence" marked by the "exhaustion of pagan thought" (II, 1-3). The Church, at least in the West, begins to separate itself from the state, and in that sense separates religion from the state's control—an important novelty. We observe the development of a "new social reality" (II, 2). So is Gibbon deftly overlaid with more recent depictions. Then, on the other hand, we are made to veer away from decadence and exhaustion. Exhaustion was not, apparently, a sign of decadence, but "signified a transformation and at the same time a continuity" (II, 6). We now have to believe in "basic cultural elements shared by all these writers without exception," and in a species of "social conditioning, which yielded a shared esthetic outlook"; a conditioning (or an outlook) imposed "by a fixed set of social conditions coming from the culture they received prior to and independently of any and every literary activity and creation" (all in II, 7). The interior contradictions and the changed senses (compared with the first volume) of both "literature" and "continuity" are evident enough.

So, one is saddened by a loss, in this second volume, of any attempt to trace development and textual relations. The most telling (and weary) symptom of indifference is the readiness to make heresy and controversy the governing frame. "Western Christian Culture," for example, is subsumed under Arianism (II, 236 ff.). This is the context provided for Ambrose (II, 268 ff.)—even though he is eventually characterized in a way that belies his implied significance in a chapter of such a sort: he disclosed "a Christian spirituality that was warm and welcoming"; his sermons were "sensitive, reflective, and carefully thought out" (echoing Christine Mohrmann); "his art . . . embraces everything in a kind of psalmic garb, halfway between prose and poetry"; and "for him ideas were never separable, or separated, from the echoes they could awaken in the hearts of the listeners" (II, 287). Jerome is comparably squeezed within a broader chapter (II, 298-320)—albeit devoted to "Science and Biblical Philology"—along with Rufinus and Pelagius. How he would have loved that! Indeed, further conjunctions are even more bizarre. "As happens," we read, "in periods of great cultural fervor a happy homogeneity unites the major figures among themselves and the minor figures with the major" (II, 299)—the happy homogeneity aligning Jerome with Hilary, Ambrose, and Augustine! Only the Cappadocians are allowed to escape into a chapter of their own (II, 81-135).

What might one suggest instead? Surely, the development of the homily, alongside the related but distinct skill of the commentary, dominates the Christian literary scene in this period. There are dispersed treatments of homily—relating to Basil, for example (II, 96-99), and Chrysostom (II, 149-155)—and there is an interesting section on stenography (II, 236-237). Commentary one has to rummage for—in the section, for example, on Didymus (II, 70-80)—but the emphasis is on the senses of Scripture (yes, we have a chapter on The Antiochene School," II, 136-177, which is where Chrysostom is forced to find his literary niche). There is little on the "needs" or the "institutions

and ideas" so confidently appealed to earlier; on the "indissoluble symbiosis" of reality and rhetoric. The social circumstances of homily, the purposes of commentary, are left aside. To take only one example, Averil Cameron's *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, published years before Moreschini and Norelli's original Italian *Storia*, showed how we should now harmonize the varied elements of "discourse," including literary discourse, in this turbulent and inventive age. In that connection, by the way, it is difficult to understand why, on the subject of "Christianity and Ancient Education," we are limited to a study of Synesius and Nonnus (II, 178 ff.); rather than of Basil and Augustine (although *De doctrina christiana* eventually gets its treatment, II, 377-381).

From this point, we descend quickly into mere miscellany. The chapter on "The Age of the Barbarian Invasions in the West" (II, 410 ff.) does nothing to bring together in any unified way the more than thirty writers mentioned. In particular, it gives no vivid impression of how western Christians reacted, at a literary level, to the barbarian event; this is no updated *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions*. And look who is tightly squeezed into this assortment: Orosius (II, 413-415), Cassian (II, 432-436), Sidonius (II, 457-460), and Leo (II, 462-465). The authors then explicitly admit that they are not sure what distinguishes this chapter from the one following, "The Literature of the Romano-Barbarian Kingdoms of the West" (II, 470 ff.). Here we come up hard against their uncertainty as to how to create an integrated account. Kingdoms in the fifth century were apparently "still in flux," but in the sixth century "solidly established." Yet, in the very next sentence, it becomes clear that they were nothing of the kind (II, 470). At one moment, older forms were "gradually vanishing," but then we lurch into "fragmentation," seen as "a characteristic of sixth-century literature" (II, 470). Again, nearly thirty writers are treated individually in some sixty pages; and Boethius, Ennodius, Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville are lumped together under a catch-all heading. Benedict gets one small paragraph (II, 498); compare the space devoted earlier to Cassian, Eucherius, and the Lérins writers (II, 432-439).

The final section on the East is equally disappointing. We start with an emphasis on Ephesus and Chalcedon as unifying factors; the resulting sense of inadequacy echoing that induced by the Arian focus earlier. There is a chapter on "Asceticism and spirituality in the Greek World" (II, 631 ff.); but we are not told why we should happily separate the writers concerned from their western counterparts and from the earlier treatment of "monasticism" as a distinct category (II, 61-64). Views of the past, we learn, were now predominantly ecclesiastical—a view that might have surprised Jordanes or Gregory of Tours. Analysis of the chronicle as a distinguishable genre is first applied to Prosper: "with him the chronicle henceforth replaces all history in the narrower sense of the term" (II, 421). One assumes that the authors mean in the West: Malalas is tacked onto the end of the chapter on "Greek Christian Historiography" (II, 685 f.).

What starts out as a "literary history," therefore, ends in the realm of the encyclopedia. A brave attempt has been abandoned. The work will have to

compete, therefore, with other studies more honest about their aspirations. One thinks, for example, of Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings' excellent *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature* (also translated by Matthew O'Connell). It bears saying also that, while the English translation may naturally continue to favor an Italian bibliography and scholarly antecedents, it seems odd that several works originally in English are cited in their Italian translations, as is also the case with primary texts.

The Catholic University of America PHILIP ROUSSEAU

Women in Early Christianity: Translations from Greek Texts. Edited by Patricia Cox Miller. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 340. $29.95.)

Patricia Cox Miller has provided a sourcebook for the study of women in the first five centuries of Christianity which should prove useful for both undergraduate teaching and for reference use by scholars as well. The book begins with a helpful synthetic introduction in which Miller discusses the nature of the sources she draws upon, gives an overview of the larger themes covered in the book, and provides some more general historical and theoretical background. The sources used are of three kinds: documentary, popular literary, and theological. Miller has drawn upon material ranging from the canons of church councils to hymns, martyrologies, hagiographies, funeral orations, and theological treatises. The book's organization into larger topics and subthemes represents perhaps the feature which will be most appreciated and useful for the teacher: Miller has given us an elegant way of organizing and trying to make sense of a wide body of disparate sources. She has broken her material down into five different sections: "Women's Roles in the Church," "Women and Virginity," "Portraits of Ascetic Women," "Women and Domestic Life," and "Female Image and Theology." Each section is in turn divided into a number of different subtopics; thus, for example, the section "Women and Virginity" contains texts on the topics "Female Comportment," "Major Treatises on Virginity," "The Subintroductae," and "Transvestism." Some of the translations are Miller's own, while a larger number have been reprinted from other works. The teacher will appreciate Miller's short introductions to each subsection and each individual text, as well as her glosses of words and phrases which might prove delphic to undergraduates. She has also inserted organizing headers into longer excerpts to make their structure more readily apparent and has identified most scriptural and classical allusions. There are three appendices and two indexes. The first appendix is a timeline listing Christian women of the first five centuries, providing dates where they are available. The second appendix is a second timeline, this one giving the dates in the first five centuries of the authors and works used in the book. The third appendix offers suggestions for further reading, grouping the bibliographic entries by topics which correspond to the sections of the book. Finally, there is a general index followed by an index of scriptural references.

Any attempt to compile a sourcebook such as this must inevitably force upon the editor the unenviable task of leaving certain texts on the cutting room floor, so to speak. Granting this limitation, one still wishes that Miller had devoted more space in her introduction to discussing any similarities and/or differences which might obtain between the representation and roles of women in non-Greek Christian texts—not just Latin, but also, for example, Syriac. Nevertheless, Miller has drawn together and clearly organized an impressive body of material, giving us a book which should facilitate the incorporation of the role and importance of women into the teaching of early Christian history. Hers is an effort for which both students and teachers should be grateful.

Princeton University JACK TANNOUS

Ordained Women in the Early Church: A Documentary History. Edited and Translated by Kevin Madigan and Carolyn Osiek. (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 220. $48.00.)

If there were ever any doubts that women were ordained to ministerial positions in the early church, such doubts can now be put to rest. Madigan and Osiek have presented overwhelming literary, canonical, and epigraphic evidence for the ordination of women deacons and women presbyters, and for the ordination of women to other offices. The authors have collected, edited, and translated all the extant data in Latin and Greek (and some Syriac) for both the East and the West until ca. 600 A.D., including about seventy-five inscriptions.

Madigan and Osiek present clear and accurate translations of all the items in their documentary history, providing the original Greek or Latin, where appropriate, in footnotes. The documents are preceded by helpful, brief background comments, including biographical statements concerning ancient authors. Commentaries discuss the item's significance for providing evidence concerning the ordination of women. Extensive footnotes provide bibliographical references to the most relevant scholarship. Surprisingly, there is no comprehensive bibliography. There are, however, excellent appendixes, indexes, and maps.

Madigan and Osiek warn against assuming that ordination in the early church meant exactly what it means today. They also distinguish correctly between "ordination, membership in the clergy, and special group status" (p. 5). Chapter Two shows that patristic commentators almost invariably interpreted Rom 16:1-2 and 1 Tim 3:11 to refer to women deacons and that members of the "order of widows" (cf. 1 Tim 5: 3-13) were, at least by one commentator, equated with deaconesses. Similarly, Chapter Five, which contains data from the post-600 A.D. era, demonstrates that later authors and councils took it for granted that there were women deacons in the earlier period. Chapters Three through Seven deal with the extant evidence for women deacons in the East. Chapter Six covers the material on women deacons. Chapter Eight presents and discusses the (far less extensive) data for women presbyters.

Madigan and Osiek take care not to draw conclusions that cannot be supported by the literary texts, canons, or inscriptions they present. Only on one occasion was it unclear to me how a particular literary text (John of Damascus, *On Heresies* 49) was directly relevant to a discussion on women *deacons* (pp. 133–134). I also think it would have been better to indicate consistently in the translations themselves, rather than in the commentaries, parts of names or other words which need to be restored because of missing letters in inscriptions (e.g., contrast Arete [p. 72] and Severa [p. 90] with [Ce]lsa [p. 75] and [Epipha]n[e]ia [p. 80]). Similarly, given the extant τῆ͡s before the letters ματ in the text of "Matrona of Stobi" (p. 84), it seems to me better to restore the text τηs ματ[ρώνηs] and to translate the words as "of the matron" rather than "of Matrona." There is an inconsistency between the date of the discovery of Sophia's inscription as given in the caption for figure 9 and the introduction to the inscription (p. 90). The form Theoprepia should have been given in the translation as that is the spelling given in the text of the inscription—or, at least, the alteration should have been indicated by parentheses as in the heading (p. 93). The correct spelling of the findspot of the Ammion inscription is Uşak, not Uçak (p. 169). The authors, unintentionally, give the impression that Tertullian thought Montanism to be a "deviant group" (pp. 8–9) and that Cyzicus was closer to Constantinople (p. 47) than the approximately 180 Roman miles which separated the two cities by road. All the above, however, are minor issues.

Madigan and Osiek have produced the best, most comprehensive, and extremely useful documentary history to date regarding the ordination of women in the early church, correcting a number of earlier held false assumptions (pp. 3–4; 204–206).

Phillips Theological Seminary WILLIAM TABBERNEE

Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages. By Kevin L. Hughes. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 278. $59.95.)

This handsome volume grew out of a dissertation written under Bernard McGinn, master mentor of many students of medieval theology. The title presents it as a study of the "doctrine" of Antichrist, that enigmatic figure of the apocalyptic tradition that kept the imagination of theologians, preachers, and common people busy for centuries. McGinn himself has interpreted the antichrist theme socio-theologically as "two thousand years of the human fascination with evil." Hughes's study moves in a different direction. On the assumption that Christian doctrine is based on biblical texts and their interpretation, the author follows step by step and with impressive learning the history of just one particular biblical text which is of prime importance for all antichrist lore and speculation, Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians—not just its famous second chapter but the entire letter. With this approach he joins

the growing number of scholars, especially medievalists, who are taking up the history of biblical exegesis as a field of research that can throw new light on the history of Christian thought. Methodologically, Hughes is aware that working in this field stretches the skills of the historian to the limits, analytically as well as synthetically. He proceeds with great caution and knows the importance of being open to surprises. The surprise in this case is that the early and medieval commentaries do not reflect the burning contemporary concerns of an age when apocalyptic emotions and fears reached new peaks time and again. As the author explains, medieval commentators saw Paul primarily as a teacher, not as a prophet, and tried to extract coherent doctrine from the text, not predictions of their own contemporary situation. Hughes finds two major strands in the early exegesis of the letter: an apocalyptic realism that considers Antichrist as an individual figure, tyrant or deceiver, whose appearance will be part of the actual events at the endtime, and a spiritual interpretation, typical of the Latin tradition, which reflects on interior dangers in the individual soul and speaks of a communal "body of antichrist" in contrast to, but also within, the Church, the "body of Christ" throughout history. Major representatives of the former strand are the Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, and Theodore of Mopsuestia (in Latin), of the latter Tyconius, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. The author himself is uneasy with the term "spiritual" for the Tyconian-Augustinian interpretation; "spiritual" exegesis refers to the anagogical function of the biblical text. "Metaphorical" or "figurative" may be better choices. Hughes shows that early medieval interpreters do not choose between these two options but hold them together as parts of the one normative tradition of Bible and Fathers. He is at his best in the presentation of the Carolingian authors. The sections on Rabanus Maurus and especially Haimo of Auxerre are masterpieces of careful source analysis and authoritative textual/contextual reading. The eleventh-century authors (Lanfranc, Bruno) whose Pauline commentaries have not found much interest to date, will need more work; here Hughes's bold deductions are less convincing because the textual basis presents him with problems. The diachronic survey of the material ends with the *Glossa ordinaria* and Peter Lombard, whose exegetical work Hughes sees correctly at the transition point to a new form of scholastic commentary. Throughout the book, the introductions to each exegete, which show the author in full command of the literature in the field, are particularly valuable. Together they form a helpful roadmap of the state of scholarship on the medieval interpretation of Paul and could be used as such by anyone planning to venture into this relatively unexplored territory. More than that, Hughes's competent investigation of one short letter in its entirety demonstrates that the exegetical history of the Pauline Epistles is a gold mine for the historian of Christian doctrine. One can only wish that he will find imitators, equally enthusiastic prospectors who will continue to explore the mighty river bed of Pauline exegesis at other points. The results will be well worth the effort.

Boston University KARLFRIED FROEHLICH

There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire. By Michael Gaddis. [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 39.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 396.)

One of the most difficult questions for students of early Christianity to confront is the reason for the violence and coercion that followed in the wake of Constantine's conversion early in the fourth century. Scholarship, of course, has had a comfortable answer for generations: Christianity, as Edward Gibbon taught us, is inherently intolerant; once Constantine gave them access to the levers of power, Christians quite naturally used them to suppress and persecute their religious rivals. Despite this solution's prima facie plausibility, however, it has always had gaps, one of the biggest being its failure to grapple with a strong pacifist movement based on Jesus' central commandment to return hatred with love. For scholars attuned to this problem, the issue has been to find a plausible alternative explanation for Christianity's coercive turn.

With this book, Michael Gaddis does just that. Using as both his title and a leitmotif for the strands of his argument the Egyptian firebrand Shenoute's retort to a pagan magistrate whose house he had ransacked ("There is no crime for those who have Christ"), Gaddis takes his reader into the mind of those late antique zealots who did so much to reshape the face of Christianity during the period between the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Demonstrating how these rigorists and their supporters justified such actions as God's anger and not their own, Gaddis argues that religious violence grew out of a distinct shift in Christian thinking about martyrdom. What was once the reward for exemplary suffering and endurance became instead a reward for "those who struck out directly against the enemies of the faith" (p. 93).

But the thinking of zealots is only part of the problem. More important, as Gaddis recognizes, is understanding why their actions were accepted by the wider community. Scholars have long recognized that monks drew much of their prestige from their willingness to suffer like martyrs, but this connection did not explain either the greater propensity to violence or the readiness of other Christians to accept it. A new discourse about martyrdom supplies the missing link. It shows itself in John Chrysostom's urging his congregation to rebuke and even strike "blasphemers," because in this way they would be imitating the martyrs (p. 175).

Discourse, more than violence itself, is the real subject of Gaddis' interest, and it leads him to two important conclusions. First, unlike so much modern scholarship, Gaddis does not identify the thoughts and actions of the Shenoutes of Late Antiquity with mainstream Christianity; instead, he firmly labels theirs an "extremist discourse" and devotes much space to demonstrating that it did not go uncontested. Second, he is equally attuned to the rhetorical strategies devel-

oped by the imperial center to justify the violent suppression of Christian as well as pagan adversaries in the name of unity and salvation.

What tipped the balance in favor of extremists was their readiness to put their lives' on the line, and the readiness of their followers to read such behavior as martyrdom. "Their willingness to die," he observes (in one of many fine turns of phrase), "gave them the right to kill" (p. 181). Gaddis is fully aware of the contemporary implications of his study. Indeed, he concludes that both secular and religious ideologies of the modern world have their origins in this Late Antique discourse. Such thinking makes this book not only important, but also timely.

University of California, Santa Barbara H. A. DRAKE

Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity. By Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony. [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, XXXVIII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 250. $45.00.)

Israeli scholars have of late produced tremendous work on the topic of pilgrimage. The present volume, a substantially revised dissertation written at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, makes available to non-Hebrew-speaking historians a taste of that rich, ongoing work. Bitton-Ashkelony surveys an impressive variety of late ancient sources (in Greek, Latin, and Syriac, from western Gaul to Mesopotamia) in her exploration of nascent notions of sacred geography. Rejecting overly simplistic rubrics such as "popular religion," Bitton-Ashkelony instead probes the theological, political, and social dimensions of a religious phenomenon whose origins are obscure (or even irrelevant) but whose impact was ineluctable. At the heart of her study lies the city of Jerusalem, allegorized in the New Testament but brilliantly rematerialized in late antiquity, a religious center around which crystallized diverse responses to the idea of venerable Christian place.

An introductory chapter lays out scholarly approaches to the question of sacred space, betraying a tendency, little expressed in the rest of the volume, toward a *religionsgeschichtlich* approach. The first three chapters tackle "great thinkers" of late antiquity. Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa were lukewarm toward Jerusalem pilgrimage, even as they heavily promoted local cultic shrines, possibly due to competition with other bishops such as Cyril of Jerusalem (chap. 1). Jerome at times embraced the sanctity of the holy land (in which he settled), yet at other times polemically rejected the special sanctity of the holy city. Once again, for Bitton-Ashkelony, ecclesiastical politics intervene; yet even a political figure such as Jerome cannot escape the rising tide of the adoration of sacred space (chap. 2). Augustine pointedly refrained from articulating any theology of sacred geography beyond typically Pauline allegories of God's omnipresence and the "New Jerusalem." Bitton-Ashkelony

views this reticence as pastoral condescension from the great bishop, focused more on the behavior of his flock than on their *locus* (chap. 3).

The final two chapters push into the monastic realm which, Bitton-Ashkelony argues, was central to the political and theological developments of a "territory of grace." She persuasively demonstrates the productively paradoxical importance of both *xeniteia* (wandering) and *hēsychia* (tranquility) in the accounts of desert saints in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria into the sixth centuries. Three significant monastic thinkers then ground these hagiographic sources: Athanasius of Alexandria, who deftly acknowledges holy land pilgrimage but subsumes it into (episcopally supervised) monastic practice; Evagrius Ponticus, whose highly theorized mystical monasticism provides an even more thorough (and influential) internalization of the pilgrimage idea; and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, whose biblical interpretations incorporate pilgrimage into a supersessionist, anti-Jewish theology. The last chapter (chap. 5) returns to the question of "local versus central" pilgrimage in Palestinian and Syrian sources. Here Bitton-Ashkelony produces her most compelling argument: the imagination of local pilgrimage sites (particularly monastic sites) as a "second Jerusalem," suggesting that "local" sacred space could only predominate through an imagined, and redistributed, "center."

Encountering the Sacred is an enormously learned volume, superbly written and notated, required reading for students of early Christian pilgrimage and monasticism. Bitton-Ashkelony dispenses with the typical frameworks for discussing Christian theologies of space—most notably (and perhaps a bit hastily) the persistent influence of Platonism—and in so doing presents us with theologians and theorists who are always responsive and reactive. Some more tantalizing suggestions might have been pursued further, such as the importance of monastic theology as foundational for medieval pilgrimage, or the ways in which biblicism could mediate between material piety and theological anti-Judaism. It is, however, the mark of a dynamic study to leave the reader wanting more, and doubtless the groundwork laid here will provide intellectual provocation for numerous further studies.

University of California, Riverside ANDREW JACOBS

Augustine: A New Biography. By James J. O'Donnell. (New York: Harper Collins Publishers. 2005. Pp. xvi, 396. $26.95.)

The subtitle of this new life of Augustine announces a biography. It is both that and rather more. Before O'Donnell's *Augustine*, there were two big standard works on Augustine's life. Peter Brown's now-classic *Augustine of Hippo* first appeared in the 1960's. It was a spectacular and pathbreaking work of genius written by a young man who was then only in his early thirties. Not without good reason does O'Donnell himself laud Brown as "Augustine's best biographer" (p. 73). Brown's *Augustine* appeared again at the turn of the millennium, with recon-

siderations that looked back on the author's original work from the perspective of a half-century of changes in which Brown himself had a large part. Then Serge Lancel's *Saint Augustin* appeared just before the turn of the millennium, first in French and then, within three years, in an English translation—a biography whose extraordinary quality was assured by the author's incomparable command of the whole range of ancient North African history. Whereas Brown's work set Augustine's life in the context of the development of Late Antique culture and thought, Lancel offered a more strictly biographical perspective that placed the man more firmly than ever in his African homeland and culture.

O'Donnell's *Augustine* is not like either of these now-classic lives. His Augustine is not set *in* any context. Instead, the reader is taken for a sometimes breathtaking ride, invited to sense the forces involved in making the man from the inside out. The "more" that the reader gets is a postmodern rush. We feel the depression and anxiety, the rage and anguish of a man living his driven life of success and failure. Patently influenced by cybernetics, virtual and deconstructive currents, this Augustine is not a neat narrative retold in careful chronological order. It is a critical inspection that strives to break down the pieces of personality (p. 84). In the postscript that has appeared with the paperback version (2006, p. 7), the author confesses that he had toyed with the subtitle of "An Antibiography," much in the manner that my clothing has sometimes been derided as an Antifashion, I suppose. The result is anything but neat or intended to satisfy.

O'Donnell's Augustine is a site of immense talent, huge ambition, and great frustrations whose self-fashioning, down to the center of the famous conversion, was deliberately constructed in his *Confessions*. Alert to the stratagems of deliberate amnesia and fiction, there is a constant drive to interrogate the subject. What is it that Augustine is *not* telling us? And why? In a man who was so attuned to his increasing celebrity, the tactic is useful and produces better insights. Moved by a hermeneutic of suspicion, O'Donnell is determined not to be seduced or hypnotized by his subject's words. In his prying apart, he does not shrink from imaginative reconstructions, fictional biographies, and counterfactual scenarios that might well make an Edmund Morris blush (e.g., pp. 51-52, 80-81, 171-172, 205-207, 230-231). He brings into the glare of his spotlight experiences that Augustine most wants us not to see—amongst others, his eleven (not nine, as he minimized) years as a devoted Manichee, and his beloved mother's involvement in the Donatist church. The personal story is set against a deep cultural background: the making of sermons, the writing of letters, the quality and knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Punic, and the complex and rapidly evolving template of late antique social relations.

O'Donnell warns us, as we might expect, not to take the power of late paganism as gravely as it is presented to us: "Christian parody and polemic is taken too seriously" (p. 189). The fright of a great religious threat was needed in the forging of a new Christianity in the late fourth century. The polemics did serve one great end and personal success: "Augustine's part in shaping catholic identity was the central achievement of his career" (p. 201). As with "pagan-

ism," the author also moves to a new telling of the Donatist-Catholic battle that reconstrues it in novel ways by using an inventive terminology—"Caecilianists" v. "Donatists"—to circumvent Augustine's willful triumphalism (chap. 8). There follows one of the best analyses of Pelagius and his heresy. Here too, there was a huge price tag attached to success. O'Donnell makes clear how much Augustine was a Pelagius "wannabe"—a fighter who was forced from positions that we would expect him more naturally to hold, finally to espouse ever more logically refined and coherent, but extreme ideas (p. 269). In the end, Augustine was to be decisively shaped by his own African world, one with which he coped so badly (p. 272). Since the searchlight is shone so relentlessly on the man—it is, after all, a biography—the one less-than-fulsome chapter devoted to Augustine's "theologies" is bound to disappoint some.

In the laudable desire to communicate with a generation of e-mailers and video-gamers, there are turns of phrase and expression that some are bound to see as over-reaching. Augustine appears as a C.E.O., a gunslinger, an attack-dog, a Don Quixote, a horny young man on the hunt for hookups; the Greatful Dead play and the Manichees arrive as a New-Age sect. The author has taken the risks of stylistic inconcinnity and anachronism, but for all the right reasons. And mostly with success. Reading this reconsideration of this one human life, I have had to accept, again, that there is something unusual in Augustine that I will never understand—a fascination, as O'Donnell rightly names it. No other figure from all of antiquity has attracted three of the finest spirits of our age and has provoked from them three masterpieces that so admirably mirror the lives of the writers. His own little trinity. Of all these modern views of this ancient life, there can be no doubt that O'Donnell's is the one for our age—an Augustine for the threshold of the twenty-first century. It is that good. Beg, borrow, or buy. Then pick it up and read.

Princeton University BRENT SHAW

Medieval

Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages. By Nicole Chareyron. Translated by W. Donald Wilson. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 287. $45.00.)

For medieval Christians the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was an act of extraordinary devotion. Rich spiritual rewards awaited those who could visit the city sanctified by the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Yet the long, expensive, and dangerous journey from Europe to the Holy Land was itself also an act of penance. Utilizing more than fifty contemporary accounts, Nicole Chareyron opens in this book a fascinating window into the world of these pilgrims. In evocative (although occasionally over-florid) prose, Chareyron creates a composite picture of a typical pilgrimage from its hopeful departure until its uncertain conclusion. Her close familiarity with what she refers to as "our authors" makes this book both interesting and entertaining.

It is important to point out that, title notwithstanding, this is a book about Jerusalem pilgrimages at the *end* of the Middle Ages—specifically the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries. A pilgrim in the twelfth century, for example, would have had a dramatically different experience than what is described here. Chareyron recognizes the diversity of late medieval pilgrimage routes, yet focuses on what she sees as the most common one and then follows it closely. It begins at home with a ceremony and tearful departure and then moves on to Venice, where ships' captains compete with one another to sell package tours that seem never to go as promised. After experiencing the rich beauty of Venice, the pilgrims then board a cramped vessel where poor food, bad smells, nasty rats, cagey oarsmen, and disease are the norm for the next five weeks. When the pilgrims finally do arrive at the ruins of crusader Jaffa they are packed into caves where they must wait until they have paid sufficient fees, bribed sufficient officials, and submitted to sufficient depredations. Only then can they depart under the guidance of the approved Franciscan tour leaders. Along the way and throughout their visit to the Holy Land they will be beset by corrupt authorities and local Muslims who routinely lob insults or stones at them while all the while seeking to rob them blind. The journey was a penance indeed.

Once in Jerusalem, things do not get much better. Most pilgrims were given Spartan quarters and strictly limited in their ability to move about. Aside from visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, they took excursions to Bethlehem, the Jordan, and other holy sites. After a month of all that, most pilgrims were eager to return home, yet Chareyron follows those who pressed on to Gaza, Mt. Sinai, Cairo, and Alexandria. Through the eyes of those travelers the reader explores rich bazaars, filled with luxury items, exotic animals, and pitiful slaves, trudges along difficult desert treks, and marvels at the pyramids, which were generally believed to be Joseph's granaries. At last comes the voyage home, usually more eventful than expected or wanted.

There is no grand thesis here, nor should there be. Chareyron has instead woven together the accounts of her authors into a compelling narrative in which their voices, at once flawed and human, come through to the modern reader. It is a page-turning story accessible to a general audience that would also be ideal for classroom use.

Saint Louis University THOMAS F. MADDEN

The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith. Edited by Philippa Hoskin, Christopher Brooke, and Barrie Dobson. [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, vol. 27.] (Rochester, New York: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 235. $90.00.)

The economics of the publishing world make the publication of *Festschriften* much rarer than used to be the case; however, this volume shows

a great combination of personal tribute to an eminent scholar and a pioneering archivist, on the occasion of his retirement from the directorship of the Borthwick Institute, University of York. It is a focused and interesting collection of essays, the subjects of which reflect the breath and scope of David Smith's work.

The first two contributions in the book, by Christopher Brooke and Christopher Webb respectively, present the scholarly work of David Smith as the editor of the British Academy's *English Episcopal Acta* series, general editor of the Lincoln Record Society, and editor of many volumes of other medieval ecclesiastical documents from the York diocese as well as director of the Borthwick Institute, which under his leadership became one of the most important repositories of documents related to the ecclesiastical and regional history of northern Britain as well as an active research center and training ground for new generations of archivists.

Julia Barrow's contribution, "Why Forge Episcopal Acta? Preliminary Observations on the Forged Charters in the *English Episcopal Acta* series" argues that forgeries were produced primarily by large Benedictine monasteries and cathedral priories and to a lesser degree by other ecclesiastical institutions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The most active in this field were post-Conquest foundations at Gloucester, Rochester, Durham, and Norwich, and the charters were produced to assert the right to numerous parish churches or tithes granted in the late eleventh century, which was a low point in the production of private charters as well as an attempt to secure freedom from various demands of episcopal officials. This article contains also a useful list of forged episcopal *acta* and beneficiaries of these documents. The next essay, by Nicholas Bennett, "Pastors and Masters: The Beneficed Clergy of North-East Lincolnshire, 1290-1340," argues for a less gloomy picture of lower clergy in later medieval Britain, which has traditionally been seen as dominated by absenteeism and lack of care for parish duties. Using the example from the registers of the bishops of the dioceses of Lincoln, he finds many examples contradicting this view. Then, Janet Burton elucidates how another type of sources—so called "cause papers"—concerning payments of ecclesiastical dues, matrimonial cases, defamation, and testamentary wills can be used to explore complex relationships between religious houses in Yorkshire and their lay neighbors. Charles Fonge moves on to study the role and development of collegiate churches in the pre-Black Death period using the cartulary of St. Mary's collegiate church in Warwick. The next contribution, by Christopher Harper-Bill, moves away from the corporate to the individual to examine the career of Walter Suffield, Bishop of Norwich (1244-1257), who has been rather positively described by Matthew Paris's chronicle. The literary picture is analyzed here in conjunction with his *acta* to reveal a conscientious administrator and pastor who was particularly concerned with supplying charitable provisions for the poor. The theme of charity is taken up by R. H. Helmholz, who discussed legal bases of charitable giving in the canon law and evidence for

practical application of these principles by the late medieval English ecclesiastical courts. Then, Philippa Hoskin returns to figures of bishops, offering a study of the composition of the episcopal household and shows a significant continuity in personnel under successive bishops of Durham in the thirteenth century. The next article, by Brian Kemp, brings together a selection of *acta* issued by English rural deans in the early stages of this office's existence between mid-twelfth century and c. 1220 to illustrate the range of activities performed by the deans. F. Donald Logan turns our attention to a range of matters dealt with by the Court of Arches (a provincial court of appeal for the province of Canterbury). The actual records of the court perished in the Great Fire of London, but Bishop Roger Martival of Salisbury (1315-1330) kept a separate register of inhibitions sent by the court to him as a local bishop, and this material provides a unique glimpse into the legal machinery which covered several dioceses. The penultimate essay, by A. K. McHardy, "Bishops' Registers and Political History: A Neglected Resource," focuses on the non-ecclesiastical aspects of the bishops' role in late medieval England. The final contribution, by Jane Sayers, discussed the "ultimate" sources of church history—the papal registers—and the history of research and publication of material relevant to Great Britain and Ireland.

The Foundations of Medieval History is a well designed and focused volume that is engaged with traditional sources of ecclesiastical history, but asks new questions and as such is useful and interesting to historians of the English medieval church, whilst many of the articles from this book could be included in the reading lists of advanced undergraduate courses on late medieval England.

University of Leeds EMILIA JAMROZIAK

Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389. By Dawn Marie Hayes. [Studies in Medieval History and Culture.] (New York and London: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 193. $78.00.)

Buildings deemed as sacred in the Middle Ages were never exclusively such, as Dawn Marie Hayes so engagingly shows in her *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389*. Whereas space, both sacred and secular, became increasingly compartmentalized and differentiated in the early modern period, there existed in the Middle Ages an ambiguity between sacred and profane that, according to Hayes, reflected the similarly nuanced medieval human body. The body, in fact, served as a didactic tool, inasmuch as the medieval Christian's understanding of the spatial arrangement and proper use of churches was based upon the medieval conception of the arrangement and proper use of the body.

Hayes uses the murder of Thomas Becket to illustrate her church=body metaphor. The attack upon Becket in 1170 occurred at the altar, the area of the

church regarded as the "head" of the cruciform building, and it was Becket's head, the "locus of archiepiscopal consecration," that received the fatal blows. Yet, Becket's murder, although a profane act carried out in a sacred space, caused Canterbury to "became more powerful as it absorbed its violated human self." The relics associated with Becket's body and the hagiographies that focused on his abused head ultimately served to affirm church authority over secular authority. Thus, the body of Becket paralleled the body of the church, both edifice and community.

Chartres cathedral also receives Hayes's refreshing analysis. Chartres was "off the beaten path" and destined to be eclipsed when a clerical advertising campaign of the early thirteenth century that focused on the miracles associated with the shirt worn by Mary at the birth of Christ propelled it to the forefront of pilgrimage sites. The shirt, which had touched the bodies of both Mary and Christ, was Chartres' most famous relic, along with the stones on which Becket's body fell and a phial of Becket's blood brought to Chartres less than ten years after Becket's death. Hayes notes in her detailed examination of the Chartres miracle stories that the vast majority of miracles were directly concerned with bodies, giving substance to her argument that "the currency of Chartres is human flesh."

Hayes's artful pairing of human body and church edifice serves to illustrate the ambiguity of profane and sacred in the medieval period, and underscores the extent to which medieval theology responded to practical needs. Churches were places of worship, certainly, but were also used for storage, lodging, legal proceedings, shopping, and sexual assignations. As Hayes points out, sacred buildings were like bodies, with some parts more sacred than others. Ideally, the entire consecrated edifice should have been considered sacrosanct, but ideal seems to have comfortably accommodated reality in the Middle Ages.

Hayes maintains in this well-written, extensively annotated short book that there were two "façades of Christian worship," the physical space of a church building and the physical body. One could not be understood without the other. Each relied on the other for definition. The church sanctified the corporeal, while the bodies of saints prompted the establishment of churches; the bodies of pilgrims who visited the sacred structures both confirmed the sanctity of the church and challenged it by their profane utilization of its interior and environs. Ironically, the very nature of the human body—its fleeting existence and corruptibility, was, as Hayes explains, "integral to the establishment of medieval sacred place [and] central to its function." Thus, that which was reckoned to be eternal relied upon the transitory body, an assumption upon which medieval Christianity negotiated its place in society.

Tennessee Tech University SUSAN LANINGHAM

The Gothic Enterprise: A Guide to Understanding the Medieval Cathedral. By Robert A. Scott. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 292.)

On the surface, this book is a study about the great sacred structures of the High Middle Ages and the causes and circumstances of their creation. But anyone who reads it carefully will soon understand the actual topic paramount in Scott's distinctive perspective. The author is a social scientist who has discovered for himself the sheer fascination of the English cathedrals, reporting here in a very individual way about that voyage of discovery. At the core of this biographical process is Salisbury Cathedral, and it stands at the study's center. And because the Stonehenge megaliths are but a few miles away, at the book's end Scott juxtaposes two monuments as the creations in stone of two differing historical collectives. In this many-faceted and compelling study, he attempts to explore the motives and circumstances of existence of these two collectives.

The book begins and ends with a sense of wonderment about the artifacts which first awakened the interest of scholars in the Gothic period some 250 years ago. Scott includes himself in the ranks of these discoverers of wonder in knowledgeable awe of Gothic artistry. He is in search of a kind of holistic understanding of the phenomenon. So he is not only interested in the construction of the great churches between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, and their fuller meaning. The buildings are also viewed as examples reflecting the ambition and productivity of a medieval feudal society whose cultural habitus was significantly stamped by a belief in the world beyond, cultic practices, magical thought, thinking in symbols and images, and the multiple constraints of a way of life constantly at existential risk.

Scott has worked through an abundance of interdisciplinary literature in order to present as many varied aspects of his topic as possible, and his investigative curiosity carries him into the furthest nooks of medieval studies. This is further enriched by frequent consultation of standard works of diverse neighboring disciplines, and these lead to surprising and illuminating insights. However, the selection suffers from an essential limitation in that except for two studies, all the literature he cites is in English, or a work in English translation. The consequence is that Scott can report authoritatively on recent work in social history and the history of mentality, where Anglo-American research has been at the leading edge of inquiry, but when it comes to questions that require a better knowledge of Continental European discourse, his treatment remains inadequate. What I have in mind are, for example, the highly controversial debates, relativizing older theses, on the possibilities for a philosophical-theological interpretation of the medieval church as a model for heaven. Or inquiry on sacred space as a space for social and spiritual acts, or studies on the material economy and technology of the great stonemason workshops. A further result of his selective approach is the heavy focus on a specific geographical area, namely England. This tilt is not necessarily inimical to a correct total cultural-historical portrait, but that rather Anglo-centric picture is difficult to project and transpose onto the continent without certain gaps and fractures.

One may also wonder about the general utility of the findings. Scott investigates several of the fundamental questions on the position, function, and collective frame for action of the clerics almost exclusively in reference to the monastic *vita communis* of the early medieval period and High Middle Ages – being aware and correctly pointing out that some English cathedrals were under the control of monastic communities. But that was by no means the rule when viewed from a Continental vantage. There the clerical communities of the cathedral chapters were in the quickening process of dissolution precisely at the same time the first Gothic construction projects were launched. So the model of the *vita communis* cannot be regarded as a spiritual correlate of the community enterprise of the "cathedral."

The specific weight given various topics here springs from a distinct discursive intention. Scott very clearly is not intent here to present a finely balanced and well-argued compendium on the topic of the cathedral. Rather, his primary concern is to engage in a scientific re-narration and presentation of his own epistemic interest. The great strength of this book is thus the power invested in its clarity of expression, which is able to spark a reader's enthusiasm and interest, persuasive in the way a gifted lecturer captivates his or her audience. The Gothic Enterprise is a personal enterprise of the author, in a sense a form of biography as a mode of knowledge. It reads like the invitation to a journey of discovery replete with astute insights rather than a textbook claiming to give a full account of all relevant views and opinions.

University of Cologne NORBERT NUßBAUM

A Call to Piety: Saint Bonaventure's Collations on the Six Days. By C. Colt Anderson. (Quincy, Illinois: Franciscan Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 213. $21.95 paperback.)

In the introduction to his book, Colt Anderson compares Bonaventure's *Collations on the Six Days* (of creation) to Egyptian pyramids full of "beautiful hieroglyphics and symbolic ornamentation" (p. vi). These things are mysteriously beautiful in and of themselves, but when properly understood they reveal a culture and a religion that is "vibrant and alive to the immediate concerns" of its contemporaries. Such are the collations of Bonaventure; they can be seen in and of themselves or entered into to discover how he spoke to the Friars Minor and the Church of his day about things of which they were very much a part. Anderson's work helps the contemporary reader understand the complex situation and controversies that the Franciscans were involved in soon after the death of their beloved founder.

Today's Franciscans have been around for almost 800 years and are a well respected family in the household of the Christian Church. Not so the brothers and sisters who formed the early Franciscan movement. They fought among themselves as they established their Franciscan identity, and they

clashed with bishops, priests, and scholars about their role in the Church. They were a rapidly growing and not so well formed group of mendicants caught up in the whirlwind of church reform between the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. In the midst of this turmoil, Bonaventure addressed his final collations to the friars in particular and the Church in general.

Anderson's *A Call to Piety* tries to situate the Collations in their historical context. It is divided into seven chapters with an introduction. In the first two chapters, he does a marvelous job of explaining the Order that Bonaventure inherited in 1257 when he was installed as Minister General. This he does by expounding on the scandal that the friars found themselves involved in. He does an excellent job of explaining the Joachimite tendencies that many of the so-called "spiritual friars" were attracted to and why they were.

Anderson focuses his attention and ours on the Collations in chapters 3-6. He begins with a description of Bonaventure's understanding of good members of the Church as "observers of divine law, lovers of divine peace, and singers of divine praise" (p. 65) with Christ as the center of all things. He moves on to give us Bonaventure's defense of "scholasticism and its usefulness for preaching" (p. 90) as well as an explanation of the multiform exegesis of Scripture. This was a difficult thing for Bonaventure to do, especially given the zealot Franciscans' Joachimite leanings and distrust of learning. Bonaventure takes the very symbols and language used by Joachim in order to bring these "spiritual" men into a more ecclesial understanding of the faith.

"Bonaventure has no problem speaking of the sin of the church" (p. 144) according to Anderson, who moves on to describe how Bonaventure saw a need to return to the Church's "original perfection" and a contemplative ecclesiology.

Finally, Anderson explains the collations as Bonaventure's call to piety through *kenosis*. In his conclusion, he invites the reader to heed this call in the context of today's Church. I would recommend that all Franciscans, especially the Friars Minor, read Anderson's book as they continue to struggle with reforming their identity after the Second Vatican Council. I believe that in it they will find Bonaventure still has the strength to challenge his brothers and call them to the task of preaching within the Church.

Catholic Theological Union GILBERTO CAVAZOS-GONZÁLEZ, O.F.M.

Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination. By John V. Tolan. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 372. $52.50 cloth; $22.50 paper.)

For the past forty years, there have been two standard reference works on this subject: *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (1960) by Norman Daniel, and Richard Southern's *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*

(1962). With the publication of John Tolan's well-researched, theoretically informed, and thoughtful account of Western attitudes toward Islam from the seventh through the thirteenth centuries, we now have a third.

Beginning with a chapter on the Church Fathers, and another on the polemics and apologetics of Eastern Christians in the seventh and eighth centuries, Tolan shows how Latin authors built upon tradition; how, for example, Christians living in Muslim-occupied Spain in the eighth and ninth centuries—like the protected minorities (*dhimmi*) of the Middle East before them—saw the conquest of Islam as a punishment from God; and how northern scholars, lacking any firsthand experience of Islam, tended to characterize Muslims either as pagans, akin to the Roman persecutors of old, or as arch-heretics, based, again, on the typology of early medieval authors such as Isidore of Seville.

By the time of the Crusades, Muslims had become idol-worshipers—and Muhammad their heresiarch leader. Never mind the inconsistencies. Actual experience of Islam rarely got in the way of ridicule and contempt; and negative images served to justify the use of force. Add to these attacks the more genuine attempts to understand this rival faith, and one finds that by the end of the thirteenth century, multiple and varied images of Islam were circulating—some positive, most negative—in a society where the boundaries between scholarly and popular views were not as clearly marked as is commonly assumed.

Tolan's intent in this book is to "complement" the work of Daniel and Said, and for those who study pre-modern Muslim-Christian relations, he does this admirably well: his nuanced and subtle analysis of Western images is based not only upon a thorough familiarity with the sources but also upon an equally close reading of the cultures that produced them. When examining the ninth-century Córdoban martyrs' movement, for instance, he contrasts the inflammatory writings of Alvarus and Eulogius—aimed at shoring up Christian resistance and at painting the world in apocalyptic terms—with the reserved reactions of the rest of the *dhimmi* community (the majority), who at least on some levels had come to terms with their Muslim overlords, and who wanted the fanatics to go away, so that they could continue to enjoy the protections and privileges the caliph had granted them.

For other readers, however, for historians working on the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries, for example, or for social scientists studying the ideological role of dehumanization, Tolan does much more than merely "complement" the earlier studies: he corrects the impression left by Daniel and Said that the history of Islam in the European imagination is but an unbroken chain of stereotypes in the service of timeless colonial ambitions.

On the contrary: the negative "orientalist" portrayals of Islam that Said sees as the ideological underpinning of French and British colonialism, actually have their origins in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries—in the resistance of Christian "orientals" to their Muslim colonizers (p. 67). The martyrs of

Córdoba are a case in point. By having themselves executed for publicly defaming Islam, and by demonizing those Christians who co-operated with the Muslim overlords, they wanted to incite hatred and to erect a "wall of violence" between Muslim ruler and Christian subject. And this, Tolan rightly points out, corresponds to the logic of what Said called anticolonial "resistance culture" (p. 88)—a stance that can be traced to early eastern polemics/apologetics such as the Risâlat al-Kindî and the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius.

Inevitably, in pondering the Middle Ages, we ponder modernity; and at one point, as he runs through the various conflicting representations of Muslims that existed in miniatures, manuscript illuminations, troubadour poetry, mystery plays, polemics, and hagiographies, Tolan observes that some small Spanish towns still celebrate their liberation from the "Moors" by setting up an effigy of the Prophet. "Eight centuries," he writes, "after the Chanson de Roland describes the Saracens of Saragossa toppling the idol Mahomet into a ditch, eight centuries after Raoul de Caen imagines Tancred destroying a gilded idol of Muhammad in the temple of Solomon, Valencian villagers re-enact this imaginary idol-destruction as a central part of their dramatization of the reconquista" (p. 133).

A thoroughgoing reference work like *Saracens* was long overdue; it is also quite timely.

The American University in Cairo DAVID BLANKS

Cistercian Nuns and Their World. Edited by Meredith Parsons Lillich. [Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture, 6.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2005. Pp. xii, 366. $49.95.)

This is the first book to be devoted to a broader study of the arts of medieval Cistercian nuns. While considerable attention has been given to the architecture of monks in the Order, little has been written on the women's houses. Professor Lillich must be given credit for compiling eight articles that successfully provide a groundwork on which future studies can be based.

The edition begins with an excellent analysis of the iconography of Bernard of Clairvaux and his sister Humbeline. The author, James France, traces the surviving medieval images of these two early Cistercian religious and proves that Humbeline enjoyed a privileged position within the Order because of the brother as well as her status as a nun in the foundation years of the twelfth century. Her most well-known image appears on the cover of *Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women* (Kalamazoo, 1995), in which she sits front and center under a tree of holy nuns as found in a painting dated in 1635 from the convent at La Paix Dieu.

Next is a series of regional studies of the architecture of Cistercian nuns. Constance Berman's study of the remains of four houses in southern France

follows the same lines as her controversial study of *The Cistercian Revolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000). The Low Countries come next with Thomas Cooman attempting an overview of what little remains of the eighty-five nunneries founded there in the Middle Ages. Using old photographs, documents, and some archaeological evidence, he focuses on the nuns' churches, cloisters, ranges, abbess lodgings, and gate houses. Christine Kratzke follows with her study of the architecture of Cistercian nunneries in Northern Germany, where more physical evidence survives. As with the preceding articles, however, she was forced to consider what it is to be called "Cistercian" and to determine if the convents were similar to houses of monks. Her conclusions, as well as the other two above, find that there is great diversity especially in the churches and it is impossible to find a medieval "plan type" that applies to the female houses of the order.

The next two articles focus on two individual convents: Las Huelgas in Spain and Ss. Jacobi and Buchardi in Germany. The former, written by James D'Emilio, is an excellent summary concerning the founding of this famous royal nunnery. He was able not only to analyze the extensive physical remains and place them in their architectural history, but also to detail the importance of Las Huelgas for its political significance in the unification of Spain, as well as the religious significance within the Cistercian order, especially as it relates to nuns. The next article, on the much lesser-known house in Germany by Cornelia Oefelein, focuses on the primary documents that have only recently been made available to scholars, as well as looks cursorily at the nun's church, which was the only building left standing after the convent was secularized in 1810.

The last two articles focus on single works of art in two specific monasteries. Charlotte Ziegler concentrates on a fourteenth-century charter from St. Bernard for the Horn nunnery in Austria. A sixteenth-century tapestry antependium commissioned by two abbesses for their community of Flines outside Douai is the topic of Andrea Person's study.

In sum, the articles with the accompanying 173 figures as well as lists of convent and geographical locations, are more than just a study in Cistercian art and architecture of nuns. They are a beginning for future studies on the physical remnants that touched the lives of women called to religious life in medieval Europe.

Slippery Rock University JOHN A. NICHOLS

The History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century. Introduction, translation, and annotations by Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis F. Sullivan with the assistance of George T. Dennis and Stamatina McGrath. [Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XLI.] (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks. 2005. Pp. xx, 264.)

Byzantine civilization has left a rich and varied body of historical writings. The assortment of chronicles, histories, and memoirs provides an almost unbroken narrative of the empire's history from the sixth to the fifteenth century. The early chronicles offer thin gruel to modern historians trying to form a coherent account of the "dark" seventh and eighth centuries, but by the tenth century the growing maturity and scope of Byzantine historiography allow for a more developed understanding of the dominant events and people of the time. *The History of Leo the Deacon*, focussing mainly on the reigns of the two great soldier emperors Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969) and John I Tzimiskes (969-976), has long been recognized as the most important source for the military and dynastic policies that shaped the course of events in the later tenth century. Strangely, however, Leo's history has long languished in an outdated edition, without an English translation, and has until now remained inaccessible to all but specialists. The appearance of this fine, meticulously annotated, translation by Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis Sullivan will be welcomed not only by Byzantinists, but perhaps even more so by students and scholars in the related fields of western medieval and Islamic history.

The History of Leo the Deacon bears all the hallmarks of the genre. The author writes in an archaic Greek full of recondite vocabulary and allusions to earlier models, particularly Procopius and Agathias. He employs rhetorical devices, notably the set speech and the excursus, to dramatize the narrative. He intends to present an orderly, connected record but often strays from his chronological line and occasionally conflates events. Leo was also writing the history of his own time, stating when he was an eyewitness or participant in the events he describes. This gives his work an authoritative immediacy and firsthand perspective; yet Leo also displays the fantastic conception the Byzantines had of the outer world, its workings and peoples. Throughout his work the classical idea of Chance and the Christian agency of Providence operate side by side, reminding readers of the uncertainty of this life and reinforcing the moralizing, instructive value not just of this history but of History itself. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Leo's history is the insight it offers into the mind of an educated Byzantine of middling social rank—what he knew, what he made of the world around him, and what he deemed useful or necessary for his and later generations to know.

All the many challenges posed by the *History of Leo the Deacon* are ably handled by the translators. Their introduction begins by sketching the historical background, with due emphasis on the military campaigns that set the later tenth century apart as the zenith of Byzantine power in the eastern Mediterranean. This serves to elicit the primary value of the *History* as a

source for the wars against the Hamdanids in Cilicia and Syria, and against the Rus in Bulgaria, but the translators also direct the reader's attention to the other significant ingredients of Leo's work. These include his sources and methods, his discussions of political and ecclesiastical affairs, comparison with other historians, and the random bits of information Leo supplies on Constantinople, natural phenomena, and on the men and women who people the text. In its thoroughness, and its integration of foreign scholarship on Leo the Deacon, the introduction gives readers new to the text the tools by which to assess its strengths and weaknesses as a historical source.

The translation itself reads well—no small feat considering the florid Greek in which Leo composed his work. Readers will be especially grateful for the annotations which explain the nuances of Leo's vocabulary and clarify the meaning of the text in many places. The discussions of chronology, technical details, and geographical references enhance the value of the translation and put the full range of Leo's work clearly before the reader. Included in the scholarly apparatus are genealogical tables, maps, and specialized indices which underline the book's usefulness to specialists and students alike.

The scholars involved in preparing this translation deserve congratulations for an impressive, immensely helpful addition to Byzantine scholarship, both as a research and teaching resource. It is worth emphasizing that it is the work of many hands. Such a collaborative undertaking, blending the philological, historical, and interdisciplinary expertise necessary to extract the full worth of opaque historical sources, should inspire similar projects focusing on the many Byzantine texts still in need of the comprehensive examination given so profitably to the *History of Leo the Deacon*.

St. Clement's School, Toronto ERIC MCGEER

Crusader Art in The Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291. By Jaroslav Folda. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. lxvii, 714; 11 colour plates, 10 maps, 415 figures, 501 illustrations on the compact disc. $150.00.)

Jaroslav Folda's monumental book is another link in his life's work that has been dedicated to the research of crusader art. Besides his numerous articles on the subject, his books show systematic development, from his *Crusader Manuscript Ilumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton University Press, 1976), through *The Art of the Crusades in the Holy Land 1098-1187* (Cambridge University Press, 1995) and up to the current comprehensive volume, which will be a basic resource to any researcher of the crusaders. The need for such a book was evident for a considerable period of time, since only parts of the relevant period have been investigated, and no all-embracing view on the subject existed.

In his book, Folda examines the art created for the crusaders by various social classes and ethnic groups, from Western merchants to Muslims in the Orient. But more than that, the book provides significant new contributions to a number of aspects and concepts in the research of crusader art.

Unlike any previous work, Folda places art itself, in its various forms, in a primary position, and raises the discussion on the essence of crusader art of the thirteenth century to a theoretical level, thus creating and setting it as a significant chapter in art history. This is a major innovation.

Unlike many art historians, Folda discusses historical events in the Holy Land, which he considers relevant to his research. It is my belief that this meticulous discussion contributes to the interpretation of the conditions of artistic creation in the following chapters.

In the introduction to his book, Folda informs the reader of his work process and the significance he accords to each chapter. The first chapter, dedicated to the historiography of crusader art history, is of the utmost significance. Here, Folda not only reviews the contribution of the various scholars of the Latin Orient since the nineteenth century, but also examines the efforts and perceptions of those who shaped the field in the twentieth century. Thus, he presents a progressive process of the development of research, in all artistic media, discussing, for example, the work of two of the leading art historians, Camille Enlart and Paul Deschamps, whose works paved the way for future scholarship and are still in use today. In an extensive and accurate analysis, Folda shows Enlart's positions, specifically the parallels Enlart draws between crusader architecture and the contemporaneous architecture in France and his constant desire to view crusader architecture as part of French architecture; Folda also points to the relative absence of observations in Enlart's work regarding local elements that do not fit his theory.

After a meticulous review of researchers like Lucy-Anne Hunt and Doula Mouriki, Folda discusses the definition of the essence of crusader art. He shows that there is a great development in the perception of the unique essence of crusader art, particularly in the study of icon paintings, as both Mouriki and Hunt begin to discuss Syrian artists, unlike their predecessor, Kurt Weitzmann, who discussed artists who came from Southern Italy. Furthermore, in this chapter not only does Folda remember every researcher who dealt with problems of crusader art, but he also presents the views of these researchers. I must note that I view this as a perfect example of how historiography should be written, particularly now, when many researchers quote selectively.

At the end of this chapter, Folda presents his credo: "Our study of the art of the crusaders in the Holy Land during the period 1187-1291 is a fresh attempt to discover, analyze, interpret and characterize the nature and development of this art and architecture in a particularly troubled historical setting" (p. 18).

Also exemplary is Folda's use of historical knowledge to understand the location and context of the objects and art works, in the life of the crusaders and others in the period. In one such example, which supports his statement on the importance of the presence of panel painting and icons in the art world of the crusaders in the Holy Land from 1250 onwards, he quotes a very significant passage from the Templar of Tyre, who tells about an Assassin attacking Philip the lord of Tyre and his son: "when he saw the Assassin coming in with the naked sword in his hand, he lunged toward the altar which had a board painting with pictures of saints on the front of it, and he got behind it" (p. 435). This text depicts a comprehensive picture of art, life, and the perception of religious art in the period.

The chapter on the painting of icons and the examination of styles and artists is central, and teaches us of varied art schools with their own features and traditions.

It is beyond the scope of this short report to refer to the individual chapters in detail. But I believe that each of them provides a significant contribution to the study of artistic creation in the crusader kingdom and will serve as a foundation and scholarly guide for students of the period and of art history in general in the future.

Tel Aviv University NURITH KENAAN-KEDAR

Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in Medieval Islam. By Yaacov Lev. (Gainsville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. x, 215. $59.95.)

Charitable institutions—hospitals for the sick, homes for orphans, asylums for the aged—did not exist in Classical Greco-Roman civilization nor in Germanic or Celtic cultures of northern Europe. Christianity created these institutions in the fourth century in cities such as Antioch, Alexandria, Caesarea (Cappadocia), and Constantinople in the Eastern Mediterranean. The rapid development of these philanthropic institutions into specialized facilities for needy people was no doubt linked to the conversion of Emperor Constantine to Christianity and the process of Christianizing the Roman state. Historians have traced the subsequent evolution of Christian philanthropic institutions in the Eastern Christian society of Byzantium and their slower development in the Western Latin provinces. Scholars of European civilization, however, have largely ignored the history of charity and charitable institutions in the Islamic world, although medieval Muslim hospitals, orphanages, poor houses, and free schools represent an important element in a continuous history of charity which began with the fourth-century Christian foundations.

Yaacov Lev's monograph is the first attempt in English to fill this lacuna by summarizing the history of Islamic charity from its origins in the Koran to the rise of the Ottoman Empire.

Lev begins by discussing the basis of Muslim charity found in the Koran, *zakat* and *sadaqa*. *Zakat* was an obligatory payment to benefit the poor paid by believers; *sadaqa* a voluntary contribution for the needy, offered by Arab tribes allied with Mohammed. In the wake of the Muslim conquests and the formation of the caliphate, *zakat* evolved into a tax paid to the government, not given directly to the poor. By 1171, the government of Saladin in Egypt collected *zakat* as a port tax in Alexandria, and used its proceeds not for the needy, but for holy war against crusaders.

The concept of *sadaqa* (voluntary aid to the needy) proved more effective in helping the poor, the sick, and others in need of society's support. Like Christianity, Islam emphasized that voluntary deeds of charity atoned for sins. Thus, in 972 the Fatimid Calif al-Muizz expiated his cruel execution of rebels by conspicuous acts of charity. Personal acts of charity also helped to legitimize a new ruler's authority. Nur al-Din, the Turkish beg who seized power in Syria and Egypt (1100's), justified his *de facto* independence of the Caliphate through his impressive charitable foundations.

Sadaqa proved to be an effective concept for supporting charitable institutions because early on it was supported by a flexible legal institution called a *waqf*. By establishing a *waqf*, a private donor dedicated land and sometimes movable wealth to support a particular charitable cause. In establishing the *waqf*, the founder prepared a written document often with very detailed instructions on exactly how the charity was to function. *Waqf* donations supported the great Islamic hospitals (*bimaristan*) including the Tulunid hospital in Fustat (872-874), the Adudi hospital in Baghdad (982), and the houses of the sick founded by Nur al-Din in twelfth-century Syria. Some of the *waqf* documents describe the number of physicians assigned to treat the sick and the organization of the hospital wards.

Through *waqf* donations, Muslims funded many other charitable activities. *Waqf* endowments provided ornate drinking fountains in many towns, maintained libraries, and provided food and lodging for pilgrims to Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. By the late eleventh and twelfth centuries many *waqf*s were supporting educational institutions such as free Koranic schools for orphans and poor children where students learned to read, memorize, and recite the Koran, and madrasas, schools in which older students learned Islamic law. Lev stresses that very few Muslim charitable foundations actually provided food or shelter for the truly poor. Lev maintains that even those institutions founded to shelter wanderers (*fuqara*) were often for mystics—sufis or later dervishes—rather than those who were destitute.

In addition to his descriptions of Muslim charities, Lev also summarizes some of the scholarly debates surrounding key issues. For example, he explores the possibility that the *waqf* was not a pure Islamic institution, designed specifically to support *sadaqa*, but may owe much to earlier Byzantine laws governing charitable institutions (the *piae causae* of the emperor Justinian's legisla-

tion). Lev's book also provides an excellent bibliography which includes recent monographs on Islamic charity written in Hebrew.

My only criticism of Lev's study is of its organization. I would have structured the chapters either according to chronology or according to specific types of charitable institutions. I cannot discern any system in Levi's chapter divisions. Despite this shortcoming, the book offers a wealth of information for scholars outside Islamic studies who want to see the whole picture of medieval charity, from Baghdad in the East to the elaborate philanthropic institutions of Renaissance Italy.

Salisbury University, Maryland TIMOTHY S. MILLER

The Art of Healing: Painting for the Sick and the Sinner in a Medieval Town. By Marcia Kupfer. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 202 plus 117 figures. $45.00.)

Marcia Kupfer's lively book is a model of interdisciplinary scholarship. Drawing on extensive archival research and deftly moving from archaeology to hagiography to nosography, among other myriad fields, the study focuses on the little-studied crypt frescos of Saint-Aignan-sur-Cher in central France. Kupfer frankly admits that these paintings, produced around 1200, are of middling quality, but she insists that their emphasis on scenes of healing offers important insights into the social uses of the monument, particularly the care of the sick body and soul.

As with her earlier book, *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France: The Politics of Narrative* (New Haven, 1993), political motivations of the clergy feature prominently. The college of canons, the presumed patrons of the paintings, emerges as a group determined to assert their role as mediators of divine healing. The first two chapters consider how the canons interacted with local lords and the many institutions dedicated to healing the sick in and around Saint-Aignan, especially in relation to ongoing changes in the cityscape. The third chapter asks what motivated the house of canons to sponsor an artistic program focused on healing. Repeated outbreaks of ergotism in this region are posited as one likely factor, but Kupfer believes more fundamentally that the crypt's representation of saints, associated with nearby and administratively subordinate institutions of healing, ultimately asserted the hegemonic position of the canons. Some recent scholarship, most notably Cynthia Hahn's, has questioned whether political motivations significantly informed pictorial hagiography in the High Middle Ages. But because Kupfer weaves a host of other threads into her narrative, her readings contain nuances that a short review cannot convey.

After establishing a social context, Kupfer turns to a sustained analysis of the monument. Chapter four presents the unusual disposition of the crypt—

rendered inaccessible from the nave during the course of a twelfth-century campaign—primarily in relation to a posited penitential function. The fifth chapter analyzes the paintings individually. Throughout Kupfer painstakingly and convincingly identifies a number of heavily damaged scenes, such as a meal of Bethany in the crypt's axial chapel. But in a few cases her reconstructions overstep what the evidence warrants. For example, she asserts that paintings in the crypt's north apsidiole, of which only faint silhouettes remain, originally presented a hagiographic cycle (pp. 13, 44). This is a reasonable hypothesis, but without any support (e.g., documenting traces of halos) it is only that; Kupfer directly acknowledges this only later in the book (p. 85). The identification of Roland among the figures present in an image of the Miraculous Mass of St. Giles is speculative (p. 97). Nevertheless, the hero's purported presence provides the basis for an excursus on spiritual healing.

The quibbles I noted while reading this book do nothing to detract from the sophisticated interpretive framework it develops and which bears fruit in the final chapter. Themes teased out earlier in the study are linked with wider concerns, including the body, gender, and ecclesiastical power. Kupfer boldly examines the fragmentary remains of a "minor" monument to expand our understanding of the complex ways in which art could function for medieval viewers. She opens up an important chapter on the relationship between art and institutions of healing in the West, of which the Isenheim altarpiece is a celebrated case.

Although richly illustrated, it is unfortunate that a volume on paintings lacks color reproductions (presumably the publisher's decision). Kupfer's descriptions are consistently vivid, but they are no substitute.

University of Colorado, Boulder KIRK AMBROSE

The Mirror of Salvation: Speculum Humanae Salvationis. An Edition of British Library Blockbook G. 11784. Translation and commentary by Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz. (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 194; 58 black and white illustrations. $65.00.)

It is difficult to imagine the audience envisioned for this edition by its editor-translators. The editors say their purpose is to present the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* "in an immediately accessible and understandable form and to the widest possible present-day audience" (p. 6). Judging from their approach, they are resurrecting this late-medieval text for a modern, non-specialist reader. While the translation of the *Speculum* text that forms the core of the volume will be useful as a finding aid for English-speaking scholars working in the fields of medieval art history, history, theology and literature, the explanatory texts are simplistic and the apparatus is minimal.

The volume consists of a short introduction, a list of woodcut illustrations, reproductions of the woodcuts accompanied by an English translation of their

Latin captions and texts, a modern commentary on the text titled "Interpreting the Blockbook," a cursory and somewhat dated bibliography, and an index. The editors provide no rationale as to why they chose the second Latin edition of the *Speculum*, dated by van Theinen and Goldfinch as *c.* 1474-75 (*Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*, 1999, item 2007), for translation and reproduction. This *Speculum* edition is, in fact, very interesting as it combines xylographic printing (also known as prototypography) with moveable type, though readers are not told why this might be interesting. The first Latin edition, also printed in the Netherlands, and subsequent editions are not discussed.

In their brief discussion of xylographic reproduction (the terms 'xylography' and 'prototypography' are nowhere used), the editors say that the woodblocks were "moistened with dye" (p. vii), which is odd, as the usual substance for printing in this period is ink. Very little is said about the role of blockbooks in the early history of printing; there is no mention of A. H. Stevenson's important discovery about watermarks in blockbooks, for example; and there is no discussion at all of the role that typographical images like those found in the *Speculum* play in the margins of Books of Hours, the best-selling book of the later Middle Ages. In their introduction, the editors do say they hope their work will encourage readers to explore further the iconography in "Gothic" stained glass and sculpture, and in Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel (p. 7), a general gesturing toward art history. Similar statements are made about the book's relevance to medieval history and theology.

The *Speculum* itself is described throughout as a book "for teaching the common folk" (pp. 5-6), though this notion has been mainly discounted by recent scholarship, which suggests that the book is rather more complex than first imagined. The discussion of typology, that is, reading Old Testament stories as prefiguring the New, the central organizing device of the *Speculum*, is also explained at the most basic level. One would think that with the *Speculum* text so immediately at hand, more might have been said about the complex interrelationships of its images and texts. The interpretation of specific texts in the "Interpretation and Commentary" is sometimes helpful (as in identifications of more obscure stories found in the Apocrypha and in Peter Comestor), but sometimes not. On the question, for example, of the female face of the serpent that tempts Eve there are any number of scholarly articles and at least one important monograph that immediately spring to mind, but the editors interpret this as reflecting Eve's "alter ego," then discuss the myth of Narcissus, which appears nowhere in the medieval text.

The *Speculum* itself, though, remains just as compelling as it was to readers of the fourteenth-century manuscripts and of later blockbooks and printed editions, and it is good to have this English prose translation to supplement the Middle English verse text edited by Avril Henry (*The Mirour of Mans Saluacion, A Middle English translation of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 1987), along with the English edition produced by Adrian and Joyce Lancaster Wilson (*A Medieval Mirror: Speculum Humanae Salvationis,*

1324-1500, 1985). In their English translation, the editors have done a service, however irritated scholars might be by the cursory introduction and bibliography, and by some of the editors' commentaries. The imagined audience might further include advanced high-school students and undergraduates interested in medieval culture, students of theology working at a fairly introductory level, generalist Christian readers exploring medieval meditative texts, and perhaps even priests seeking sermon materials.

Pace University MARTHA W. DRIVER

Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350-1500. By Kathleen Kamerick. [The New Middle Ages, Series No. 27.] (New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xi, 292. $89.95.)

Kathleen Kamerick refers to the process of working on this project as a "search for understanding holy images." The result is a kind of archaeological excavation of late medieval religious and social culture that was distinguished by its multifaceted approach to images.

Her first two chapters deal with both sides of the image controversies of this period in English history. The Lollards charged that images were prohibited in the First Commandment as idolatrous and that money spent on them should go to the poor, who were the true image of God. The defenders of images argued that the Incarnation of Christ meant that images of his human nature could be portrayed. Christ himself sanctioned their use by imprinting his image on Veronica's veil. In addition to this and other defenses, Roger Dymmok stated that God ordained them because of the superiority of sight over hearing. The defenders and attackers of images were, as Kamerick observes, concerned chiefly with how laypeople used them. The rest of Kamerick's study is an attempt to recover how the largest segment of the population used images.

Her third chapter examines the evidence of wills in Norfolk and Suffolk. She gives useful charts about the distribution of image gifts by gender and geographical distribution. Particularly valuable insights are offered in Kamerick's fourth chapter dealing with the social and political dimensions of the images used by various communities. The parish accounts of church wardens, as well as the membership lists and account records of gilds, indicate how individual groups gained a sense of communal fellowship in their support of specific images and the public spaces they occupied. Images could also inform political allegiances, as in the case of the cult images of the Lancastrian King Henry VI.

A highlight of this book is Kamerick's sensitive and probing analysis of the role of images in the lives of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe. Holy images, especially the crucifix, helped Julian understand and feel Christ's Passion. Bodily and spiritual sight worked concurrently as a conduit to reveal

God's love. Margery Kempe also fused bodily and spiritual senses in her visions. She was able to transfer the import of Christ's suffering on the cross to the suffering of animals and people in whom she saw the Lord. It is no wonder that she reacted bodily with loud weeping!

The sixth chapter deals with the variety of responses to images in prayer books that fused the acts of reading and beholding. Rather than replacing books for the unlearned, a justification for their use given centuries earlier by Pope Gregory, images combined with texts, both together comprising the book. In many cases the texts guided the viewing of the pictures. There was a dynamic interaction between image, rubric, and text. This required the reader to flip back and forth, merging visual and verbal devotion with the physical and temporal movements of reading. Kamerick goes on to discuss indulgences and charms that became associated with images. Yet, according to Kamerick, the massive iconoclasm of the early sixteenth century was sparked less by the questionable magical properties assigned to certain images than by the ways in which people attributed animate qualities to statues.

This book is indispensable for scholars of late medieval culture and for those seeking to understand this period of religious transition in England.

University of Victoria MAIDIE HILMO

Suppliques et Requêtes. Le Gouvernement par la Grâce en Occident (XII^e^-XV^e^ Siècle). Edited by Hélène Millet. [Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 310.] (Rome: École Française de Rome. 2003. Pp. 434. €45.00 paperback.)

The product of a conference held in Rome in 1998, this superb collection epitomizes both the pan-Europeanism which has long characterized French exploitation of the Vatican Archives and the multidisciplinary approach to which French historiography has given such productive stimulus. The object of a comparative study of supplications to the pope with analogous requests to other rulers is magisterially achieved by the collaboration of a distinguished international body of experts tackling the various branches of diplomatic and placing it in its broader cultural context. So, after the editor's introductory review, Geoffrey Koziol traces the Carolingian origins of the later medieval rite of supplication, in which sophisticated legal elaboration rests on enduring conventions of prayer and beneficence. These conventions are graphically expanded on by Jean-Marie Moeglin in a re-examination of a much-discussed miniature, argued as showing Pandolph IV of Capua before Henry II, and by Jean-Claude Schmitt, on the basis of illustrations in manuscripts of Gratian's *Decretum*. Charles Vulliez examines the rhetorical underlay of supplication. Regarding papal petitions, Patrick Zutshi's careful sifting of evidence for the commencement of their enregistration suggests that the practice in the form of the surviving series may be due to the reforming zeal, otherwise marked, of Benedict XII (1334-1342). Javier Serra Estellés presents Clement VII's secretary

Egidius Iuvenis maintaining his own register of particular business. Ludwig Schmugge lucidly delineates the scope and legal reference of the business processed by the Papal Penitentiary, while recalling to the historian's attention the spiritual dynamic (apt to be overlooked in concentration on bare procedure) in the relationship of supplicant and pontiff. From the 20,408 supplications to Urban V in 1362-1366, Anne-Marie Hayez surveys the approximately 12,000 over benefices. Élisabeth Lalou presents the special case of Philip VI's household and quasi-household officers. Such studies of actual supplication complement and are complemented by Pascal Montaubin's depiction of the earlier development of curial techniques adequate to the extent of recourse. If grace was in theory unlimited, not so the stock of benefices and in the resulting competition influence counted, whether available on an individual basis, as in Nathalie Gorochov's cases of Paris university supplicants c.1340-1420, or through the well-known university roll, as represented by Charles Vulliez's account of that of the Picard nation from 1414-1415. As regards secular government, three papers deal directly with France. Olivier Mattéoni presents the requests for official appointments made to Louis XI as an illustration of the dialogue between prince and subject which (cf. Koziol and despite the criticisms of reformers) was integral to their relationship. Claude Gauvard, in a lengthy and nuanced excursus, examines the exercise of royal grace in criminal cases, and Jean Hilaire the civil context. Timothy S. Haskett considers bill process in England, offering in course interesting observations on the rôle of conscience underlying the Court of Chancery's jurisprudence. José Manuel Nieto Soria reflects on the king of Castile's contact with the papal court in the fifteenth century and its implications. Andrea Barlucchi describes the character of the Archivio di Stato di Siena's holding of petitions to the city's government. At a theoretical level, Antonio García y García's analysis of the juridico-political dimension and Christian Trottmann's of the theology of government by grace are thought-provoking.

The production is handsome, with thirteen plates. Misprints are few for a multilingual volume. Documentation is copious. This is a well-executed and integrated contribution to the study of governmental process.

Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin MICHAEL HAREN

Florence and Its Church in the Age of Dante. By George W. Dameron. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. x, 374. $65.00.)

From 1250 to 1330 Florence suffered a succession of overlapping conflicts between Guelfs and Ghibellines, Black and White factions, popular and elite forces for which Dante famously blamed the papacy and its Angevin and Florentine Guelf allies. In his earlier study of *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society 1000-1320* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1991) pp. 145-153, George Dameron suggested that competition among Florentine lineages

within the local church may have exacerbated the violence. Here, instead, aiming to refute the anticlericalism of Robert Davidsohn's much cited *Storia di Firenze*, he emphasizes that "the church played a constructive role institutionally, economically, culturally, and politically in the process by which Florence became the dominant commune in Tuscany" (p. 5).

The church was not monolithic. Dameron details the operations of Florence's myriad ecclesiastical institutions, emphasizing the importance of rural alongside urban contexts, secular and monastic as well as mendicant clergy, and underscoring the clergy's involvement in local dispute resolution (p. 32) and the development of confraternities and charitable institutions that "helped maintain social peace" (p. 52). Although papal interventions and Florentine politics provoked disputes, especially among the upper clergy, these "constituted social processes that channeled and reconciled . . . competing interests and constituencies" (p. 27).

Clergy comprised roughly 3% of the Florentine population (p. 82), controlled a quarter to a third of landed property (p. 114), and contributed 10-20% to the communal fisc in *gabelle* and other taxes (p. 152). Among the upper ranks Ghibellines disappeared (p. 81) and the influence of older aristocratic families waned (p. 97) while members of upwardly mobile *popolano* families rose thanks to their "political and economic connections with the papacy" (p. 105). Meanwhile two-thirds of the lower clergy lived on incomes below those of unskilled urban laborers (p. 128). Benefices varied greatly in value, tithes were unreliable, and many priests supplemented their incomes with mortuary fees, altar offerings, and testamentary legacies (pp. 133-135). While elite institutions profited from and stimulated Florence's expanding economy, rising episcopal, communal, and papal taxes in the 1320s fell most heavily on the lower clergy, precipitating a crisis in diocesan finance and experiments with clerical self-government (pp. 157-163).

Parochial clergy nevertheless ministered satisfactorily to their parishioners, who in their testaments and burial choices did not abandon them for the mendicants (p. 176). The doctrine of Purgatory became central to Florentine piety, serving "to vindicate, legitimize, and facilitate the culture of money-making and civic aggrandizement" (pp. 167-168) and offering the possibility of atoning for usury through charity to the poor and ecclesiastical benefactions. The Renaissance "cult of remembrance" identifed by Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. first emerged in late *Duecento* Florence: men endowed chapels "to imprint their names and those of their lineages," women patronized art "to benefit the spiritual needs of their communities" (p. 194).

From 1285 Florence passed a series of laws curbing ecclesiastical prerogatives that gave it the upper hand—despite nine interdicts—in "an unequal but generally collaborative partnership" with the church (p. 217). In turn, the inquisition "served to shore up religious orthodox beliefs and to encourage loyalty to the Guelf commune" (p. 229). Through elaborate ecclesiastical building proj-

ects and the ritual celebration of Florence's expanding circle of leading saints "the ruling elite of the city drew on established religious traditions to help construct a set of pro-Guelf guild-based beliefs that underscored the legitimacy of the post-1266 regime" (p. 224). Leading ecclesiastical institutions smoothed Florence's assertion of control over its surrounding territory (pp. 233-239) and helped mold "a composite but continually divided ruling class" (p. 241).

Church historians will welcome Dameron's regard for rural as well as urban settings and his emphasis on the ongoing importance of parish clergy even if his rebuttals of Davidsohn seem unnecessarily defensive. Political historians will surely agree that Rome and the local church were key to the formation of Florence's Guelf regime and ideology in this period, though they may miss a more chronological and comparative approach and, like Dante, regard the process as less benign than does Dameron. The cluster of arguments and variety of sources that he has opened up are certain to stimulate further research and discussion.

Washington and Lee University DAVID S. PETERSON

Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of Two Popular Preachers: Giovanni Dominici (1356-1419) and Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444). By Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby. [Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, Volume 4.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2001. Pp. xii, 344. $82.00, €72,00.)

Intensely engaged with the major issues of the day, as well as the salvation of the soul, preachers of the late medieval and early modern period have become key interpreters of their complex societies. In the last decade, the historiography of Italian preaching has especially grown and deepened as scholars have moved from theological issues to the importance of the sermon as a social and cultural text.

A welcome addition to the literature is Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby's study of two master preachers of the early fifteenth century, the Dominican Giovanni Dominici and the Franciscan Bernardino da Siena. Focusing on sermons preached and recorded in Florence, Debby examines a variety of topics, including politics, economic life, the family, anti-Semitism, and public controversies. Meticulously researched in terms of the historiography of preaching, the author's approach can be relatively conservative (for example, the chapter on "Family, Women, and Social Fringe" could be enriched by a thorough consideration of the extensive scholarship on gender). And, perhaps because of the timing of publication, she covers aspects of Bernardino, such as women's roles, anti-Semitism, peacemaking, and public performance that have been handled recently by other scholars (Mormando, 1999; Polecritti, 2000).

However, this careful overview still provides a sound analysis of Dominici's and Bernardino's fiery social preaching in Florence and provides a revealing glimpse of the many nuances between them as they worked, only a few

decades apart, within a particular setting. Each of the seven chapters moves back and forth between Dominici and Bernardino, permitting a finely honed comparison. Particularly relevant to the intellectual context of Florence is the discussion in Chapter Four, "The Preachers on Culture and Education." For instance, although both friars disapproved of pagan poetry, Debby convincingly argues that Bernardino's attitude toward secular education was more open and relaxed than Dominici's; the latter, keenly interested in the teaching of the young and in the curriculum of the grammar schools, was nonetheless suspicious about excessive learning on the part of the laity.

The strongest element of the book is Debby's analysis of Dominici, who has been studied less intensively than Bernardino and whose sermons are far less familiar, even to other historians of Italian preaching. While many Renaissance scholars are acquainted with the *Regola del governo di cura familiare* and the *Lucula Noctis*, Debby instead works closely with Dominici's unpublished sermons to reveal his witty storytelling and sharp, insistent personality. Less circumspect than the more tactful and pragmatic Bernardino, he was sometimes bold enough to challenge directly the Florentines: "If someone wants to kill me for telling the truth, he is welcome!" (p. 41). In the politically charged atmosphere of his birthplace, he criticized the tightening of citizen participation under the Albizzi regime and didn't hesitate to attack the proud and ambitious rulers of the city, calling them "cursed hypocrites" and labeling the commune as "a fine example when instead of the good it is governed by the bad" (p.71). Yet he was surprisingly more reticent than Bernardino when he discussed sexual issues, especially the delicate topic of sodomy.

A valuable supplement to the book is the generous appendix (pp. 219-312) with complete, edited texts of ten of Dominici's sermons preached between 1400 and 1406, from the MS. Riccardiana 1301, discovered in 1907 and unpublished until now. Along with Debby's book as a whole, these sermons will provide an important resource for scholars of both late medieval preaching and the social history of Florence.

University of California, Santa Cruz CYNTHIA POLECRITTI

Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation. By Brian Patrick McGuire. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 446. $85.00 clothbound; $30.00 paperback.)

More than forty years ago now, in the distinguished two-volume tome on the later medieval church contributed to Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*, F. Delaruelle chose to devote a whole chapter to Jean Gerson (1363-1429), long-serving Chancellor of the University of Paris, dedicated pastor, gifted preacher, tireless advocate of church reform "in head and members," distinguished theologian, and one of the leading intellectuals of his day. In so doing, and speaking of the first half of the fifteenth century, Delaruelle felt it

warranted to portray the great Chancellor as "the mirror of his times" and to entitle the chapter "Le siècle de Gerson."

By the time he did so, scholarly interest in matters Gersonian had long since begun to quicken. That that was the case is evidenced *inter alia* by the decision of Palémon Glorieux to undertake the first new edition of Gerson's complete works since that of Dupin in 1706, by Max Lieberman's extraordinary (and extraordinarily gritty) series of articles on his life and writings, and by the work of Louis Mourin on his sermons, André Combes on his mystical theology, and J. B. Morrall on his ecclesiology. In the years since then interest in one or other aspect of Gerson's richly varied career has, if anything, intensified. It is reflected, for example, in Gilbert Ouy's fundamental researches on the Gersonian manuscript tradition, in the works of G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes on his ecclesiology, Louis B. Pascoe on his idea of reform, D. Catherine Brown on his pastoral theology, in Brian Patrick McGuire's translation into English of a whole series of his early writings as well as in his sponsorship and editing of a multi-authored *Companion to Jean Gerson* scheduled by Brill for publication in 2006.

All of that duly noted, the surprising thing about the currently thriving field of Gersonian studies is the fact that nobody since John Connolly in 1929 has made a full-scale attempt at a new biographical treatment of the man himself. That prominent gap in *Gersoniana* McGuire himself has now moved boldly to fill. He has done so in this substantial, painstakingly-researched, carefully-balanced, and finely-nuanced study, clearly the outcome of long years of sustained effort. Unlike Connolly, who organized his somewhat anachronistically defensive biography in thematic fashion, McGuire has gone about his task in straightforward chronological fashion, conducive to the charting of a lifetime's maturation and development on the part of his subject, basing himself on an attentive reading of the full corpus of Gerson's writings, French as well as Latin, and quite self-consciously eschewing "any fashionable theoretical approach" (p. xi).

In 1964, noting the sheer volume of Gerson's writing and the self-revelatory nature of much of it, Delaruelle expressed surprise that his complex psychological make-up had not been made the object of any really probing scholarly study. In his own non-theoretical way, McGuire may be said to have remedied that lack. In the course of his book he dwells, often at length, on most of the salient features of Gerson's public career, from his early and surprisingly unrestrained attack on the teaching of the Dominican theologian Juan de Monzon concerning the Immaculate Conception, down to the passionate but ultimately unsuccessful campaign he pursued at the Council of Constance (and in the teeth of Burgundian opposition) to secure a full-blown condemnation of Jean Petit's attempt to vindicate the legitimacy of tyrannicide. Thus he focuses, in the years intervening, on Gerson's unsuccessful attempt as dean to reform the chapter of the collegiate church of Saint Donatien at Bruges, on his leadership of the Parisian faculty of theology in its opposition to the attempt

(1409) of the Franciscan Jean Gorel to vindicate the alleged pastoral prerogatives of the mendicant orders, on his ongoing effort via sermon and tract to forward on a broader front the reform of the universal Church in head and members, and on the slow maturation of his position vis-à-vis the deepening scandal of the Great Schism, his eventual embrace of the *via concilii*, his passionate advocacy before and during the Council of Constance (1414-18) of the conciliarist claim that general councils, acting without a pope, were under certain circumstances superior in jurisdiction to the pope and possessed the power to judge, condemn, and, if need be, depose a recalcitrant pontiff.

To all of those prominent moments in Gerson's public life McGuire pays due attention, and the reader can certainly rely on his careful and well-informed analyses of them. His scholarly heart, however, lies elsewhere, and his central, driving concern in this book is less with Gerson the public figure than with the psycho-spiritual dynamics of his inner moral and spiritual life. And here he confronts something of a challenge. For though Gerson did much in the course of his voluminous writings to expose the complexities of his inner emotional and spiritual life and to make that life accessible even to the *gens simples* for whom he wrote so often in French, McGuire is forced to concede that that "inner life remains an enigma" (p. 196). And he is forced also to find a precarious balance between the invitation to render an anachronistically harsh judgment on his subject's odder and less attractive features and the countervailing temptation to dwell more exclusively on what made Gerson so compelling and attractive a figure, the features that subsequently led his editors to label him the *doctor consolatorius*—as Jacob Wimpheling put it, "a consoling and most Christian doctor" (pp. 325-326).

That balance, and to his great credit, McGuire does succeed by and large in achieving. His Gerson may well have been obsessed with what he saw to be the omnipresent perils of sexual attraction (lurking for him even in the confessional) and he may have been careful to distance himself from the company of women. But unlike so many of his clerical contemporaries he was no misogynist and managed to be generous and sensitive in his extension of spiritual counsel to members of the opposite sex. His Gerson may also have been something of an austere loner, in some ways frightened of human intimacy, anxious to free himself of the bonds of friendship, capable of vindictive vilification of his opponents and of being single-minded to a fault in his effort to vindicate a matter of principle. But he was also a man capable of questioning "almost everything . . . in his [own] life and career" (p. 60), one whose critical self-knowledge ran deep and who was not too proud to describe himself as a hesitant fellow "full of scruples and fear" (p. 112). He was a man more interested (he said) in living well than disputing well (p. 318), and one engaged, it seems clear, in a lifelong struggle between his commitment to discipline and self-control and his yearning for the human warmth of affective bonds. And he was also a man capable, perhaps accordingly, of responding to others with warmly empathetic and generous instincts.

And so on. In coming to terms with the complex dynamic of Gerson's inner life, McGuire's careful balancing act is, I would judge, successful. Somewhat less successful, however, is the balance he achieves between the depth and rigor of his analyses of Gerson's own writings and his somewhat uneven handling of the contextual background against which they are seen. Thus it is impossible to grasp the full significance of Gerson's clash with Gorel on the matter of mendicant privileges without seeing it in the context of the great mendicant-secular controversy at Paris in the 1250's or the seventeenth-century struggle in France to vindicate the divinely-established hierarchical status of the parochial clergy. Nor can it convincingly be claimed that "Gerson's last contributions at Constance have for the most part been ignored" (p. 281). After all, the first blow struck in the great war of words surrounding the Venetian interdict of 1606 was the republication in Italian translation of two of Gerson's tracts from 1418—his *Resolutio circa materiam excommunicationum et irregularitatum* and his *De sententia pastoris semper tenenda*. That blow was struck by the acerbic Venetian theologian Paolo Sarpi, and it had the effect of drawing down on him (and on the memory of Gerson) the ire of none other than Cardinal Robert Bellarmine. Nor, again, is it altogether accurate to assert that after 1706 Gerson was to become something of a parochial figure, "celebrated by French academics and more or less forgotten elsewhere" (p. 318). He figures large, after all, in the *De statu ecclesiae* which the auxiliary bishop of Trier (writing under the pseudonym of "Febronius") was to publish in 1763 and which was soon to be a best seller, circulated all over Europe in German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese translations. Nor was Gerson unknown to the recusant "Anglo-Gallicans" of late-eighteenth-century England or, across the Atlantic, to their "Cisalpine" fellow-travellers in the newly-independent United States.

In connection, however, with a book of this scope, such shortcomings are minor ones and it would be churlish to make too much of them. McGuire is the first scholar in almost eighty years to have had the spirit to take on the formidable task of attempting a full-scale biography of Gerson. Going about that task with thoroughness, sensitivity, and good, calmly-balanced judgment, he has indeed succeeded in establishing the "benchmark" for future work on Gerson's life. And that has to be recognized as no mean achievement.

Williams College FRANCIS OAKLEY

Ordensreform und Konziliarismus: Der Franziskanerprovinzial Matthias Döring (1427-1461). By Petra Weigel. [Jenaer Beiträge zur Geschichte, Band 7.] (Frankfurt am Main-Berlin-Bern-Brussels-NewYork-Oxford-Vienna: Peter Lang. 2005. Pp. 540.)

This well-researched and highly structured book, based on a doctoral dissertation defended in 2001, presents in three main parts the official policies of

a controversial and dynamic Franciscan figure in fifteenth-century Germany, friar Matthias Döring (ca. 1390-1469), provincial minister of the Franciscan Saxon province during the period of the Observant reforms.

Part One deals with the politics of Döring between his election to the position of provincial minister of the Saxon province (1427) and the election of the first Observant provincial vicar in same province in 1449, when the Observants started to implement their autonomous administrative structures in accordance with the papal bull *Ut Sacra*, issued by Pope Eugenius IV three years earlier.

Part Two treats as an interlude the conciliarist role of Döring at the Council of Basel, and his election by friars from the German provinces to the position of general minister during the Pentecostal chapter meeting at Freiburg in 1443, which led to a temporary divide within the order, due to the simultaneous election of Antonio Rusconi at the general chapter of Padua. With their choice of Matthias Döring, the German provinces not only chose a conciliarist supporter of Pope Felix V, but also an exponent of the Conventual faction within the order, who consistently opposed the autonomy aspirations of the leaders of the regular Observance (who by and large had received the support of Pope Eugenius IV). When Felix V abdicated in April 1449, Döring's position as minister general became so weak that he withdrew, concentrating his activities henceforth on the Saxon province.

The third part charts the policies of Matthias Döring as provincial minister until his resignation in 1461. This period was characterized by Döring's attempts to thwart the Observants' attempts at building a parallel organizational structure within the Saxon province under an Observant provincial vicar. The author rightfully indicates that Matthias Döring was not completely opposed to Observant reforms, as long as they enforced religious discipline and were performed *sub ministris*, that is to say, under acknowledgment of the authority of the provincial minister. Yet he loathed the systematic attempts by the Observants to undermine the authority of the provincial minister, claiming autonomy for all the Observant friaries along the lines of papal privileges granted to them. Döring saw these attempts as a threat to his own position, but even more as a threat to the unity of the Franciscan Saxon province.

Before 1449, Matthias had been able to regulate many reform initiatives within the existing provincial framework under his control. After that date he was faced by a growing congregation of Observant friaries under a semi-independent provincial vicar. In his opposition to the aspirations of the regular Observance, Döring developed a reform policy of his own that validated both Conventual and Observant viewpoints concerning the practice of poverty. He gave this a theoretical basis in his *Informatio de Regula Fratrum Minorum*, presented to the theological faculty of the University of Erfurt in October 1451, just at a time when the cardinal legate Nicholas of Cusa had confirmed the papal privileges accorded to the Observants in the Saxon province.

In subsequent decades, Döring was not able to stop the spread of the regular Observance. Yet he was able bring several Observant monasteries more or less within his obedience through their acceptance of a *visitator regiminis* answering to the provincial minister. Moreover, Döring was moderately successful in his support for the wished-for *reformatio sub ministris*, represented by the so-called Martinians (named after the order's constitutions approved by Pope Martin V in 1430), who from the 1450's onwards became a viable alternative to the regular Observance within the Saxon province.

Petra Weigel's command of the secondary literature is impressive, as is shown by the scope of her annotations and her exhaustive bibliography. Even more impressive is the way in which she has uncovered, used, and presented a wealth of primary sources. Readers will find in an appendix of ca. 150 pages references to and editions of many letters, statements, and administrative documents by Döring and other protagonists, including Döring's *Informatio de Regula Fratrum Minorum*. In short, this is an exemplary study, providing a different perspective on the struggle surrounding Observant reforms during the fifteenth century.

Groningen University BERT ROEST

Early Modern Europe

Storia economica del clero in Europa: Secoli XV–XIX. By Fiorenzo Landi. [Studi superiori, Studi storici, 505.] (Rome: Carocci Editore. 2005. Pp. 209. €17.50 paperback.)

When a title promises four hundred years of economic history one is tempted to put the book down and steal away quietly. But Fiorenzo Landi has prepared a relatively short overview to the economic framework of religious life in the modern era. It has the flavor of an introductory course, acquainting the reader with the basic structures of religious life and the broad trends regarding their economic survival in Europe. In order to accomplish this task, Landi must provide sufficient background to religious life in general to acquaint those more familiar with economic history while spending the bulk of his attention on the broad sweeps of the economies of diverse religious orders. The task is made difficult by his treating every type of religious order, from monk to clerk regular, over a period that includes the Protestant Reformation with its dissolution of religious orders; the various reform governments in the age of Absolutism that appropriated the wealth of many of the orders for their own purposes; the liberal revolutions which proposed to replace religious social institutions with government sponsored care; and finally, the Napoleonic period, determined to accomplish all of the above and more.

One of the principal sources for Landi's work is the *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione Religiosa*, which he cites frequently in the preface and

introduction in outlining the structures of the religious orders. While this can be seen as a weakness, it underlines the value of this multi-volume work as the most comprehensive resource for the history of religious life. In such a brief overview as Landi gives, some inaccuracies are bound to creep in. In figure I (p. 16) *chierici regolari* are portrayed as both masculine and feminine, when the word "cleric" would indicate that branch of religious life as exclusively male. The line in the same figure connecting the Franciscans and Dominicans should be eliminated so as to indicate that they are two distinct mendicant foundations. More appropriate would be a line between the Dominicans and Augustinians to show the formers' adoption of the Augustinian Rule.

Landi's overview covers the British Isles, Portugal, Spain, Benelux, France, the imperial territories, Switzerland, the Baltic countries, Poland, and Italy. In Italy, where he gives the most complete development through all four centuries, he further divides his study into political regions: Milan, Venice, Calabria, and Sicily. Here he has a much better command of the primary sources available, indicating the area with which he is most familiar. In each of these chapters he identifies the key local elements of religious life and how they are treated by the state. In France, for example, he identifies the issue of Gallican autonomy in church affairs as the perennial factor in each distinct period.

In the end, 200 pages of economic history only whet the appetite. Early on (p. 24) Landi teases the reader with the assertion that religious orders had a strong impact on the development of accounting. Perhaps because this section is aimed more at economic historians who might already know the details (he cites three accounting innovators), he ends there. Later (p. 42) he introduces the compatibility of Protestantism with capitalism (via Max Weber), leaving the question of how this might relate to religious orders unanswered. Nevertheless, his bibliography is strong, indicating further directions for research. But this introduction to the economic history of religious orders in the modern era is by no means comprehensive. It acquaints and orients rather than exhausts.

Spring Hill College MARK A. LEWIS, S.J.

Renaissance Monks: Monastic Humanism in Six Biographical Sketches. By Franz Posset. [Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, CVIII.] (Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill. 2005. Pp. xix, 196. $156.00 or €109,00.)

This book consists of expanded versions of biographical articles published in several *lexika* and *The American Benedictine Review*. The six monks, all but one of them active along the upper Rhine or Danube basin, are (1) Conradus Leontorius [Konrad Töritz of Leonberg] (ca. 1460-1507/1511), a Cistercian of Maulbronn; (2) Benedictus Chelidonius [Benedikt Schwalbe of Nürnberg] (ca. 1460-1521), monk of St. Aegidius in Nuremberg and then abbot of the Benedictine Schottenstift in Vienna; (3) Wolfgangus Marius [Lukas Mayer of

Dorfbach near Passau] (1469-1544), a Cistercian of the abbey of Aldersbach in Bavaria; (4) Henricus Urbanus [Heinrich Fastnacht of Orb near Gelnhausen] (d. after 1538), a Cistercian of Georgenthal in Thuringia; (5) Vitus Bild [Veit Bild] (1481-1529), a Benedictine of SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg; (6) Nikolaus Ellebog (1481-1543), Benedictine of Ottobeuren in Swabia.

The chapters usefully explicate, with accompanying bibliographical citations in footnotes, the personal networks among the German humanists inside and outside the monasteries in the last decade of the fifteenth century through the first two or three decades of the sixteenth century. Posset rejects the model of late-medieval deformation yielding to Reformation, explaining the Protestant Reformation more as the product of late medieval reform and humanism than as a response to abuses.

We catch a glimpse, for example, of Leontorius trying to mediate between Jacob Wimpfeling and the prior of the Dominican friary in Basel after Wimpfeling debunked the belief that Augustine, the author of the rule the Dominicans followed, was a monk. Leontorius, having done all manner of editorial work for the Basel printer Amerbach, requested a gratis set of the eleven-volume Augustine edition in return, or, from the printer Froben, a set of spectacles. We follow Benedikt Chelidonius in his classical poetic collaboration with Albrecht Dürer's picture books on the Passion of Christ and the life of Mary and Heinrich Urbanus's midwifery on behalf of the Croatian humanist Marcus Marulus's *Carmen* on the crucified Christ. We learn about Veit Bild's careful preservation of 550 letters from and to the leading German humanists of his day but also of his studies in mathematics, astronomy and astrology, cartography, and hagiography, not to mention his pastime of turning the library catalogue of his monastery into Latin verse. And we observe Nikolaus Ellebog's efforts to learn Hebrew with the aid of Johannes Reuchlin.

The book could have used more rigorous editing. It alternates between writing down to a very basic level, on the one hand, and employing technical language and orthography that only a specialist could figure out, on the other. "Scholastic manuscript" on page 88 probably means "scholastic treatise." Sometimes Posset's prose reflects undigested Latinisms or Germanisms: the ablative-of-means use of *cura* and its variants, so common on Latin title pages, has put on English dress as "took care of" (p. 51) when "edited by" would make more sense to most readers; "six-liner" for "hexastichon" makes sense in German but not really in English (p. 81). Oddly enough in a book of biographies, we find no consistent treatment of birth and death dates for the six humanist monks. Indeed, in the chapter on Henricus Urbanus we learn only after plowing through three or four pages that his dates are unknown. Posset does not attempt a "ca." guess even in the running text of the chapter, but leaves it to the reader to figure out Urbanus's approximate birth date based on his university matriculation.

The book's reference value is clear; it offers in addition in some places glimpses of real human beings and their networks that would not so readily

emerge from entry after entry in a bio-bibliographical lexicon. The indexes are very thorough.

Loyola University Chicago DENNIS MARTIN

Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450-1750. By Jodi Bilinkoff. (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 181. $45.00.)

The implicit question Jodi Bilinkoff addresses here is one that has been asked for decades now: How much power did women truly have in early modern Europe? When women's studies first began a half-century ago, the given was that they had none. It has taken two generations of scholarship to correct this initial erroneous assumption, but thanks to scholars such as Bilinkoff the task is nearly complete. The text is lean and well organized. It studies the relationship between women and their spiritual directors by examining forty-two *vitae* of women (twenty from Spain) written between 1450 and 1750. The first chapter provides the historical context, while the second places the hagiography in its literary context. Chapters three and four are the meat of the book where the texts are analyzed and five case studies presented. In the final chapter Bilinkoff examines women's reading habits and the influence the lives and *Lives* of other women had on them. In her conclusion she offers her interpretation of the effect these relationships had on early modern Catholicism.

Bilinkoff's book is the best kind, one that leaves you asking for more when you turn that last page. It is a book that leaves you with more questions than it answers—and that is what keeps historical investigation alive. For example, she comments in passing that these *vitae* also "provide a window into the lives and aspirations of that most neglected of social groups, Catholic priests" (p. 10). She is right; couldn't someone take these texts and re-examine them with clerical history in mind?

Of course, the answers Bilinkoff does provide are of utmost importance, and they are answers particularly close to my heart. In 1994 I wrote an article where I suggested that there was a correlation between women, their spiritual directors, and women's increasingly visible role in church life. I used broad-brush strokes and offered minimal documentation to support the thesis. But it rang true, and through the years others began supplying the missing documentation. I see *Related Lives* as the final word on the matter. It is the definitive study of how these "frequently reciprocal, if not equal in power" relationships between male confessors and female penitents provided "a key to understanding the persistence and perpetuation of Catholic culture throughout the early-modern period" (p. 11).

Now to the portion of the review where I criticize some obscure point; unfortunately, I fail this test because I really do not have any criticism. The best

I can do is to offer to debate a minor argument Bilinkoff makes in her conclusion. Bilinkoff blames the Jansenist-Jesuit conflict for the end of the confessor-female penitent relationship (Jesuits were popular hagiographers and confessors of women) and all the positive ramifications of those relationships. I do not deny that the controversy created havoc within Western society in general and for women in particular, but I think Bilinkoff stops short of identifying the real culprit: the Enlightenment. It is when the Enlightenment comes with its more secular, antireligious tenets that relationships grounded in religious tenets become less effective. From that point on, women needed to establish equal relationships in the secular realm to be effective, and confession was obviously not in the secular realm. Insofar as Jansenism contributed to the loss of prestige for Jesuits and thus confession, it was detrimental to women, but the Enlightenment was the hundred-pound gorilla. Response, Prof. Bilinkoff?

Central Michigan University PATRICIA RANFT

The Cambridge Companion to Raphael. Edited by Marcia B. Hall. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 416; 39 plates. $95.00.)

The recent exhibition held at the National Gallery, London, "Raphael: From Urbino to Rome," demonstrated that the artist continues to be attacked and defended within an essentially nineteenth-century intellectual framework. Remarkably, Raphael is still being framed alternatively as an academic pedant and enemy of modernism or a triumphal genius so singular as to render the investigation of broad, fundamental issues superfluous. *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael* is very much the product of the latter school, and its overall purpose is to refine and update a range of topics on which there already exists a massive scholarly literature: Raphael's early formation and patronage, his dazzling Roman career, his workshop and drawing practices, his role as a stylistic exemplar, and his critical fortunes from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. To readers from outside the discipline of art history or new to the study of Raphael, the volume's emphasis on summarizing and restating recent secondary literature may serve as a useful starting point. However, for those seeking a major reassessment of this pivotal but also elusive Renaissance painter, archaeologist, and architect, this collection of essays is a disappointment.

The opening essays by Jeryldene Wood and Sheryl Reiss offer two accounts of the artist's training and early career in Urbino. Both stress the significance of Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi, and his contacts at the Montefeltro court for establishing the young artist once he emerged from Perugino's workshop. Wood advances the counter-intuitive claim that the youthful Raphael's sweet, undemanding style appealed to his first patrons, particularly female religious, precisely because of its stylistic conservatism. Perugino's thriving practice, his harmonious workshop, and his eventual rejection in the urban crucible of Florence all had a formative impact on Raphael. Through detailed stylistic

analysis of the early altarpieces, Wood demonstrates just how profoundly Perugino shaped the young Raphael, making the artist's subsequent ability to throw off that influence and rethink his professional practices in response to intensively shifting demands appear all the more remarkable. Reiss provides a comprehensive list in prose form of Raphael's early commissions, including his very first Roman patrons.

While Urbino formed this promising maker of Madonnas, there is no question that Rome made Raphael. Linda Pellecchia provides a wide-ranging introduction to the urban fabric of a city rapidly transforming from the stench and chaos of the late fifteenth century to the wide streets and stately palaces envisioned and in some cases executed under the popes Julius II and Leo X, as well as Raphael's great patron, the banker Agostino Chigi. Here Raphael rose from his salad days to the princely velvet-clad figure promoted by Vasari; surrounded by his own large shop, colleague to intellectuals and humanists, beloved by popes and cardinals, and ardent admirer of female beauty in the abstract and in the concrete. Vasari's is a mythic image to be sure but one that vividly conveys Raphael's supreme contributions to the elevation of the artist's social status from artisan rooted in workshop practice to high-flying intellectual free agent. Ingrid Rowland returns to the commission that launched Raphael onto that elevated plane: the frescoes in the papal apartments known as the *Stanze* begun under Julius II and continued by Leo X. She reads the frescoes as a succession of straightforward, simplified theological illustrations and positions with Julius II as the driving intellectual force behind the original commission. Joanna Woods-Marsden focuses on Raphael's two celebrated papal portraits and lavishes attention on every detail, synthesizing a great deal of recent multidisciplinary scholarship on subjects ranging from Julius's beard to the treatment of papal corpses. The abysmal quality of the book's reproductions particularly undermines her essay, since Woods-Marsden locates her discussion in specific features of these luminous paintings that are totally illegible on the page. While her methodology is laudable, she shares with Rowland and other students of the artist a conception of Raphael as a mystical conduit. Any contemporary social, political, economic occurrence or intellectual, theological, and cultural discursive practice or artifact produced in Rome during the first two decades of the sixteenth century can, in this view, be safely assumed to have filtered through Raphael. Like Greenblatt's Will Shakespeare, Raphael is everywhere and nowhere. In Bette Talvacchia's account, Raphael's large workshop is yet another of his virtuoso performances. The crushing demands of multiple vast commissions are managed with Olympian detachment, an argument rooted in a hyper-idealized construction of the artist.

Patricia Emison acknowledges the seams in Raphael's collaboration with Marcantonio Raimondi on a famous series of engravings, correcting a long-standing disciplinary underestimation of the print medium. In these, the cheapest and most widely disseminated products of his craft, Raphael emerges at his most learned and antiquarian, assimilating knowledge gained on the job as Rome's

commissioner of antiquities. While the volume cries out for incisive work of critical historiography, an admittedly daunting task, contributions focused on prior scholarship tend to be superficial and tendentious, revealing the author's own *a priori* convictions and formative training. Linda Wolk-Simon decries recent studies of Raphael drawings that expand the corpus of widely accepted attributions but fails to secure the distinction between (good) reasoned arguments and (bad) subjective judgments. Marcia Hill roots her discussion in the warhorse debates of the 1960's over mannerism as a stylistic category in contradistinction to a classic style, of which Raphael is the ultimate champion. She looks to an undefined future when contextualist scholarship on culture and society informs definitions of style. The late John Shearman, to whom this volume is dedicated, reinvigorated Raphael studies precisely by navigating the transition from reductive stylistic debates to the penetrating contextualist scholarship that unraveled the false dichotomy between style and content Hall reasserts. His high standards of evidence and argument, his appetite for fundamental questions and brilliant problem-solving, his refusal to transmit passively the inherited intellectual paradigms of his own training still have a great deal to teach.

Trinity University LAURA CAMILLE AGOSTON

Architecture for the Shroud: Relic and Ritual in Turin. By John Beldon Scott. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xxxii, 443, 214 figures, 16 color plates. $75.00.)

It is always a great pleasure to have in one's hand a book from which one may learn a lot. That is the case with the new work of John Beldon Scott about the majestic Chapel for the Shroud behind the Cathedral of Turin. After the fire in the night of April 11-12, 1997, that destroyed a substantial part of this most important baroque architecture in northern Italy, this book has an invaluable importance, even for the restoration that will take still many years until it is completed.

The whole work is divided into three parts and ten chapters. The first part is dedicated to the peregrination of the Shroud from Lirey to Chambéry and from Chambéry to Turin, and to the pilgrims and the manner in which the Shroud was shown to them in the different places. The second part treats of the central object of the book: Guarini's Shroud Chapel and its meaning. The third section shows how the presence and showings of this most important relic had a very strong impact on the urban evolution of Turin as the residence of the Savoy family.

The role played by the "king of the relics" for the Savoy family in its efforts to distinguish itself from other noble families and become a royal house is the real aim and content of the whole book in all its three parts, so that the title of the whole work could be "the Savoy family and its relic" or "the Shroud and its

functions in a noble European family." Sometimes the reader encounters this theme a little overstressed and too often repeated.

The very heart and aim of the book is the second part: the history of the construction and the explanation of the meaning and the function of the architecture of the Shroud chapel that was built by the Theatine architect Guarino Guarini. The author shows how this extraordinary architect "operates on the perception of pilgrims . . . alike to expand visually the interior of the chapel as though that space were pressurized by the power of the relic pushing [it] outward to infinity. . ." (p. 133). With the means of the geometric structure of the equilateral triangle, Guarini has created a "high cupola with minimum weight and maximum fenestration" (p. 143).

The author observes for the first time that the introduction of the huge crystal window interrupted the view from the church to the chapel, so that the original thought of the concept of Guarini does not furthermore work on the observer's view. The original plan was to give with purely geometric patterns the same effect in the cupola as the visions of heaven have given the perspective frescoes of the domes since Correggio in Parma.

After all these positive aspects it is very curious to notice that the author sometimes speaks of the faithful only in terms of past times, as nobody "seeing the Shroud" today could have "a spiritually transforming experience" (p. 117). When he mentions the firemen who saved the Shroud in April, 1997 (cfr. p. 319), it is more precise to say that it was only one of them, Mario Trematore, who had the honor of risking his life to save the Shroud.

Besides this excellent and precise explanation of the effects of the Shroud on the architecture of its chapel and on the urban development of the residence town of Turin and of the impact of this relic on the noble Savoy family and millions of pilgrims, there remains one question not even mentioned by the author: could not all of these effects have been produced by a real relic of Christ?

Pontificia Università Gregoriana HEINRICH PFEIFFER, S.J.

Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance: Orphan Care in Florence and Bologna By Nicholas Terpstra. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 123rd Series (2005), Nr. 4.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 349. $50.00.)

Historians of the Italian Renaissance, and those of the more general history of early modern Europe, will be pleased to know that Nicholas Terpstra has yet another fine book examining the intersection of state-building and religion in the development of social services. Previously, Terpstra has enlightened the subject of confraternities and the social order in Bologna; since 2000 he has

expanded his field of inquiry to include Florence. This recent volume is a truly superb, even magisterial comparison of the development of orphanages in Florence and Bologna in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

We have known for some time now that Europe's population in the early modern period was quite young—half under the age of fifteen, one third under the age of eight. With such a large percentage of children, given the combination of subsistence crises, economic dislocations, the regular occurrence of diseases, faced by all of society, the plight of abandoned children was recognized as a grave problem from the high Middle Ages on. In a family-oriented culture, it was logical that the creation of surrogate families would provide the model for coping with the numbers of orphaned children, charity the motivation. Initially, shelter was on a small scale, centered on a workshop or a woman's home, but by the sixteenth century these arrangements, as well as foundling hospitals, had given way to orphanages. Though these institutions could not recreate love, and although many children died within their walls, Terpstra elucidates a real and tenacious effort on the part of religious men and women, secular and clerical, princes and artisans, in these Catholic cities that saved vulnerable young lives.

Florence and Bologna both created networks of homes that co-ordinated a web of care but they did so differently. In the Medici grand duchy, the focus was on development of a statewide, rational, and efficient bureaucratic structure, under the authority of the grand dukes for the benefit of all subjects. Bologna, smaller and a part of the papal state, developed a less bureaucratic structure with a focus on helping citizens of the city. Finances were always problematic, with many Bolognese houses dependent on extremely small pledges, even from the wealthy, while in Florence, the grand dukes also tried to create a revenue stream through taxation on shops. The dispensing of charity was based on gender and class, both of nearly equal importance. Of greatest concern were abandoned girls who could be abused sexually, as prostitutes or otherwise. Orphanages for boys were also established, but the moral situation for girls grabbed more rhetorical attention. Terpstra takes us through the processes for admission to orphanages, different in each city, the internal regimes—largely the monastic one of work and prayer—to which the children were subject, through the various ways that children were released back into the world—largely marriage for girls, and apprenticeship for boys. Boys left as maturity and opportunity provided, while, if a girl did not leave within ten years, she usually stayed in the orphanage. Not unexpectedly, because of the efforts made to control their behavior, many children tried to escape or rebelled against authority in other ways. Enclosure and discipline were poor substitutes for the love of parents, but, on the other hand, despite barriers, many parents placed their children in these institutions because they believed they stood a better chance to survive.

Terpstra's research excavates in great detail the operation of many conservatories, *ospedali*, houses, and orphanages, combined with mature and subtly

structured interpretations leading to important conclusions concerning the differences between the Florentine and the Bolognese organizational approaches, identifying the Florentine model as one then used by much of the rest of Europe.

University of Cincinnati JOHN K. BRACKETT

Scipione Borghese als Kardinalprotektor: Studien zur römischen Mikropolitik in der frühen Neuzeit. By Martin Faber. (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern. 2005. Pp. x, 544. €51.)

This valuable volume belongs to the series of studies of the "micropolitics" of the early modern papacy undertaken by Wolfgang Reinhard and his students over the past thirty years. Many of them center around Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1579-1633), papal nephew of Pope Paul V, because of the rich documentation surrounding him that survives. The book follows upon and confirms in many ways the findings of Birgitte Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus unter Paul V. (1605-1621)* (Stuttgart, 2001) (reviewed *ante,* 90 [January, 2004], 127-129), who showed that Borghese devoted most of his energy to the exercise of patronage with a view to the establishment of the Borghese as a leading family in Rome and the Papal States while leaving his nominal obligations in the secretariat of state and the government of the Papal States to others. But this volume goes well beyond the examination of Borghese's role as cardinal-protector; it also provides us along the way with a provisional overview of the development and function of the institution of the "cardinal-protector," about which little scholarship exists.

The author shows the difficulty that one encounters in attempting to define the role of the cardinal-protector; it varied greatly from instance to instance but nearly always was associated with a form of patronage and the exercise of influence. It did not bring direct financial gain. Faber divides Borghese's fifty-one protectorates, derived from a list that the cardinal drew up in 1625, soon after the death of his papal uncle, into three categories, on behalf of religious orders and congregations, of nations and cities, and the broadest category of all, of pious works (*luoghi pii*) which stretched from the Holy House of Loreto to the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore to confraternities in Rome to the German College. Protectorates over religious orders dated back to the request of St. Francis of Assisi in the thirteenth century for a cardinal-protector. The protector was expected to represent the interests of the order in the Curia, but his role in the internal affairs of an order differed greatly. Generally speaking, Faber contends, it was the request or need of an order for assistance that led to the appointment of a cardinal-protector, not the desire of the cardinal to expand his influence. Faber discusses at length Borghese's exercise of this position with the Dominicans and with the Olivetans, an Italian Congregation of Benedictine monks founded in 1319. In

neither case was he concerned significantly with the policy of the order or movements for reform; this he left up to his uncle the pope or other authorities. He involved himself chiefly in personnel decisions on the basis of requests from inside or outside the orders, such as recommending that a member be moved to another house or awarded an academic title. In this way he built up his contacts and clients, to the benefit of the Borghese family. Faber contrasts sharply Borghese's activity with the Olivetans with his predecessor's as cardinal-protector, Paolo Sfondrati, himself the papal-nephew of Gregory XIV, who for many years virtually micro-managed the congregation.

The office of cardinal-protector for nations, as well as other political entities, had come into existence in the fourteenth century, and it involved the representation of the interests of a particular ruler at the papal court; it brought prestige to the cardinal. But already in the sixteenth century it was losing its significance with the development of diplomatic institutions. Faber looks in detail at Borghese's service as protector of the German nation which he began in 1611. The author points out the conflicts of interest which the office could create for a cardinal, and especially for a cardinal-nephew, whose first loyalty was to the pope, for example, when during the early years of the Thirty Years' War the emperor sought to obtain financial support from often reluctant popes. Furthermore, advocacy of the interests of one nation in Rome could elicit hostility from another nation, in this case, France.

The protectorate over pious works also offered opportunities to exercise patronage, though it would be a mistake to attribute Borghese's activity solely to this goal. He took very seriously his protectorate of the Holy House of Loreto, the principal goal of pilgrimages in Italy outside Rome and the destination of the only journey that Borghese himself undertook beyond Rome once he became a cardinal. But it also gave him a chance to oversee the appointments to both ecclesiastical and secular positions there and to make special provision for visiting dignitaries from church and state who would then remember him. There exist 1075 letters regarding Loreto in his archive for the years 1622 to 1632. Faber indicates that recourse to a cardinal-protector by Roman confraternities, many of which were archconfraternities with influence well beyond Rome, was often dictated by the desire to escape from the control of the diocesan bishop, in this case the pope himself or his vicar for Rome.

Faber draws on a rich variety of sources. Occasionally, the book makes difficult reading. But it constitutes a significant contribution to the history of the early modern papacy and has to be consulted by specialists.

Loyola University Chicago ROBERT BIRELEY

La Biblioteca Ambrosiana tra Roma, Milano e l'Europa: Federico Borromeo Fondatore della Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Atti delle giornate di studio 25-27 novembre 2004. Edited by Franco Buzzi and Roberta Ferro [Studia Borromaica. Saggi e documenti di storia religiosa e civile della prima età moderna, 19] (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana. 2005. Pp. 590. €30.00 paperback.)

This volume with different contributions not only on the Biblioteca Ambriosana and its foundation and development, but also on some of the most important European libraries, shows more than their history and their transformation up to the present time, it also depicts their cultural responsibility as protectors of humanity, art, and science and also of the exchange of ideas. Modern technology offers a new way into the future by the application of new technology and electronic information resources, such as CD-ROM editions or the internet. Three groups of themes have been discussed at this conference: the concept of the humanistic libraries in Europe and their organization, the foundation of the Ambrosiana, and the presentation of some libraries and their function in the papers of their directors. The praise of books of the English bishop Richard of Aungervly (*Philobiblon sive de amore librorum*) points the way forward for the humanists with their collections and shows at the same time the value and the beauty of books. This beauty was lost during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the book became a part of the architecture of the reading-room with its desks. The ideal of the classical library as a representative not only of the service of the knowledge but also of beauty and as an expression of the cultural sensibility too had been renewed in the rococo period in the Catholic areas, specially in Rome and that of the Empire. Humanists like Petrarca condemned the pure collectionism of some nobles. As bibliophiles their own collections were open to their friends and all scholars, a practice that preceded that of the public libraries, the first of which was opened in Rome in 1595 by Angelo Rocco who wanted the Angelica open to all interested people. Printing offered a greater opportunity for acquiring books to learned laymen such as Pico della Mirandola and Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, whose collection later on was purchased by Cardinal Federico Borromeo. A network of intellectuals all over Europe was created through this collecting of books by changing information about books and catalogues of different collections. The French king Francis I intended to establish a library for scholars. On the one hand he bought or ordered copies of manuscripts and on the other hand the printer Robert Estienne prepared an edition of classical texts using the royal manuscripts. The Jesuits adapted for their library concept the program of Roman humanism, but they placed emphasis on the theories of the Counter-Reformation and on the anti-Gallicanism of Antonio Possevino (*Bibliotheca selecta*). The political situation in Germany caused the emergence of small collections by princes, sometimes also influenced by scholars of the university founded by them, such as the Bibliotheca Palatina of Heidelberg. The library situation in the Balkans is characterized by the Turkish war and occupation, except for some towns on the Adriatic coast of Croatia. During this period most monasteries had been destroyed, including their books. The whole coast was a part of the dominion

of Venice and stood under its cultural influence. Scholars and bibliophiles acquired their books mainly in Venice. There were ecclesiastical collectors, as the bishop Juraj Kružić, who had about 2,000 volumes accessible to everybody, which was to be given after his death half to the Franciscans and half to the Dominicans. There were also lay patrons, such as the orientalist Ivan Paštrić, who stayed for many years in Rome, and whose books ended up in the archiepiscopal seminary of Spalato.

The first library of modern times was the Escorial, founded by Philip II, with all books accessible to everybody and with its alphabetic catalogues and some subject catalogues too at its entrance. Cardinal Federico Borromeo wanted his library, the Ambrosiana, connected with the college of the Oblates and to become a center of knowledge. Twelve clerics, each with a doctoral degree, chosen by the cardinal had the responsibility for different sections. The cardinal tried to work out precise rules for his institution from the Foundation Act (Clement VIII, 1606) to the Notary's Act (1607), to the papal confirmation of the Ambrosiana (1608), to the first proofs of the Constitution of the college and the library (1610), and the Constitution itself (1616). The Ambrosiana was one of the first public libraries in Italy, the first being the Angelica in Rome.

In the presentation of some important libraries, their directors put their trust for the future in modern technology. The Marciana project handles all Cinquecentini (printed books of the sixteenth century) and all titles up to the letter H are just transferred on-line. The bibliographical database relative to manuscripts, realized in co-operation with forty other libraries, has plans to put 11,000 entries with 70,000 quotations of 50,000 manuscripts onto the net. The retrospective view of the catalogue of printed books is nearly finished. Therefore about 90% of the whole collection is accessible on the Internet.

In 1985 the Vatican Library, where it was possible to read only manuscripts until 1902, started the cataloguing on-line using the program of the French-Canadian society GEAC. Between 1994 and 1996 the old sheet-catalogue was transferred in a retrospective version into an electronic one; now the whole catalogue of printed books is accessible by Internet. Digitalized prints, designs, medals, and coins protected by the copyright are as well passed onto the Internet.

The Mazarine has also transferred its catalogue onto the Internet. But illuminations and decorations of medieval manuscripts have been prepared together with the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes using the iconographic base "Liber floridus" to be put on-line. The Herzog August Bibliothek intends not only to conserve and make its collection accessible also by modern techniques, but it is at the same time a center of research, giving grants to enable scholars from all over the world to study in the library. The Ambrosiana had from the beginning intensive contacts with other libraries and scholars, such as the Greek scriptor of the Vatican Library, Giovanni Santa Maura, with whom Federico Borromeo had close contact since his stay in

Rome. He copied several manuscripts for the Ambrosiana. The Ambrosiana is particularly interested in Borromeo's life and correspondence. Half of his letters have been transferred in the last years into the database: at the moment it includes 40,000 letters in 196 folders, the originals are spread all over Europe. Since 1993 the Accademia di San Carlo has begun to reproduce and catalogue this material in the form of a CD ROM in an analytic index in five volumes, and in the website of the library itself. A very illustrative introduction shows the four possibilities of research (place, names, civil or religious institutions).

This volume gives a varied presentation of European libraries from their foundation during the period of humanism until the present with their prospects for the future. Particularly the last part shows very well how some of the most important libraries are trying to protect their precious collections and how they use different databases and new technology to make the manuscripts, books, prints, etc., accessible while conserving them at the same time. Besides some small errors, such as the wrong indication of the call numbers of the Vatican manuscripts (pp. 120f.) as Cod. Pal. Lat. Vat. which means a mixing of two sections Pal. lat. and Vat. lat. and therefore creates confusion and anyway they are missing in the index of manuscripts, or transferring the Marciana to Florence (p. 193), this publication is a very instructive representation of the library system and of the integration of modern database systems to make the treasures accessible to a larger field of interested people and to make an important contribution to cultural development. The two indices at the end (personal names and manuscripts) make the volume very accessible.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana CHRISTINE MARIA GRAFINGER

Juan van der Hamen y León and the Court of Madrid. By William B. Jordan. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. 336, 170 black and white and 75 color illustrations. $ 60.00.)

Juan van der Hamen y León (1596-1631) is the most influential Spanish still life painter of the seventeenth century. His still life paintings manifest the progression from a calculated reduced representation of objects mainly in their natural state and in rural settings, such as the one created by Juan Sanchez Cotan (1560-1627) around 1600, to an introduction of a rich and diverse range of motifs in which fruits, vegetables, flowers, and pastries, along with magnificent jugs imply the royal court of Madrid.

Although there also exists in Van der Hamen's still life paintings allusions toward Antiquity, pursued by early artists and elitist collectors of such works of art, it is precisely the variety of motifs and the great number of paintings that determine the creation of a genuine market for this new genre of painting. In the 1620's, this market was completely dominated by Van der Hamen and continued to be strongly influenced by him well up to mid-seventeenth century.

Forty years after having shown to a specialized, thus limited, audience his extensive knowledge of the painter through his doctoral thesis (published only in microfilm), William B. Jordan with this monograph which has accompanied both in English and Spanish versions Van der Hamen's exhibitions in Madrid (Palacio Real, October, 2005 to January, 2006) and Dallas (Meadows Museum, February to May, 2006), organized likewise by Jordan, presents the greatest compilation of information regarding this painter of Flemish roots, who died at the age of 35. However, the author not only limits himself to the still life output, a facet of Van der Hamen's works praised by many contemporaries of the period such as Francisco Pacheco or Lope de Vega, but he also aims to represent the artist in the complete extent of his artistic output and place him amongst the most important painters of the Spanish Baroque. For this reason, portrait and religious painting take up an important part of the book.

The extraordinary talent of Van der Hamen as a portrait painter is proven by the fact that there were no other painters during his lifetime as praised as he was by his contemporaries for his portraits. In this sense, it is very revealing that Cardinal Francesco Barberini preferred his portrait painted by Van der Hamen to the one Velazquez painted of him. Interesting also is that amongst the twenty portraits that are listed in the painter's inventory, carried out in 1631, portraits of intellectuals as well known as Lope de Vega, Francisco de Quevedo, and Luis de Gongora can be found.

For the patronage in Spain, extremely interesting is the identification—presumed by other historians but here explicitly mentioned for the first time—of a noblemen such as Jean de Croÿ, II Comte de Solre (Plate 28, private collection). The great vertical couple *Still Life with Vase of Flowers and a Dog* (Plate 29) and *Still Life with Vase of Flowers and a Puppy* (Plate 30), currently in the Prado Museum, can be found amidst the works carried out by Van der Hamen for this captain of the Royal Guard of Archers.

The *San Isidro* (Plate 1, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland) painted in the context of the beatification (1620) and the canonization (1622) of the patron saint of Madrid and the recently rediscovered *Saint John the Baptist in Prayer* (Plate 2, Madrid, private collection), are early examples of religious paintings in Van der Hamen's work. Only a few years later, between 1624 and 1625, paintings of the barefooted Augustinian nuns were completed for the Convent of the Incarnation, located in the immediate proximity of the Alcázar. The *Adoration of the Apocalyptic Lamb* (Plate 17) is worthy of mention as it reflects the exegesis of the Revelation of Saint John by the brother of the painter, the theologian Lorenzo van der Hamen. The painting that simultaneously serves for the glorification of Saint Augustine and the commemoration of the first prioress of the Convent, Mother Mariana of Saint Joseph, namely, the painting of Saint John the Evangelist, becomes prominent as the prophet of Revelations not only because of the frontal lighting of his reddish-green clothing but also because it may be a self-portrait of Van der Hamen.

His masterpiece of religious output is nonetheless the *Apparition of the Virgin Immaculate to Saint Francis* (Plate 52, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art) painted for the Convent of Holy Isabel of Kings in Toledo. The saint engrossed in his vision is perhaps one of the most refined figures of Van der Hamen's work. The exceptional realism is matched by the faces of the angels and flowers placed at the foot of the Immaculate, carried out with great expertise.

More than a simple monograph of the artist, the book seems to be a cross section of the society of Madrid in which the data collected during a task of investigation of more than four decades creates an exhaustive view of Spain in the first half of the seventeenth century. The abundance of information and its rigorous use lead one to await with great anticipation the detailed catalogue of Van der Hamen announced by Jordan for the year 2009.

Goethe-Institut, Madrid FELIX SCHEFFLER

The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church. By George W. Bernard. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 736. $40.00.)

The King's Reformation charts the religious twists and turn of Henry VIII's reign, beginning with Henry VIII's questioning of the validity of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. In the period 1527-1533 Henry consistently threatened the Pope with unilateral action in England to secure the divorce if the Pope did not comply: the Royal Supremacy, we are told, was a possibility from the beginning as the essential ideological framework was present. The visitation of the monasteries in 1535, and the subsequent dissolution of the less economically viable houses in 1536, stemmed from a genuine reforming impulse, not financial motivations. Henry's attitude toward monasticism in general only deteriorated as a result of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Although the King's reformation led to changes in doctrine and worship, it did not introduce continental evangelical reform, but was rather initially inspired by Erasmian humanism. The changes, however, were so substantial that the nature of religion afterwards cannot simply be characterized as an interpretation or rethinking of pre-1530's Catholicism, but should instead be recognized as partially radical and unique to Henry's kingdoms. In light of the opposition Henry VIII faced from conservative quarters, Bernard argues against the notion that English subjects complied with religious change because they negotiated the reformation for their own profit. Rather, it was Henry's tyrannical suppression of outspoken critics that silenced men across the religious spectrum. In contrast to historians who depict religious policy in the 1530's and 1540's as contingent upon the influence of competing factions on the King, Bernard instead describes a monarch in control of his church and episcopate, who assiduously pursued a considered *via media*. Even those assemblies which were ostensibly debates among the leading clergymen to determine doctrine, were, apparently, con-

ducted along lines prescribed by the King. The *King's Reformation* takes issue with interpretations that suggest that Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer, and other leading evangelicals were attempting to influence Henry into a more reformist religious stance. Bernard's Cromwell was not continually pursuing his own, more evangelical agenda, but instead was emphatically a Henrician, while if Archbishop Cranmer influenced anything, we are assured, it was merely the details, not the direction of religious policy. Readers who are relatively unfamiliar with this area should be aware that Bernard assumes a large degree of background knowledge of both events and historical debate. The balance of Bernard's book is also somewhat problematic. While early opposition to the Divorce and Supremacy, and the Pilgrimage of Grace receive substantial attention, some areas which do not easily fit Bernard's picture of a king-driven and coherent *via media* are discussed only relatively briefly, most notably the debates in 1537 which led to the drafting of the *Bishops' Book* and the developments of the 1540's. The *King's Reformation* is undeniably an important contribution to the study of reformation in Henrician England, which will undoubtedly provoke much debate.

Pembroke College, Oxford TRACEY A. SOWERBY

Lest We Be Damned. Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559-1642. By Lisa McClain. [Religion in History, Society, and Culture, 6.] (New York and London: Routledge. 2004. Pp. xvi, 393.)

For a long time the historiography of Catholics in early modern England was dominated by debates about whether they were old-style, traditional Catholics, or the product of post-Tridentine missionaries. Lisa McClain has very usefully sidestepped that argument by asking what the Church meant to English Catholics in a world in which access to priests, sacraments, altars, pilgrimage sites, and all the other means of worship was banned, abolished, dismantled, and forbidden.

Her question is in keeping with current historiographical trends in English religious history, which see English Protestants creating their own new forms of personal faith in the post-Reformation period. McClain shows us that English Catholics were doing exactly the same thing. All English people were involved in the same process with similar roots. English Catholics saw themselves as the heirs and defenders of the true historical faith, linking themselves to the early Church in ways reminiscent of the way their Protestant neighbors were insisting that they were restoring the primitive Church. Moreover, Protestant separatists had an analog in English Catholics, whose Catholicism varied radically from that of their Continental co-religionists. They, too, were feeling their way toward new expressions of spirituality and worship that did not depend on the presence of ordained clergy or legal worship spaces.

McClain's book establishes a number of ways in which Catholics did this, and then explores Catholicism in Cornwall, London, and Northern England to illustrate how these new forms of Catholicism functioned in different settings. In doing this, she defines "Catholic" as anyone who believed in the sacraments and rituals of Catholicism. This sidesteps the definitions imposed by Protestant authorities and by Catholic purists, leaving a group with widely varying practices that helped them resolve some basic conundra: How does a Catholic worship without a priest to provide the sacraments? How does one function without sacred spaces? How does one maintain a spiritual life in the community of the saints when there is no visible community? Can one be a good subject of the English monarch or must one be obedient to the Pope in all things?

Using a wide range of sources, she reaches some stimulating conclusions. There were, she finds, several ways of being Catholic. The English Catholics maintained an historical identity with the martyrs and persecuted faithful of the past, drawing their strength from historical models of triumphant resistance. As the number of their martyrs grew, so did their identity with martyrdom as proof of their faithfulness. This way of thinking allowed them to see themselves as part of the whole communion of the saints. But what they did to stay in that communion varied. There were those who practiced a form of rosary-based mystical union, even, in some cases, arguing that the Mass was not necessary for communion with Christ. There were communities in which membership was maintained through prayer, and communities that shared Catholic books and catechisms. Prayers for the dead kept up their identity with the larger Catholic world, past and present. These communities, however, were English, and McClain demonstrates that the popes' refusals to understand the peculiar problems of English Catholics led the English faithful to distance themselves from obedience to Rome, relying on their own indigenous understanding of what it meant to be a faithful Catholic.

This is an important book that moves the study of English Catholicism into a new realm by insisting that its subjects be studied as they lived, not as an ideological subset. However, it prompts a desire for further work on the nature of Catholic communities. I suspect that the origins of English Catholicism are probably to be found in the intellectual and political confusion of the reign of Henry VIII and the compromises of the 1550's, rather than in the period after 1559.

Additionally, some of her players, like William Alabaster, moved between Protestant and Catholic faiths, and one suspects that they need to be put in their personal contexts if we are to understand what they really believed. Moreover, the communities she describes are not fully articulated, and their practices are sometimes very hard to nail down. Her question is one that she, and many others, will want to pursue further.

Utah State University NORMAN JONES

Samuel Werenfels: Il dibattito sulla libertà di coscienza a Basilea agli inizi del settecento. By Camilla Hermanin. [Studi e Testi per la Storia della Tolleranza in Europa nei Secoli XVI–XVIII, Volume 7.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 2003. Pp. xii, 352. €33.00 paperback.)

Camilla Hermanin offers a broadly situated intellectual biography of the Basel theologian and professor Samuel Werenfels (1657-1740), concentrating in particular on his conception of the liberty of conscience within Reformed Protestant regimes. The book also includes Werenfels' *Epistola de iure in conscientias ab homine non usurpando* (1702) and thirteen letters from Werenfels' correspondence. Werenfels belonged to the triumvirate of Swiss "orthodox reformers" that included Turrettini in Geneva and Ostervald in Neuchâtel, who challenged the authoritarian approach to religious dissent they saw embodied in the *Formula Consensus Ecclesiarum Helveticarum Reformatarum*, which Basel imposed on all pastors and teachers between 1674 and 1723. In Hermanin's view, "the liberty of conscience was officially denied in Switzerland" (p. 12) through this document, which explicitly rejected seventeenth-century universalism, ecumenicism, and historical/philological approaches to the sacred canon.

Hermanin's first two chapters effectively introduce late seventeenth-century Basel and Werenfels' own life. Although the confessional views that ruled at the time might seem inhospitable to a moderate defender of consciences, Werenfels (scion of the Werenfels and Grynaeus dynasties) enjoyed an excellent education with the Cartesian Johann Jacob Hoffmann and the younger Buxtorff before completing his degree in theology under the influence of Johann Rudolf Wettstein, who had refused to sign the *Formula Consensus* but retained his chair. After formative journeys through Reformed Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands, Werenfels joined the Basel faculty. Although Hermanin describes his career as restless, he successively occupied the chairs of Greek, Christian rhetoric, dogmatics, and the Old and New Testaments, as well as becoming rector of the university: his nonconformity and provocative publications may have caused awkward moments, but never interrupted his life. His first high-profile contribution set the tone by attacking the "logomachies" of religious controversialists of all stripes.

The remaining three chapters of Hermanin's book set Werenfels, and particularly his *Epistola,* in larger intellectual context. In Chapter 3, she argues that the irenic and humanist approach championed by Werenfels responded not only to external intellectual developments, but also had roots in Basel's own intellectual milieu reaching back to the era of Erasmus. Humanism and philology, as well as rationalism and natural law, shaped the way Werenfels and his reforming colleagues approached the problem of conscience and authority. In Chapter 4, Hermanin turns directly to the key question addressed in Werenfels's *Epistola:* the proper balance among power, law, and individual conscience. Although insisting on the ultimate sovereignty of the conscience, Werenfels fully recognized the authority of magistrates to preserve an ordered society in

which orthodox doctrine enjoyed public encouragement and protection. His position thus remained inside the cultural framework of early modern orthodoxy, even if his insistence that reason provided one foundation for true faith pointed toward the paradoxes that eventually undermined the entire system. He also remained consistently Erastian in his conviction that the magistrate might punish "professed Christians who act against the teachings of Christ" (p. 219), whereas theologians should play a limited role in such matters.

The book's final chapter addresses European responses to Werenfels' work by looking at two specific conflicts. During the Bangorian controversy in England, Werenfels' *Epistola* was translated by the Latitudinarian and Erastian thinkers supporting the Bishop of Bangor's defense of royal authority to tolerate dissent. In the Netherlands, ironically, the same work was republished (with a crucially modified title) to support the Reformed church's authority against alleged Socinians during the Stinstra affair, recently analyzed by Joris van Eijnatten. In both cases, the debate involved not traditional persecution of heresy, but rather the limits of clerical and state authority in the face of learned individuals' interpretation of Scripture. Hermanin's erudite study therefore helps characterize a distinctive phase of Reformed Protestant debates over religious toleration, though one soon marginalized by the very different approaches growing out of Spinozan and later Enlightenment thought.

University of California, Riverside RANDOLPH C. HEAD

Rus Restored: Selected Writings of Meletij Smotryćkyj 1610-1630. Translated and annotated with an introduction by David Frick. [Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature English Translations: Volume VII.] (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2006. Pp. lxx, 810. $32.50.)

In the seventeenth century, the Ruthenian Orthodox church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was split between those supporting and those opposing the Union with the Roman Church concluded by their metropolitan and bishops in 1596. As layman, monk, and archbishop, the grammarian and polemicist Meletij Smotryćkyj (Meletii Smotryśkyi) (1577?-1633) was among the most eloquent and prolific opponents of the Union. Then, around the age of fifty, he formally converted to Catholicism—first covertly, then openly—and became a leading proponent of the Union.

David A. Frick has published a number of articles on this enigmatic and controversial churchman as well the biographical-philological study *Meletij Smotryćkyj* (1995) and the introductions to the facsimile editions of his *Collected Works* and *Jevanhelije učytelnoje* (Homiliary Gospel) (Volumes I and II of the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, 1987). The present work comprises nineteen translations (mostly from Polish) of selected

works and selections from works, most of which appear in the aforementioned facsimile volumes, to which references are provided. In addition to several letters (two of them to Pope Urban VIII), a number of Smotrytśkyi's writings are translated in their entirety: *A Verification of Innocence* (1621), *A Justification of Innocence* (1623), *Apology* (1628), *A Protestation* (1628), and *Paraenesis* (1629). In footnotes, Frick supplements incomplete biblical citations, supplies many that are missing, and provides historical and textual references. The 53-page introduction guides the reader through Smotrytśkyi's life and works. A brief but useful glossary is followed by a list of cited works, an index of biblical references, and an index furnishing valuable biographical information.

Most interesting historically as well as psychologically is the period from 6 July 1627 to mid-August 1628, when the secret Catholic convert remained an Orthodox archbishop seeking to bring together the Uniate and Orthodox sides. Based on a close reading of the texts of this time, Frick speculates that Smotrytśkyi may have felt most comfortable as "a man in the middle" (Introduction, p. lv). He is probably correct in suggesting that the hierarch "may have been pursuing a plan for a unified particular Ruthenian Church in somewhat looser union with Rome, perhaps under the immediate jurisdiction of a Ruthenian patriarch in Kyiv" (ibid.). Smotrytśkyi's vision of East-West unity was to some degree shared by the Uniate metropolitan Iosyf Veliamyn Rutśkyi as well as the Orthodox metropolitan Peter Mohyla, and in the twentieth century by the Greek-Catholic metropolitan Andrei Sheptytśkyi. In Smotrytśkyi's view, however, the Orthodox could only achieve union among themselves and with Rome by reforming their church and cleansing it of Protestant-inspired heresies. Without union, he feared, some might convert to Protestantism and the rest to Latin-rite Catholicism, leaving neither an Orthodox nor a Uniate Ruthenian church (see *Paraenesis* at p. 618).

Frick's translations flow easily and gracefully while preserving Smotryśkyi's Baroque complexity and rhetorical verve. Perhaps the most absorbing reading is Smotrytśkyi's lively and immediate account in the *Protestation* of the dramatic events surrounding the Kyiv Orthodox council of August 1628, when the crypto-Uniate hierarch saw his *Apology* publicly condemned and, after Cossack threats, was compelled to sign a revocation, which he promptly withdrew.

Smotryśkyi's writings leave an impression of a truth-seeker committed to rescuing the Ruthenian church first through reform and then, after much reflection, through union with Rome. Or does this impression merely testify to the success of his rhetorical strategies? The publication of these translations invites the historian, as well as the theologian and the philologist, to explore these and many other questions.

Rockville, Maryland ANDREW SOROKOWSKI

Religion and Royal Justice in Early Modern France: The Paris Chambre de l'Édit, 1598-1665. By Diane C. Margolf. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies 67.] (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 227. $36.00 paperback.)

Diane C. Margolf here offers the first archival investigation of the Paris *Chambre de l'édit*, most important of the courts established to protect the legal rights of French Protestants under the terms of the Edict of Nantes. The Edict, issued by Henri IV in 1598, aimed at ending more than thirty years of war between Catholics and Protestants in France.

The Edict of Nantes and the courts it established were not an unqualified success, however. Margolf's exploration of the *Chambre*'s records reveals several reasons why this was so. The courts were not independent but, rather, branches of the *parlements*, royal courts of appeal that dominated the judicial systems of the French provinces. Most of the *parlements*' judges were Catholics, which made it difficult for the subordinate Catholic-Protestant courts to act decisively in defense of Protestant rights. Just as the Paris *parlement* had the largest jurisdiction of any court in the system, so its *Chambre de l'édit* was the court of last resort for Protestants all over northern France. Yet it never had more than one Protestant judge.

Margolf divides the *Chambre*'s cases into three groups. The first covers lawsuits arising from actions taken during the wars of religion. The court had to decide what constituted religiously motivated crimes and what fell under the king's command that the violence normal in wartime should be forgiven, if not forgotten. Next come the numerous cases due to intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants and the familial disputes that resulted. Finally, Margolf considers slanders, violence, and judicial malfeasance caused by tensions between the two religions. In most situations, the *Chambre* did little to bring about genuine denominational reconciliation, but it did force both Catholics and Protestants to accept royal justice as the thread binding the French nation together.

Margolf has thoroughly explored the *Chambre*'s records. The book's greatest fascination comes from the stories of individual men and women trying to achieve justice with dignity in a world still riven by confessional prejudice. Most of the work focuses on the first two decades of the seventeenth century, and the author has made little effort to correlate the *Chambre*'s work with outside events. It would have been interesting to know if the number and nature of cases changed after the Protestant rebellions of 1621-1628 or the Fronde of 1648-1653. Nonetheless, this is important reading for any scholar of early modern French history and should certainly interest anyone concerned about the long-term effects of religious violence upon society.

University of Northern Iowa CHARLOTTE C. WELLS

Les jésuites à Lyon XVI^e^-XX^e^ siècles. Edited by Etienne Fouilloux and Bernard Hours. [Collection Société, Espaces, Temps.] (Lyon: ENS éditions. 2005. Pp. 274. €32.00 paperback.)

The thirteen studies on Jesuit history presented here, papers given at a conference held in Lyon in September 2002, all show a high level of scholarship, offer a wealth of information drawn from extensive research, and are interestingly written, from the introduction by Bernard Hours to the conclusion by Etienne Fouilloux.

Part I, consisting of five studies on "L'ancienne Compagnie," the Society of Jesus before the Suppression in 1773, begins with Yann Lignereux's "Une implantation difficile: controverse religieuse et polémiques politiques (1565-1607)." This first stage of Jesuit presence in Lyon, after a few years of tensions mainly with King Henri IV, seems to have resulted in general feelings of esteem among the Lyonnais for the Jesuits. Annie Regond's article tells of a very gifted and famous Jesuit architect at the Collège de la Trinité, Brother Etienne Martellange. Stéphane van Damme's insightful article, "Le corps professoral du college," offers much information on the stress on scholarship and the way the Jesuit province of Lyon consistently devoted resources to the school. Sophie Roux offers a very interesting article on another very gifted individual Lyon Jesuit, Father Honoré Fabri (1607-1688), who in his day was well known in the field of philosophy of nature. Yves Jocteur-Montrozier's "Des jésuites et de la bibliothèque municipale de Lyon," is an especially valuable report on the role of the Jesuits in the building of their large, much-admired library, confiscated by the city at the Suppression.

Part II, "Le temps des collèges," moves into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Philippe Rocher very competently traces significant developments in teaching in Jesuit education in Lyon from 1850 to 1950. Bruno Dumons, in "Jésuites lyonnais et catholicisme intransigeant," offers an extremely interesting study of the role of a number of Jesuits in supporting and inspiring Catholics of the traditionalist, anti-liberal, anti-Third Republic viewpoint. The strongly anticlerical Republic outlawed Catholic schools in 1901, and Patrick Cabanel's article tells how the Lyon Jesuits managed to re-create one of their schools in exile in Bollengo, Italy. Bernard Delpal's study of Lyon Jesuit work in Lebanon focuses on their major printing house and their Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut, both of which became very influential in spreading not only Catholicism but also French culture in the Near East. Both Jesuits and anti-Jesuit government officials, as he notes, wanted to advance French civilization there.

In the third part, "Les défis de la modernité," Lyon Jesuits are shown to have been prominent in some social and religious controversies. Pierre Vallin, S.J., in "Les jésuites à Lyon et la question sociale," offers much specific information on the involvement of some Jesuits in inspiring activism for social justice from the mid-nineteenth century on.

A most interesting and detailed article by Bernard Comte, "Jésuites lyonnais résistants," tells of some thirty Jesuits of Lyon who participated in the resistance to Nazi and Vichy rule during World War II. Henri de Lubac was prominent among them. In the longest (twenty-five pages) and most timely study in the volume, Claude Prudhomme and Oissila Saaïdia tell of Lyon Jesuit work in the Near East to promote understanding of the Arab Muslim world through research in Muslim literature and history. Both the French government and the papacy from Pius IX on supported these efforts. Also most interesting is Dominique Avon's article on the Jesuit theological school at Fourvière (Lyon) which in the 1940's-1950's incurred the suspicion of the Vatican. Would that there were more space here for the names (e.g., again de Lubac) and other specifics of this regrettable eve-of-Vatican Council II event. Etienne Fouilloux's concluding essay on the French Jesuits' progress in the last two centuries from anticlerical hostility to general esteem is full of insightful comment. This whole volume provides a wealth of specific information and very scholarly discussion of significant people and developments.

Loyola University of Chicago RICHARD F. COSTIGAN, S.J.

Late Modern Europe

Souverain et Pontife: Recherches prosopographiques sur la Curie Romaine à l'Âge de la Restauration (1814-1846). By Philippe Boutry. [Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 300.] (Rome: École Française de Rome. 2002. Pp. xviii, 785.)

This hefty volume is not for the casual reader. But it provides a wealth of information for researchers on nearly any subject dealing with the Papacy and the Roman Curia during the Restoration period of the nineteenth century. As the title indicates, the Popes of that period were not only pontiffs, but sovereigns as well, princes of the second largest of the pre-unification Italian states.

Boutry's work provides the reader with a highly detailed study of the Papal Government of that age, from the restoration of Pius VII in 1814 until the election of Pius IX in 1846. Because of the idiosyncratic nature of the Papal administration, the regime had both spiritual and political aspects, not always clearly distinguished from one another. One of the most troublesome issues that Pius IX faced was how to acquit his duties to his secular subjects in the Papal States, while still maintaining his position as head of the Universal Church.

Boutry sets out to present the details of this intricate organization in two phases. He portrays the Roman Curia in all its labyrinthine complexity, then gives a thumbnail biography of each cleric or layman who held one or more positions in those offices. Although the book appears at first to be just a complicated profile of an outdated bureaucracy, it also provides a fascinating glimpse of a unique ecclesiastical state which has vanished forever. Although

this society disappeared less than two centuries ago, the close blending of Church and State gives it an "other worldly" look to the modern reader. It is also a pleasant surprise that the author maintains a great deal of clarity in such a multifaceted study.

In the first section, the author describes the structure of the Papal government, with a capsule explanation of the history and function of each office, as well as a precise, dated list of all those prelates who served in those offices during the Restoration period. This section fills about 300 pages. In addition to the Sacred College of Cardinals, the list includes a large number of Congregations (permanent and temporary), Tribunals, Curial Secretariats, and such institutions as the Pontifical Chapel and Pontifical Family. The catalogue concludes with a detailing of the Legates and Delegates (who were the clerical governors of the civil provinces), and of the thirteen foreign Nunciatures.

It is in this first section that the careful reader will reap the most interesting reward. Some of the Congregations (State, Holy Office, Index, and Propaganda Fide) are familiar, but others reflect the secular side of the Papal States. There is a Congregazione di Buon Governo, resulting from a 1588 reform of Sixtus V to provide the communes near Rome with officials who were more interested in efficient government than political careerism. There are departments to oversee water supply and road maintenance, as well as the military administration for the Papal army. There were presidencies to supervise the grain supply and the oil and cooking fats for the city of Rome, which had more hungry mouths than the local farmers could easily feed. The administrative governors of the State's twenty-one provinces were all clerics. The five most important provinces were called Legations, each governed by a Cardinal Legate. The others were Delegations, governed by a Delegate, who had to be a bishop. The Pontifical Chapel included the Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. But there were also the Prince Assistants to the Pontifical Throne, including hereditary members of the Orsini and Colonna families, as well as the ceremonial Senator of Rome. Finally, there were the appointments of Apostolic Preacher, always a Capuchin, the Confessor to the Pontifical Family, always a Servite, and the Sacristan of His Holiness, always an Augustinian Canon.

In the second section, the author provides a more detailed biographical portrait of each cardinal, prelate, or curial official who served in any capacity in those offices. These pages account for the remainder of the book, and contain over 800 personal stories. As mini-biographies, they are not extensive, but do contain meticulous references to each office the individual ever held. Among the names are not only future Popes, but major players in the religious and political struggles which make the Restoration period so fascinating. Secretaries of State such as Bernetti and Lambruschini rub shoulders with conservative *zelanti* Cardinals like Altieri and Della Genga, and semi-liberals like Cardinals Gizzi and Amat, and Monsignor Corboli-Bussi, who supported Pius IX in his early reforms.

The fruits of this exhaustive research might be especially useful to illustrate how the structure and functions of the Curia have changed from that time.There is a useful index of names for all the curial officials, but the table of contents is even more helpful as a detailed schematic for the entire work. All things considered, this work is a captivating insight into the final decades of the Papal States, which played a crucial part in Church History for well over a millennium.

Carmelite Institute LEOPOLD GLUECKERT, O.CARM.
Washington, D.C.

Monseigneur Duchesne et les Bollandistes: Correspondance. Edited by Bernard Joassart. [Tabularium hagiographicum, 1.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2002. Pp. 252. €50,00 paperback.)

Scholars of modernism are well aware of Monseigneur Louis Duchesne (1843-1922), a distinguished historian who introduced a generation of Catholic scholars in France to the methods and findings of professional history. Less well known to modernist scholars are the Bollandists, Jesuits dedicated to critical hagiography, but they, too, promoted modern historical methods at a time when many in the Catholic world viewed such historical work with suspicion.

The correspondence between Duchense and the Bollandists that is collected in this volume covers virtually all of Duchesne's professional life, from 1878, the year after he earned his doctorate, until shortly before his death in 1922. Over these years, he exchanged thirty-five letters with Charles De Smedt (1831-1911), twenty with Albert Poncelet (1861-1912), and fifty-seven with Hippolyte Delehaye (1859-1941), as well as a few letters with others, that remain extant. Unfortunately, parts of the correspondence are lost. For example, the first letter from Duchesne is dated December 29, 1889, eleven years after the beginning of the exchanges. De Smedt's sixteen letters to Duchesne from these years clearly indicate that the correspondence was mutual, and indeed his first letter implies that Duchesne was the one to initiate contact. Despite such gaps, the correspondence gathered in this volume allows the reader to follow Duchesne and his Bollandist friends through the tumultuous years of the modernist crisis as they faced suspicion and sometimes the condemnation of their efforts by ecclesiastical authorities.

In general, the correspondence reflects the professional interests of the participants, as Joassart notes in the introduction. Duchesne and the various Bollandists share their reactions to new books and to other scholars, and they offer suggestions and appraisals about the work that each other is doing. More interesting to contemporary scholars, however, will be their responses to the larger ecclesiastical, political, and theological developments of their day, particularly the condemnation of modernism. In his introduction, Joassart draws attention to a letter of November 9, 1907 from Duchesne to Delehaye. In this letter,

Duchesne distanced himself and Delehaye from (unnamed) modernists on the one hand and from the papal condemnation of modernism in the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* on the other. At the same time, Duchesne acknowledged that times were grim and that he and his correspondent were at risk.

In the most touching letters, Duchense and his various correspondents express their mutual esteem and support. For example, when De Smedt expressed gratitude to Duchesne for his work on De Smedt's behalf (in a letter now lost), Duchesne replied that he was only giving De Smedt his due. After all, the normally caustic Duchesne asked, "do you not believe that Bollandism is one of the greatest scientific causes of modern times" (p. 112)? De Smedt expressed similarly warm respect for Duchesne's work.

Joassart's presentation of this correspondence is outstanding. His twenty-three-page introduction provides background information for all of the participants in these exchanges, which is particularly helpful in the case of the individual Bollandists who are mostly unfamiliar even to scholars of the period. The annotations are exhaustive, offering brief biographical sketches of the various figures mentioned in the letters and, where possible, elaborating on otherwise obscure details. As a consequence, the reader can better appreciate the significance of the scholarly judgments the correspondents shared with each other. An index of names enables the reader to follow references to individuals of interest. Altogether, then, this collection is a welcome contribution to contemporary scholarship.

Berry College HARVEY HILL

Catholic and French Forever. Religious and National Identity in Modern France. By Joseph F. Byrnes. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 278. $50.00.)

Joseph Byrnes argues that Catholicism has played an essential role in French self-identity, even during republican periods when state institutions forcibly erased the nation's religious past. In the *ancien régime*, religion was the nation's "foundation"; during and after the Revolution it served as "antithesis"; since the Great War it has been a "parallel force." Byrnes pursues his argument by means of seven chapter-long case studies (five previously published) arranged under three chronological headings: the "Divorce" between nation and religion during the revolutionary period; the "Defense" of religion from 1802 to 1914 (i.e., Concordat to wartime "Sacred Union"); and a postwar "Détente" enduring into the present. Each chapter stands on its own and may be read as such. The overall narrative is unified by an extended historical overview preceding each of the three chronological divisions. The combination allows readers to access the material in different ways: it offers unique micro-histories (some based on rare archival sources) allowing voices of the time to speak; and, for those who want or need more, a large narrative arc under which to situate those smaller stories.

In the first section, titled "Divorce," the first (and perhaps strongest) chapter presents first-person testimonies of revolutionary-era priests who signed the constitutional oath, those who later abdicated the priesthood entirely, and those who in the end retracted their oaths and returned to the fold. "In 1772," wrote one abdicator of his ordination, "I was forced to appear before a man who was dressed as a woman" (p. 30). A second chapter, utilizing documents expressing the frustration of authorities, argues that revolutionaries' attempts to transfer Catholic sensibilities of the "sacred" to festivals of "Reason" and "Nature" were "completely thwarted" (p. 55). A third chapter highlights Chateaubriand and Destutt de Tracy as binary prototypes of the conflict between post revolutionary "neo-Christian intellectuals" and rationalist *Idéologues*. In Chateaubriand's *Genius of Christianity* (1802) we have the first attempt at making "cultural Catholicism" palatable for a non-believing audience. As with Napoleon himself, although the nation might not practice religion, France could not be divorced from its religious patrimony.

In the second section, titled "Defense," chapter four narrates the mid-century invention of Chartres as a pilgrimage destination. It is striking to see just how political the religious pilgrimage was: a democratized form of travel made possible by trains and leisure, it was viewed as an act of "public and national reparation" in expiation for "public and national crimes" such as the Revolution (p. 96). Chapter five, one of the less successful studies, contrasts the effects of using (or not using) regional languages for catechesis in Alsace (German) and Roussillon (Catalan). As Byrnes acknowledges, the decline in Roussillonnais church practice might have had less to do with linguistic causes than with social and economic ones (pp. 137, 144).

In the third section, a period of "Détente" is inaugurated by the Third Republic's call for a "Sacred Union" (1914) against the German menace. Chapter six follows two bitterly opposed enemies into the trenches: religious priests and laicist teachers. Life in deadly close quarters shows each that they have more in common than they thought. As with the earlier century's pilgrimages, the language of "reparation" for national sins (used by priests to make sense of their own "sacrificial" deaths on behalf of the Republic) is striking (p. 160). A seventh chapter, on art historian Émile Mâle, complements the Chateaubriand chapter ending the "Divorce." Both writers appealed to France's religious artistic past to repair wounds of a preceding bloodbath. Once again, "cultural Catholicism" became palatable to a non-believing national public, allowing it to see religion as an integral part of its national identity.

However, ending the study this way leaves the work on unsure footing. Most of the chapter (twenty-two out of twenty-nine pages) deals with Mâle's works published *before* the war (in 1898 and 1908, i.e., during the bitterest years of the church-state conflict). If the war's "*union sacrée*" (1914) is proposed as the cause that initiated a "détente," one is left with a conclusion necessarily non-committal: "The political and social détente of World War I and the cultural reconciliation *before and after the war* represented a type of resolu-

tion of the Catholic and secular nationalist struggle. . . " (p. 209, emphasis added). One should note that the Act of Separation of church and state (1905) ended a century-old Concordat (1801-02), not one in effect for "more than two hundred years" (p. 152). (Note also that Jesuit Father Yves de Montcheuil was not one of the "liberal, engaged, Catholic theologians" after the war. He was shot by the Gestapo on 10 August 1944.)

If "détente" denotes a balance of "parallel forces," is it an accurate way to describe France today? A recent landmark poll conducted on behalf of the Catholic daily *La Croix* found that only 5% of the French population (2.8 million out of 60 million citizens) attends Mass at least once a month. *La Croix* attributes much of this collapse in religious practice to a rejection of the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (1968). The cultural Catholicism of Chateaubriand and Mâle might well have been integrated into French national identity "forever." However, if institutional Catholicism has lost the force that once threatened republics, one is tempted to call the outcome not a détente but rather a defeat.

Boston College STEPHEN SCHLOESSER

Caritas: un siècle de charité organisée en Alsace. La Fédération de Charité du Diocèse de Strasbourg 1903-2003. By Catherine Maurer. (Strasbourg: Éditions du Signe. 2003. Pp. 157. €14,00.)

Works of charity are central to Christianity, and so, accordingly, one might expect that charity would figure at the center of historical studies of the Church. Histories of charitable institutions have, in fact, proliferated over the past generation, but the rationales for these works have not always been apparent. Since history is limitless, the story of an institution should not be recounted simply because it *can* be recounted, but because the institution made a difference in the cumulative history of its home society, culture, and nation. The subtitle of *Caritas* is–in English—"a Century of Organized Charity in Alsace." A historian might start on the drama of Alsace in the Europe of World Wars I and II (and, before that, in the era of the Franco-Prussian war) and then proceed to the charities that responded to the trials of the period. Catherine Maurer did this in her book, *Le Modèle allemand de la charité. Le Caritas de Guillaume II à Hitler* (Strasbourg, 1999). But the present book is really an album presenting the history of the essentially clerical administration of La Fédération de Charité—Caritas d'Alsace. Maurer brings the talent of a historian to bear on a series of administrative records and correspondence in a tribute to the institution. This work, then, was designed for admirers of the institution rather than for anyone, historian or interested lay person, who comes with substantive questions about the relationship of religious and national identity, of institutional progress and cultural products, or of political and religious authority conflicts—although these issues are adverted to along the way. It is a celebration of dedicated priests and nuns, especially of the founder and subsequent head, Father Paul Müller-Simonis, who, coming from wealth himself,

knew well how to make good use of it. Although internal tensions receive little attention from Maurer, they probably do not merit anything more. The year-to-year running of the institution is at the center of the narration here, but the resourceful reader can see how institutional life was buffeted, and then interrupted, by World War I and by the later Nazi conquest. As for the charitable works themselves, readers may wish that the Alsatian outreach to North Africans and other Muslims could be explored for detail and meaning. Printed on glossy paper, the study benefits from a large number of photos in a series of unnumbered pages at the end of the volume, which help to offset the dry statistics necessary to give solidity to the institutional history.

Oklahoma State University JOSEPH F. BYRNES

The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850. By Emmet Larkin. (Dublin: Four Courts Press; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 298. $69.95.)

Professor Emmet Larkin has had a curious place in studies of the history of modern Irish Catholicism. His most significant contribution has been a pioneering article, published in 1972, on the origins of the exceptional piety of the twentieth-century Irish. Two generations of religious historians have debated Larkin's concept of a "devotional revolution" occurring roughly between 1850 and 1875, during which the Irish became, for the first time, "practising Catholics." Yet Larkin himself has offered no significant further contribution. Instead he has sought to build on the themes set out in a second early piece, from 1975, in which he analyzed the long-term development of the Irish political system in terms of the interaction of three entities that he labelled Church, State, and Nation. Here the years have been less kind. As detailed research has highlighted the sectional and ambivalent nature of successive nationalist movements in nineteenth-century Ireland, and the multiple accommodations and ambiguities that characterized the country's position within the United Kingdom, the quasi-Hegelian abstractions represented by Larkin's "State" and "Nation" have come to seem increasingly irrelevant. Yet Larkin himself has remained committed to his original design, elaborating it in no less than seven large volumes devoted to an exhaustive account of the high political correspondence of bishops and statesmen.

The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church promises, at first sight at least, to rectify this anomaly. It is the first of two volumes "conceived as history from the bottom up" (p. x) and intended to complement the political narrative by examining the Church's wider role within Irish society. Yet the actual focus of this first instalment is remarkably narrow. In effect the volume comprises four essays. Of these the most important traces the emergence of the distinctive Irish institution of the "station," whereby priests twice annually visited selected houses throughout their parishes to celebrate Mass, hear confessions, and administer communion. The station, Larkin argues convincingly, was essential to

the pre-Famine Church's impressive achievement in maintaining some level of popular belief and practice in the face of a debilitating shortage of manpower and church accommodation. The other three chapters are considerably more limited in scope. Two, on the ratio of priests to people and on church building, are devoted to an exhaustive discussion of already fairly familiar statistics. A fourth promises a "qualitative analysis" of the lower clergy. In practice, however, it is devoted mainly to a discussion of the mechanism for appointing bishops. Larkin's central argument, that a lay revolt against the Church's willingness to grant the British government a say in episcopal appointments weakened deference toward hierarchy, and that the delay in establishing a workable system promoted clerical faction, has some merit. But it is hard not to feel that the space devoted to this single issue is a reflection less of its real importance than of its prominence in the archival record. As for the devotional revolution, we are offered only two pages on the pattern of church attendance. These suggest that Larkin has moved away from his original suggestion of a transformation of religious attitudes to the alternative thesis that what took place was primarily a shift in the balance between social classes, as death and emigration among the laboring poor conferred numerical and cultural predominance on an already fairly pious farming class. But the point is not developed; in particular the crucial boundary between these two supposed social groups is only loosely sketched. We must hope that the second promised "bottom-up" volume, on the period 1850-1880, will elaborate on what remains Professor Larkin's enduring contribution to the history of Irish Catholicism.

Queen's University, Belfast S. J. CONNOLLY

Archbishop Charles Agar: Churchmanship and Politics in Ireland, 1760-1810. By A. P. W. Malcolmson. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2002. Pp. xvi, 678. £60; $75.00.)

Charles Agar (1735-1809) came from a Kilkenny landowning family which controlled four to five seats in the Irish Parliament. As Bishop of Cloyne (1768-1779), Archbishop of Cashel (1779-1801), and Archbishop of Dublin (1801-1809), he was the most prominent political and administrative defender of the Church of Ireland's interests in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and a leading government manager in the Irish House of Lords. After the Anglo-Irish Union (which he supported on being reassured it would not endanger Protestant Church interests), he was an influential Irish representative peer at Westminster (he was created Baron Somerton in 1795 and Earl of Normanton in 1806). Deeply suspicious of Catholic relief legislation, Agar allegedly first instilled in George III the theory that royal assent to the admission of Catholics to parliament would breach the Coronation Oath.

Agar carefully publicized his achievements in his lifetime and left an extensive archive—in the Hampshire Record Office since 1957, heretofore neglected by historians of Ireland. His descendants, however, failed to sponsor a

biography, and Agar's historical reputation was left to the criticisms of his political opponents, taken up and magnified by Victorian moralizers; he is thus usually seen as oppressing his country for political advancement, alienating diocesan property to enrich his family, and allowing the medieval cathedral on the Rock of Cashel to fall into ruin.

Dr. Malcolmson draws on his unrivalled knowledge of eighteenth-century Irish archives to challenge this assessment. This is not so much a conventional biography as a series of interlocking essays - on Agar's family connections, his diocesan activities, his role in the Irish administration at a time of war and rebellion. Through extensive comparisons with the careers and attitudes of other contemporary bishops, it becomes a cumulative study of the Church of Ireland in the eighteenth century.

Malcolmson emphasizes that while Agar is remembered as a politician, he thought of himself as a churchman first and foremost. In this role Agar showed himself a capable administrator, legislator, and man of business, who far outshone his episcopal contemporaries. The accusation that Agar enriched himself by alienating diocesan lands is wildly exaggerated (it derives from a lease which unquestionably involved conflict of interest, but involved financial risk and profited succeeding Cashel bishops as well as Agar's descendants; Agar made his fortune on the stock market, unlike some asset-stripping episcopal contemporaries). The medieval Cashel cathedral had been irretrievably ruined by previous bishops; Agar, who was a scholar possessed of considerable musical and architectural taste, was zealous in building churches (including a replacement cathedral) and glebe-houses, enforcing clerical residence, and conducting visitations. While he did engage in nepotism (exhorting the beneficiaries to higher standards of conduct, with mixed results) and was lukewarm though apparently sincere in his religious sentiments, Malcolmson robustly and convincingly argues that by the standards of his time he was a "gentle reformer" who sought to reallocate the resources of the church to promote greater efficiency while minimizing reliance on state aid (since this brought increased dependence on an Irish landed elite notoriously suspicious of clerical aggrandizement).

Malcolmson argues that the eighteenth-century Church of Ireland was fatally hindered by the extra-ecclesiastical responsibilities incurred by its place in the system of government, by its financial system (which devoted the bulk of resources to funding individuals rather than institutions, and encouraged suspicions about financial malpractice), and by successive administrations' appointments of politically-reliable English-born bishops over Irish clergy. (He provides scathing vignettes of some colleagues and rivals, such as Archbishop Robinson of Armagh—now revered for his building-work in Armagh city, but presented here as a peevish valetudinarian primarily concerned with enriching his relatives.) Malcolmson suggests that if Agar had not been passed over for the sees of Dublin (in 1778) and Armagh (in 1794 and 1800), he might have provided his church with the energetic and effective Irish leadership it failed

to achieve until the early nineteenth century, and adjusted better to the challenges of the nineteenth century. No student of eighteenth- (and to a lesser extent nineteenth-century Ireland) can ignore this provocative book.

Dictionary of Irish Biography PATRICK MAUME

Victorian Churches and Churchmen: Essays Presented to Vincent Alan McClelland. Edited by Sheridan Gilley. [Catholic Record Society Publication, Monograph Series, Vol. 7.] (Rochester, New York: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 387. $80.00.)

This volume of sixteen essays, honoring Vincent Alan McClelland, Emeritus Professor of Educational Studies at the University of Hull, who is internationally known for his writings on education, as well as on Victorians, especially Cardinal Manning, appropriately reflects these dual interests of the honoree.

The first four essays consider various aspects of Manning's life and ministry: his ambivalent attitude toward the Education Act of 1870 (Jeffrey von Arx), his pastoral attentiveness both to the sick, personified by Priscilla Maurice (1810-1854), sister of the Anglican theologian Frederick Denison Maurice (Peter Erb), and to the repentant in the person of Virginia Crawford (1862-1948), a socialite divorcée (Robin Gard), as well as Manning's promotion to the episcopate of a reluctant protégé, Henry O'Callaghan (1827-1904), who speedily resigned as Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle (Leo Gooch). The next two essays survey the work of religious communities: Randal Lythgoe (1793-1855) and the Jesuits in Victorian England and Wales (Maurice Whitehead) and the "partnership" of Benedictines with the British Empire and in the United States (Aidan Bellenger). An interlude is then provided by a well-documented, but rather stream-of-facts, account of "Varieties of Modern Scottish Catholic Conservatism" in the twentieth-century—the one essay that seems tangential to the Victorian theme (Bernard Aspinwall).

No collection of Victoriana would be complete without a bit of religious controversy—in this case the horrendous outcry over a reportedly "imprisoned" Polish nun, Sister Barbara Ubryk (1817-1891), who became a *cause célèbre* in the British press (Rene Kollar). More conventional studies are provided by the biographical sketch of the historian Bernard Ward (1857-1920), long-time president of St. Edmund's College, Ware, and short-time Bishop of Brentwood (Stewart Foster) and an examination of "conversion" in nineteenth- and twentieth-century English literature (Joseph Pearce). Of special theological interest is an essay that proposes a thematic correlation between the "interdependence" of the sciences in Newman's *Idea of a University* with a similar ecclesiological "interdependence," first between the *ecclesia docens* and the *ecclesia discens* in his "On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine" and secondly between the triple offices—Prophetical, Priestly, Regal—in his 1877 preface to the *Via Media of the Anglican Church* (Wulstan Peterburs).

A bicentenary appraisal of the educational work of Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), the well- known Headmaster of Rugby (David Newsome), is followed by a discussion of Tractarian involvement in national education (1838-1843), which provides an often overlooked background to Newman's "Tamworth Reading Room" (1841) and *Idea of a University* (James Pereiro). Two companion portraits of influential but lesser-known educators follow: the work of Henry Kingsmill Moore (1853-1943) on behalf of the schools of the Church of Ireland (Susan Parkes) and the role of John Scott (1792-1868) in the development of the Wesleyan educational system.

The finale is a lengthy and extensively documented discussion of "the controversial use of the Caroline Divines in the Victorian Church of England," which shows that both Tractarians and Evangelicals were prone to selectivity in their appeal to seventeenth-century Anglican theologians, whose theology in fact possessed a "deep-seated ambiguity" (Peter Nockles). A list of selected publications of the honoree and an index complete this testimonial collection that has a wide ambit of articles, which, while varied in content, have the merit of being well researched and well written and so help expand the horizon of Victorian studies.

The Catholic University of America JOHN T. FORD

Der Begriff des Politischen in der russisch-orthodoxen Tradition. Zum Verhältnis von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft in Rußland. By Konstantin Kostjuk. [Politik- und Kommunikationswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Görres-Gesellschaft, Band 24.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 2005. Pp. 409. €55.00 paperback.)

Kostjuk's ambitious goal is "the analysis of the specific political understanding of the Russian Orthodox cultural crisis" in post-Soviet Russia's "transition from the premodern to the modern social order" (p. 12). The book, originally a dissertation for the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, builds on the author's extensive earlier sociological, political, and philosophical studies of contemporary Russian Orthodoxy, but now from a broad historical perspective.

The first part of the book is a chronological survey of key ideas of church, state, and society from classical antiquity and the Old and New Testaments through the Church Fathers and the Byzantine Empire, to Russia from Kievan times until the present. Part 2 covers the same ground using systematic philosophical and theological categories, such as the image of man, the idea of freedom, the church and the world, the Byzantine concept of symphony, what the author calls the "theology of total power," and *sobornost'*, a uniquely Russian concept denoting at once community, unity, and universality. Parts 1 and 2 provide the basis for an extensive analysis in Part 3 of the Russian Orthodox Church's stance in the post-Soviet era, particularly as expressed in its Social Doctrine, officially adopted after extensive discussion in the summer of 2000.

Some comparisons are made with Western thinkers such as Augustine, Aquinas, and Montesquieu.

Kostjuk's broad historical perspective is impressive, and he effectively shows how Orthodoxy's ideas and attitudes were influenced by the political context, for example, how in Byzantium and Russia, church thought followed Eusebius of Caesarea's dictum that "the one God, the one king in heaven, the one royal Nomos and Logos corresponds to the one king on earth" (p. 225), or how the church's exclusion from the secular sphere after Peter the Great shaped the course of religious thought.

In addition to explaining the political implications of such key concepts as tradition, symphony, kenosis, and *sobornost'*, Kostjuk clearly summarizes the thought of a wide range of figures, from Church Fathers like John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa, to such Russian churchmen as Joseph of Volokolamsk and Feofan Prokopovich, nineteenth century Slavophiles, religious philosophers like Nikolai Berdiaev and Sergei Bulgakov, and, more recently, Fathers Aleksandr Men' and Aleksandr Schmemann. Presenting the material first chronologically, then systematically, entails, however, some repetition and means that the reader must look for the ideas of, say, Vladimir Solov'ev in several different sections.

Kostjuk argues that the Russian Orthodox Church should reject rigid traditionalism and its historical deference to state authority and instead endorse such positive features of modern society as individual rights, the rule of law, and civil society, much as the Roman Catholic Church did in the Second Vatican Council. Liberal thinkers like Bulgakov and Solov'ev and the concept of *sobornost'*, according to Kostjuk, provide a basis for the church to play an effective role today. He is hopeful that the 2000 Social Doctrine, with its comprehensive, and on the whole, openminded, analysis of politics and social issues, even a qualified endorsement of the right of resistance, can offer the "church a way into modernity" (p. 359).

Kostjuk's emphasis on ideas and concepts sometimes leads to questionable historical conclusions. While Alexander I's policies can be described as "mystical" and "universalist," they were not primarily "Masonic" (p. 84). To claim that "thanks to the influence of the Slavophils," Russia in 1880 was on the verge of a representative monarchy greatly exaggerates their impact. Nor did they "inspire . . . the Russian, Slavic oriented foreign policy in the Balkans" (p. 246). Also, are church-state relations in today's Russia really comparable to those in France, as he claims on page 346, since religion has some public role in the former but is totally excluded in the latter?

The book includes extensive footnotes and a comprehensive bibliography, particularly of recent Russian and German studies. While such important terms as *sobornost'*, *derzhavnost'*, *mir*, and *bogochelovechestvo* are carefully defined and discussed in the text, a glossary would have been helpful.

This thoughtful and comprehensive survey of the Russian Orthodox Church's political thought is particularly valuable as the church seeks its proper role in post-Soviet Russia and the world while remaining faithful to its tradition.

Saint Louis University DANIEL L. SCHLAFLY, JR.

Edith Stein: The Life of a Philosopher and Carmelite. Authorized and revised biography by her Prioress Sister Teresia Renata Posselt, O.C.D; edited by Susanne M. Batzdorff, Josephine Koeppel, and John Sullivan. (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications. 2005. Pp. xx, 372. $15.95 paperback.)

In this new edition of the Reminiscences of Prioress Teresia Renata Posselt of the Cologne Carmel concerning Edith Stein, which she decided to write because of her shock at Stein's cruel death in the Shoah and the destruction of Europe's Jews, Edith Stein's niece, the author Susanne M. Batzdorff, translated the first six chapters of Posselt's memoir into English.

Father John Sullivan, Director of the Institute of Carmelite Studies in Washington, D.C., translated Chapters 7-12. He dealt mainly with Edith Stein's philosophy. Sister Josephine Koeppel, who long ago opened an Edith-Stein-Center in her Carmel in Elysburg, Pennsylvania, has become best known in Edith Stein research in Europe through her valuable translation of *Life in a Jewish Family.* She translated Chapters 14-21 of this book. This new edition differs from the earlier one in two important ways: First, the chapters are recast in a text that follows Posselt's German original more closely; second, the biographical data are amplified by notes, commentaries, and bibliographic information. A detailed chronology of Edith Stein's life, photographs of her times, and maps of the major locations she visited have been included. Gleanings offer comments and background information, and errors and misunderstandings have been corrected. Where passages have been removed, they are cited in the "take-outs," and the reasons for such alterations are explained. Examples of Koeppel's sober analyses are that Edith Stein lived in the so-called parental home on Michaelisstrasse only since 1910, since her mother, an able businesswoman in Breslau, frequently moved her residence in response to the growth of her flourishing lumber business. Prior to World War I, independent enterprise flourished as did the advancement of women. These trends were destroyed for the most part through the inability of the German emperor William II and Hitler. Edith Stein once mentioned that her mother experienced some trouble in her married life, but such things were not generally talked about at that time. Therefore, the translators omitted Posselt's description of a "very happy marriage with Siegfried Stein."

When I met Josephine Koeppel in Germany, I was amazed at her American independence with which she investigated all over Europe. For me she was a ray of hope in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, for which Edith Stein

and people like Teresia Renata Posselt helped to create a theological and spiritual basis.

On pages 347-353 passages are listed which could lead to misunderstandings, e.g. the religious philosopher Erich Przywara (who was not a Nazi) says that Edith Stein "did not look Jewish." Bibliographic footnotes and commentaries are meant to counter such ambiguities or explain them for today's readers, for example: "The Jews crucified Jesus, therefore they must now wander like Ahasver all over the world." Or such comments as "Edith Stein was very modest, something that was not usually the case with Jewish women." Such prejudices paralyzed many Germans, so that during the Nazi period they were hardly able to rescue their threatened fellow citizens. Such anti-Judaisms are omitted from the text but cited in the so-called "Take-Outs."

What was it that connected Posselt with Edith Stein in friendship? Surely the fact that both lost loved ones in World War I; surely that they were not sufficiently recognized as highly gifted, professionally active women in the German society of their time. Only the research of Theresa Wobbe, sociologist at the University of Erfurt, who investigated more closely the relationship of Edmund Husserl and Edith Stein, has shed new light on this topic. Many women in the Weimar Republic longed for an independent existence as women in a free democratic state, but their hopes were blocked for thirty years by Stalinism and National Socialism.

When I entered the partly destroyed Carmel in Cologne in 1953, my fellow novice Ilse Becker and I were drawn to the Order by reading Posselt's book about the fate of Edith Stein. We both were privileged to experience the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). Due to the efforts of Pope John XXIII, it developed into a reform council and addressed many concerns of Edith Stein, such as the greater spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood within the Church, respect for other churches, respect for the Jewish people, for Israel.

Teresia Renata Posselt said to me: "We Sisters have noticed that, after World War II, the churches did not ask about Edith Stein, but rather her Jewish relatives and friends, scattered throughout the world, her former colleagues, many of whom were not religious. They first posed the worried question, `Where is our beloved, revered Edith Stein?'"

Edith Stein not only enriched philosophy as a thinker, she not only advised many people as a highly qualified letter writer. She also contributed as a woman to the renewal of the Church through her clear discernment and her unbiased honest humanity which she learned particularly from her Jewish family and culture.

Edith Stein was admitted to Carmel in 1933 in order to participate in establishing a new foundation in Breslau. But neither Posselt nor Linke, the subprioress, ever considered letting her go.

Teresia Renata Posselt had the personality, the competence, to depict a fate such as that of Edith Stein, the philosopher, in writing and thus make it known worldwide.

Every page of this book shows something of the love and intelligence of Edith Stein, her friendship with notable people such as Archabbot Raphael Walzer, Vicar General Schwind, Speyer, Adolf Reinach, Anne Reinach-Stettenheimer, Hedwig Conrad-Martius, and many young students and colleagues, especially her last contacts with Dr. Meirowsky, the sisters Annemarie and Elfriede Goldschmidt, the Portuguese Sister Judith Mendez da Costa, and others.

These remembrances made concrete by Posselt were very important, especially in the postwar period, when, especially in Germany, but also in Europe, awareness of the crimes against the Jews was largely suppressed. The manner in which Posselt collected the documents concerning the last days of Edith Stein's suffering allows us to sense the terrible reality much stronger than any purely objective analysis of the deportations and gassings. Posselt's personal consternation that a human being whom she loved had to suffocate in the gruesome environment of Auschwitz at the hand of the Nazis can move people even today to take greater responsibility for politics and Church.

Edith Stein Karmel, Tübingen WALTRAUD HERBSTRITH

Pie XII: Diplomate et Pasteur. By Philippe Chenaux. (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf. 2003. Pp. 462. €28 paperback.)

Chenaux was on the spot when the Vatican archives rendered accessible to researchers its holdings concerning relations with Germany during the pontificate of Pope Pius XI (1922-1939). Since the person most concerned with Vatican relations with Germany was Eugenio Pacelli, first as nuncio in Munich and Berlin, then as Pietro Gasparri's successor as Secretary of State, these archives enabled Chenaux to write the first rigorously scholarly biography of Pius XII, as the book cover boasts. It has one notable advantage over the many treatments of Pius XII and the Shoah: it alone to date can put the silence of Pius XII in the context of his earlier and later years, his formation, experiences, and conduct of office behind and around that silence.

The epilogue states the thesis about the two roles named in the subtitle, "diplomat and pastor." By training and experience a diplomat, with his pastoral orientation sidelined, he confronted the impotence of diplomacy as Hitler prepared his invasions. As pope, then, from 1939, he turned more to the pastoral mode of protecting his flock as best he could, in Rome and elsewhere under Nazi rule. He did this without abandoning for some time the policy of "impartiality" which he had imbibed as Benedict XV's envoy during World War I. He did not conceive his pastoral duties as broadly as Pius XI had, however, and in effect was willing to forgo moral denunciations for the sake of a more press-

ing *salus animarum* (p. 413). Only the war years brought him to opt for a Western victory, though he feared it would favor the Soviets as well.

A chapter (pp. 267-304) is devoted to the "Jewish question" and his silence in regard to the "final solution." This may seem like short shrift, but actually Chenaux seems to cover all the relevant bases, except that he does not wonder more about the failure of Pius to come back to the calamity after the war. When Jacques Maritain asked him to reprove anti-Semitic killings in Catholic Poland after the Nazis left, the pope told him that he had deplored all such acts in 1945, addressing a delegation of deported Jews who had come to thank him for his wartime aid. Chenaux asks, "The pontiff had the feeling that he had done his duty, but did he have much idea of the extent of the tragedy suffered by the Jewish people and above all of the possible partial responsibility of the Church in the unleashing of the Nazi horrors?" Postwar conditions and the imperative of defending Western civilization from Communism, it would seem, "dictated other priorities" (p. 304). Was he suffering any pangs of conscience for not having spoken out for Poland before the war? "The least one can say is that defending the territorial integrity of Poland did not figure among the aims of the Holy See's peace policy in the waning days of August 1939" (p. 237).

Chenaux acknowledges the quality of historical research on the pope's silence by such historians as Michael Phayer, Susan Zuccotti, Giovanni Miccoli, and Renato Moro. Beyond this prevailing question that besets the process for the pope's beatification, Chenaux lays out a wealth of information on the official life of Eugenio Pacelli in all its many ramifications and puts many an episode in a new light. This handsome volume is not a personal or spiritual biography, but a valuable account, based in large part on archival research, that in all likelihood will stand alone as such for a number of years.[1]

Marquette University, Emeritus PAUL MISNER

Un Diplomatico Vaticano fra Dopoguerra e Dialogo: Mons. Mario Cagna (1911-1986). Edited by Alberto Melloni and Maurilio Guasco. [Santa Sede e Politica nel Novecento, 1.] (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino. 2003. Pp. xii, 389. €32.00 paperback.)

This book consists of seven scholarly articles, two memorials, an archival list, and twenty-nine primary documents intended to illustrate the context of the life and career of Archbishop Mario Cagna as a Vatican diplomat. Cagna was born in Lu in Piedmont in 1911, was ordained in 1934, and studied at the Gregoriana before entering the papal diplomatic service in 1937. After short

[1]Readers of *The Catholic Historical Review* will note with chagrin that it is dubbed *The Historical Catholic Review* (HCR) and that Cardinal Stritch becomes "Stricht" (p. 376).

postings to Holland and Peru, he was assigned as the secretary to the apostolic nunciature to Italy between 1949 and 1962. Between 1962 and 1966, while the Second Vatican Council was in session, Cagna served as internuncio in Japan, being named pro-nuncio in 1966 just before his departure. He returned to Europe to become one of the facilitators of the new Vatican *Ostpolitik* as apostolic delegate to Yugoslavia. In 1970, after the restoration of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See, he was appointed apostolic nuncio in Yugoslavia, becoming the first postwar nuncio in eastern Europe. In 1976, he transferred to Vienna as apostolic nuncio to Austria, where he served until his retirement because of ill health in 1984. He died in 1986.

The articles explain the context of the various periods in Cagna's life and career. Bruno Ferrero explores the history of the parish of Lu in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to determine why that parish produced a large number of clerical vocations, concluding that it was due to the effectiveness of the lay organizations, rather than to the inspiration of the clergy. Gianni LaBella discusses the situation in Peru in the 1940s and the impact on the Catholic Church of the replacement of a conservative government by a liberal secular government. Augusto d'Angelo writes of the apostolic nunciature in Italy under Archbishop Francesco Borgoncini Duca, the first nuncio, indicating that the preferred route for any business transpiring between Italy and the Holy See during the 1950s and the 1960s was between the Italian ambassador to the Holy See and officials in the Vatican Secretariat of State. The nunciature to Italy, consequently, had very little work to do. Nicla Buonasorte has studied the unique situation of the Catholic Church in Japan, where that church was very much in a minority and had to coexist with Shintoism and Buddhism to the extent that some Catholics practiced all three religions.

The last three articles deal with Vatican *Ostpolitik*. Andrea Riccardi offers a summary history of the relationship between the Holy See and the Soviet Union from the papacy of Benedict XV to that of Paul VI. After John XXIII had initiated an opening to the east, Paul VI continued this *Ostpolitik* through negotiations with the governments of eastern Europe in spite of the fact that these negotiations produced few benefits for the Church. Luigi Bianco writes of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the Vatican following the signature of the Protocol of 1966, which had been negotiated by Monsignor Agostino Casaroli as one of his first initiatives in the area of *Ostpolitik*. Bianco also describes the work of Cagna as the first nuncio. Alberto Melloni, in looking at "*Ostpolitik* and its Men," indicates that the Catholic Church was seriously divided over the program of *Ostpolitik*, with many of the opponents of that policy being found among the churchmen of eastern Europe and with many being willing to criticize the apparent doggedness with which the policy was followed by Paul VI in spite of minimal results.

In their own right, the articles are well conceived and valuable contributions to our knowledge, especially d'Angelo's work on the Italian nunciature,

Riccardi's effective summation of the development of *Ostpolitik*, and Melloni's discussion of church opposition to *Ostpolitik*. What, however, seems to be missing from virtually all the articles is any discussion of the personality, career, and role of Mario Cagna. Cagna's work is, in fact, really only mentioned at any length by Bianco in his article on Yugoslavia, and even there he provides little analysis of Cagna's personal impact on the course of history, quoting instead from speeches, such as the one that Cagna made in presenting his diplomatic credentials to President Tito, which is hardly a source of personal revelation. The reader finishes the book wondering why and how Cagna rose as he did in the Vatican diplomatic service and what influence, if any, he had on the course of events. The two memorials included deal with his time as nuncio to Austria and are laudatory reminiscences provided by friends. The documents also come from his time in Austria and include the texts of homilies, radio messages, and New Year's addresses to the President of Austria.

By providing a study of the context for Mario Cagna's life and career without examining his life and influence, the editors leave this reader completely puzzled. Without developing any explanation of the significance of Cagna's life and career, the individual articles are isolated studies of various topics without any apparent linking device or rationale. Instead of providing readers with a "life and times" of Archbishop Cagna, this book gives us only the "times" and none of the "life."

University of New Brunswick PETER C. KENT

American

The Old Religion in a New World. The History of North American Christianity. By Mark A. Noll. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 2002. Pp. xii, 340. $24.00 paperback.)

Finding out about a book on how European religion fared in the New World, one can safely expect a "must read" if the author is the one authority on evangelical Protestantism and has also published widely on American religious history as on the history of Christianity in general–and the reader will not be disappointed in his expectations.

What sets the book apart is the emphasis on what is American about religion in America to begin with but also the combination of comprehensive narrative and analytically reasoned treatment of such recurrent if not perennial issues like church-state relations, concepts of pluralism, or the relation, if any, of religious practice and theology.

The first one of these characteristics makes for good reading, because it focuses the story Noll is providing, whereas the second one leads to a book

divided or two books in one. The author was aware of this risk and took it deliberately. He "divided" the book as he says between some chapters "offering a sketch of developments in a specific historical period and others attempting a more general interpretation of a major theme or circumstance."

Therefore, one can read seven of the twelve chapters (jumping one that is interspersed and ignoring four others that follow) as a comprehensive but nevertheless wide-ranging description of how the old European forms of Christianity developed in and adjusted to America. One effortlessly follows the author from the period of colonization through the era of national formation that already showed distinctly American religious forms, the nineteenth century, when the Protestant influence peaked, the interwar period of the last century that saw the first cultural wars between Protestant fundamentalism and modernism, to the 1960's when Protestantism at first looked more like "a very rough general category for non-Catholic Christians than a cohesive religious force," and finally the years since, which witnessed "a shifting balance of power among the churches, several new movements of spiritual renewal, and increasing antagonism with some secular elements in the broader culture."

Then there are the other chapters on the "Separation of Church and State" or on "Theology" which Noll may have set aside because he felt they would not lend themselves to the same easy, flowing narrative style, because he was relying more on and referring to the work of other scholars or for whatever undisclosed reason.

In fact these chapters provide excellent summaries of specialized literature and could serve as an introduction to the research on specific issues. They show a remarkable range of knowledge which, for example, allows Noll to summarize Philip Gleason's in-depth study on Catholic higher education and intellectuality in a few strokes of a brush.

But the same can be said of the way in which Noll summarizes Nathan Hatch's work in one of the historical chapters, when he is dealing with "The American Revolution." On one hand Noll's whole book, in the more historical chapters as well as in the others, is so much a masterly condensation of all the relevant literature, that any author not mentioned must feel bad and on the other hand the more theoretical chapters are also written in very accessible style.

In short the subdivision fails to convince, but even this is a minor deficiency in this eminently learned, lucid, and enlightening book.

Universität Bayreuth MICHAEL ZOELLER

The Penitente Brotherhood: Patriarchy and Hispano-Catholicism in New Mexico. By Michael P. Carroll. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. vii, 260. $45.00.)

A gifted, lucid writer and a great narrator of fiction, the Canadian sociologist Michael Carroll takes a revisionist orientation in examining an often misunderstood group, the Penitente Brotherhood of New Mexico. Notoriously characterized for "public flagellation," the Penitente Brotherhood's practices have been sensationalized, objectified, and labeled deviant. Revisiting history by using secondary sources of data, Carroll presents the Penitentes anew; a final chapter is devoted to a psychoanalytic interpretation of masculinity, repressed desire, and angst among the Brotherhood.

While most researchers acknowledge that the Penitente Brotherhood, a community of Hispano men who gathered based on common religious interests, arose out of the lack of priests in the Southwest during the 1800's, Carroll challenges this finding. Carroll asserts the emergence of Penitente activities reflect a search for patriarchal authority in response to changes brought about by Bourbon Reforms. In this vein, he contradicts the long-standing view that the Penitente Brotherhood either emerged as a product of Spanish Catholic settlers or was a carryover of the Franciscan Third Order. Suggesting the Penitente Brotherhood spontaneously emerged from economic and social changes, this compelling political-economic perspective contradicts existing literature, and boldly claims that Penitente rituals were not deeply religiously motivated and further, that Penitentes were not particularly religious at all. Carroll claims that moral guilt has prevented other researchers from attaining the same finding.

Perhaps the biggest shocker in the colorful text comes toward the end. Carroll warns readers prior to embarking on that final chapter: "Anyone for whom a good cigar is always and under all circumstances only a good cigar might want to skip the next chapter. . ." (p. 188). Here, Michael Carroll suggests that what fuels the behaviors of the Penitente Brotherhood is a latent homoerotic urge, and that Padre Jesus is the paternal figure in the Freudian analysis of oedipal guilt and rage.The perspective recalls Carroll's theoretical addiction (evidenced by Carroll's former books): psychoanalytic interpretations of religiosity. Given that Carroll makes such suggestions of those Penitentes from generations past, and does not utilize primary sources of data to support such assertions, his ideas can only be interpreted anecdotally, as they are both nonverifiable and lacking substantiation. Carroll acknowledges this limitation and also states, ". . . I am not suggesting that Penitente males were predisposed to overt forms of homosexual behavior involving genital penetration" (p. 205).

Presenting his interpretation as "a story" (akin to "ethnographic fictions" popular among some contemporary cultural anthropologists), Carroll's approach refreshes the literature. In this case, however, and different from

other contemporary scholarly writing which attempts to hear the perspective of the subaltern, the Penitente Brotherhood has no voice in the text. Given the lack of empirical evidence, and reliance on conjecture, the story reads as flamboyant melodrama. The consequence of such a textual approach positions the Penitente Brotherhood as a monolith, in precisely the same exoticized terms Michael Carroll claims to challenge in the Epilogue.

University of San Diego MICHELLE MADSEN CAMACHO

The Columbia Guide to Irish American History. By Timothy J. Meagher. [The Columbia Guides to American History and Cultures.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 398. $47.50.)

The distinguished historian of Irish America Timothy Meagher has produced the first ethnic volume in the Columbia guides to American history. This volume is divided into five parts. The first examines the history of Irish America chronologically from colonial times to the present. In part two Meagher examines separately four major themes in Irish American history, respectively, gender and family, politics, nationalism, and race. The final three sections are a descriptive list of "people, organizations, events, and themes," a detailed chronology, and an annotated bibliography. In the process, Meagher and his research assistants, Henry Meagher, Joseph Turrini, Mary Elizabeth Fraser Connolly, and W. John Shepherd, have produced a succinct and a valuable synopsis of the Irish American experience which will be a must for the shelves of all those interested in the subject.

Meagher, however, moves beyond a mere synopsis to produce a very analytical account. This book is full of analysis, interpretation, and historiography. In the introduction he describes the historiography of Irish America, but also puts the Irish American story in the context of various ethnic theories. He dismisses the traditional model of counting immigrant versus natives traits "on some measuring stick of assimilation" and concludes that "plotting the changes in Irish American culture, therefore, is a messy business" (p. 9). The danger is that it becomes so "messy," because of the variance in Irish origins, religion, and region of settlement, that one may ask whether there is such a thing as "Irish America" at all? Meagher avoids this pitfall by acknowledging the commonalities in Irish American history. For example, he correctly accepts the "Scotch-Irish" as part of the story, even though their Irishness was sometimes very ambiguous. In the chronological section one sees similar themes emerging among the various groups of Irish in America. Through the generations then one can see their continued interest in Ireland, their participation at the lower and middle parts of the American economy, and their active involvement in American politics. Meagher highlights the exceptions to these rules, such as the new immigrants of the 1980's' disdain for traditional Irish American politics, but he still recognizes these usual themes.

Meagher recognizes this reality more explicitly in the second section, where he has a chapter devoted to Irish nationalism in America and one on the Irish in

American politics. From the United Irishmen to NORAID and from the Paxton Boys to the Daley machine the Irish have shown a keen interest in Irish and American politics respectively. But, he also acknowledges other less noticed themes. His chapter on gender and family is very important, not only because of his fine description of its historiography, but also because he highlights how much more needs to be done on the subject. Similarly, his chapter on the Irish and race is comprehensive in its examination. Here, in particular, Meagher provides a very sharp analysis of the whiteness debate and challenges what he describes as "the [axiomatic] notion that the non-white Irish became white" (p. 216).

Part three on people, events, and so forth is also excellent. Meagher and his assistants cover all the major figures and events, but also include less familiar Irish Americans such as Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, who emigrated to North America from County Cork in 1841. Although it is difficult to criticize such a comprehensive section, the one glaring omission here is Bishop John England, who although mentioned in one chapter, does not receive a biographical sketch. Indeed to broaden this criticism, Meagher could have had a whole section dedicated specifically to the Irish involvement in organized religion in the United States, an area, like politics, where Irish engagement continued across generations and denominations. Nonetheless, this work will take its place among studies by historians such as Kevin Kenny, Lawrence McCaffrey, and Kerby Miller as the first references given to those who ask for recommendations on the best histories of the Irish in America.

College of Charleston DAVID T. GLEESON

All Things Human: Henry Codman Potter and the Social Gospel in the Episcopal Church. By Michael Bourgeois. [Studies in Anglican History.] (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. 299. $34.95.)

A graduate of Virginia Theological Seminary, where he was a classmate of Phillips Brooks, Henry Codman Potter (1835-1908) was rector of Grace Church, in New York City, from 1868 to 1883, and then bishop in the Episcopal diocese of New York from 1883 to the end of his life, serving the last 21 years as diocesan. His father was Alonzo Potter, the third bishop of Pennsylvania. Henry Potter is known for transforming Grace Church—widely regarded at the time as the most fashionable Episcopal parish in Manhattan—into an early example of an "institutional church." He built Grace House in 1877 as a headquarters for mission programs on behalf of the residents—mostly Germans—who lived in the surrounding neighborhoods. Soon Grace House was recognized as a vital social center, and its programs were carried on and developed by Potter's successor, William Reed Huntington. Henry Potter is also known as a representative of the Broad Church movement and as an advocate of the social gospel. He supported the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (CAIL), labor unions and the fair arbitration of labor disputes, and better living and working conditions for laborers.

Bourgeois focuses on Potter as a representative of those Episcopal leaders who prodded the white establishment toward a greater social awareness during the years from the end of the Civil War to the beginning of the Great War. He sees Potter as a nineteenth-century evangelical liberal who "helped to institutionalize the social gospel within the Episcopal Church" (p. 21). Potter's theological liberalism was reflected in his acceptance of the higher criticism of the Bible and specifically in his ordination of the controversial biblical scholar Charles A. Briggs, who, as a professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York, had fallen afoul of that institution's conservative board of directors. This book, the eighth volume in the distinguished series Studies in Anglican History, sponsored by the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, is based on Michael Bourgeois's doctoral dissertation. It is not a biography of H. C. Potter but an analysis of his moderately progressive social views on such topics as labor, international and domestic politics, temperance, and women. Regrettably, this book's origins as a doctoral thesis are all too apparent. The writing is wooden, repetitive, devoid of any sense of rhythm or style. The paragraphs are long and tedious. The indented quotations are long (like many of the author's sentences) and too numerous. Some background statements are of questionable value: "The conflict over slavery reached its peak in the Civil War. . ." (p. 5). Sometimes when one is reading the main text it is hard to know who is uttering the words of a particular quotation, and even the endnote may provide little help in identifying the author of the quoted statement (e.g., p. 28, n. 11). Some word choices are infelicitous: e.g., "utilize" (p. 88). This book would have benefited from more careful editing.

A chore to get through, this study does not overflow with compensatory rewards. A better approach would have been to take the dissertation and use it as the basis of a fully fleshed-out biography: one that offered an engaging account of this man's personal and professional story—its problems, its motivations, its trials and triumphs. Thereby some life could have been injected into the narrative, even some drama, and the book would consist of more than the quoting and analysis of a bishop's statements, which, then as always, tend to be too bland and general to really bite. In this book there is no rhythm at all; instead, the sound of the prose becomes a constant thrum, like that of heavy machinery.

Hood College DAVID HEIN

To the End of the Earth: A History of the Crypto-Jews of New Mexico. By Stanley M. Hordes. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 348. $39.50.)

More than twenty years ago, historian Stanley Hordes announced to the press and media that a substantial number of "secret-" or crypto-Jews who fled the Spanish Inquisition were among the founders of today's New Mexican Hispano community. His doctoral work of 1980 had previously compiled and organized existing documentation of a tragically ill-fated Portuguese crypto-

Jewish settlement in Old Mexico, from ca. 1500 to the mid-1600's. His book on New Mexico therefore has merit in its opening chapters, but only to the extent that he repeats his dissertation. It falls from grace in (1) conflation of America's indisputably Portuguese crypto-Jews with the indisputably Spanish founders of New Mexico, (2) egregious misrepresentation of work that disconfirms him, and (3) mislabeling of twentieth- century Adventist, Apostolic, and "Messianic" Protestant folkways (e.g., six-pointed stars on cemetery crosses, Saturday observance of the Sabbath, giving Old Testament names to children, etc.) as both "colonial" and "crypto-Jewish."

Hordes' historical violation of scholarship norms led to a first disconfirmation in 1996 (the article won First Prize for best publication by a graduate student from The American Folklore Society); the work was subsequently developed into a doctoral dissertation at The Folklore Institute at Indiana University, 2001. Hordes' pseudo-ethnographic claims have also been disconfirmed in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia of American Folklife* (in press for 2006), and most recently, in an article I was asked to write for *Patterns of Prejudice* (in press for 2006) concerning his pseudo-scientific use of disease as a Jewish ethnic marker, published as an appendix in this book.

To grasp the extent to which the book distorts New Mexico's historical, cultural, and genetic heritage, it is important to note that claims of crypto-Jewish descent preceded Hordes in the region, surfacing circa 1975 when previous claims to descent from Spanish conquistadors were finally disconfirmed. Claims to a prestige lineage—whether Spanish, or crypto-Jewish—have historically been used to assert an overvalued line of white ancestral descent throughout the multiracial Spanish Americas, a preferred phenotypical line of ancestry assumed in New Mexico for all conquistadors (and all Jews), but not for all Hispanos. Hence, when local claims of aristocratic white descent were disconfirmed, the notion of unbroken descent from (ostensibly monogamous white) Spanish Jews, hiding out among the neighbors, became the best, and perhaps the last, means of denying non-white admixture and restoring a local prestige lineage.

Hordes' 1980 arrival as a Jewish State Historian excited a spate of rumor, gossip, and hearsay surrounding "crypto-Jewish" (and therefore, ostensibly white) folkways. He thereby announced that a substantial number of Hispanos were in fact descended from crypto-Jews, their origins effectively forgotten. A physically small but vocally large group of Hispanos, their memories thus "restored," came forward to claim publicly the new prestige lineage. A similarly small and vocal group of academics—none of whom is a folklore specialist—also came forward to endorse the highly celebrated folk canon.

Except for greatly fortuitous timing, it is unlikely that this book of 2005 would ever have seen the light of print. That is, in January of 2006, Sutton *et alii*, out of Stanford University, published the first biogenetic study of New Mexican Hispanos in *Annals of Human Biology,* 33, no.1, pp. 100-111. This study found that for all relevant Y-chromosome markers, paternal ancestry of

New Mexican Hispanos is identical (except for 2.2 percent American Indian admixture) to that observed in modern, post-exilic Spain, and is highly significantly different from that of all Jewish populations, including Iberian Jews. Had Hordes' claims been based on solid research, there would be a higher rate of Iberian Jewish ancestry in New Mexico, reflecting a component of post-exilic Jews among the region's Spanish settlers. The evidence from New Mexican Hispano males is unequivocal; Hordes' claims are refuted by the genetic profile of this population.

The unsuspecting reader will certainly be misled by this book—not only on the history, culture, and genetic heritage of Spanish New Mexico, but on the nature and practice of scholarship norms.

Case Western Reserve University JUDITH S. NEULANDER

The Early Works of Orestes A. Brownson. Volume VI: *Life by Communion, 1842.* Edited by Patrick W. Carey. [Marquette Studies in Theology, No. 46.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2005. Pp. iv, 532. $47.00 paperback.)

This is the sixth in Patrick Carey's projected seven-volume collection of Orestes A. Brownson's *Early Works.* The first volume appeared in 2000 (see *ante* 87 [July, 2001], 530-531.) All but the last of this volume's twelve selections were published in 1842, two years before Brownson was received into the Catholic Church on October 20, 1844. Carey takes the title *Life by Communion* from a philosophical doctrine of the French socialist Pierre Leroux (1797-1871).

As Brownson explained life by communion in the volume's central essay, "Leroux on Humanity," "the ME can never manifest itself, that is live, save in communion with the NOT-ME" (p. 276). This "metaphysical principle" helped Brownson to think his way out of the subjectivism of modern philosophy. Brownson's language—he speaks of the subject and object as "so to speak *soldered* together, or amalgamated as the acid and the alkali in the formation of neutral salt" (p. 254)—suggests that he may not have been entirely successful in dissolving modern philosophy's subject-object dichotomy. Nevertheless, life by communion incited in him "a theological revolution" (p. 189) that restored him "to the great household of believers," (p. 276), "touched his heart," and instilled in him "a love [for preaching] I never felt before" (p. 216).

Such is the language of religious conversion and Carey's fifty-four-page introduction argues that, during 1842, Brownson experienced a real religious conversion, one that he later explained as a discovery of God's freedom. This conversion enabled him to turn Leroux's life by communion to his own theological purposes and transcend the naturalism and subjectivism of Transcendental and Unitarian theology. The selections in this volume, arranged chronologically, take the reader through Brownson's intellectual and religious

odyssey from Transcendental theology to a kind of Romantic traditionalist theology that enabled him to save and reaffirm both the supernatural character of special providence and the ordinary workings of human nature understood according to life by communion. Carey's introduction, an expansion of Chapter 4 of his recent biography of Brownson, offers the reader an excellent guide. "The Mediatorial Life," Brownson's open letter to William Ellery Channing, and "Theodore Parker's Discourse" are the most theologically substantive of these essays, but in other essays Brownson applies life by communion to politics and society as well.

Brownson's son, Henry, reluctantly included some of these essays in his edition of *Brownson's Works*, four in a volume he entitled *Heterodox Writings.* Nevertheless, Carey's introduction, his arrangement of the essays, detailed editorial footnotes, and twenty-page index of names and subjects illustrate why this series belongs in all libraries with serious collections in the area of American religious history. This volume is particularly valuable. Not only does it make available key contributions of an often neglected participant in the debates of New England theology in the 1830's and 1840's, but it also gives the reader a sometimes touching glimpse into an expansive and brilliant Christian soul.

University of Dayton WILLIAM L. PORTIER

Vale of Tears. New Essays on Religion and Reconstruction. Edited by Edward J. Blum and W. Scott Poole. (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 265. $49.95 clothbound; $25.00 paperback.)

In a series of twelve essays, Edward Blum and Scott Poole have presented various aspects of social religion and belief in the American Southland following the dismantling of Reconstruction in 1877. The focus is on religion as institution, culture, and religious thought. The major themes are (1) the religious basis of violence and race, sexuality, and segregation; (2) the religious thought and racism in the oppression of American blacks both North and South; (3) religious rhetoric and moral reform in the political arena; (4) Post-reconstruction thought in the Catholic South; and (5) religion and religious cultures during Reconstruction and beyond.

The articles present the framework of violence like the mythological framework of the Ku Klux Klan. The religious sentiment is Protestant. Politics and political power are dominated by religion and religious rhetoric. The authors present many of the well-known and lesser-known demagogues who were clerical leaders in the late nineteenth century.

On the other hand, David Gleeson in his article on the Catholic Church, both South and North, looks at the emancipation of the slaves. Prior to the Civil War, the Catholic Church was in many cases Southern in sentiment. After the war, the Church was paternalistic and inept toward the freed slaves.

Augustin Verot, bishop of Savannah and Vicar Apostolic of Florida and a passionate supporter of the South, had called for a new and sanitized slave system. With a complete reversal after the war, he called for the bishops to follow the lead of the Roman Curia and create a nationwide bishop or vicar to care for the spiritual needs and evangelization of four million freed slaves. In a handwritten document in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, never published or made public, the bishops in the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore laid aside the Roman proposal after an angry discussion in an extraordinary session in 1866. Verot, almost alone, called for its adoption and related his plans for education for the former slaves in his diocese.

Kent McConnell in his article "Betwixt and Between" uses the cemetery at Mount Saint Mary's College near Emmitsburg, Maryland, as a geographical marker of Catholic sentiment by the Union and Confederate troops buried there some thirty miles from Gettysburg. The cemetery can be seen as a text revealing the feelings and sentiments of the priests, seminarians, students, and sisters in this small enclave in Maryland.

Regrettably one section of the Catholic community in the South has been overlooked. Stephen Ochs has written in *A Black Patriot and a White Priest* (Louisiana State University Press, 2000), the story of the Louisiana Native Guards.

At the beginning of the Civil War, the Native Guards—free people of color successors of the black militia of the Spanish Regime—were mustered into the Confederate Forces. With the fall of New Orleans in 1862, the Confederate army withdrew; but the Native Guards remained and joined the Federal troops under General Benjamin Butler, forming three regiments of Louisiana Native Guards. These troops, French in language, Catholic in religion, mostly free people of color and a few slaves formed the first black troops in the Union Army. On May 27, 1863, André Cailloux, captain of a company in the first regiment, led his troops in the assault on the Confederate stronghold of Port Hudson, where he and the ranks of black troops were mowed down, and the remnants of the company were forced to withdraw. Unlike the white soldiers, the bodies of Captain André Cailloux and the other black soldiers were forcibly left on the field of battle for over thirty days. Despised and rejected by the white Catholics, including the priests in New Orleans, the black soldiers were buried without Catholic services. One priest in New Orleans, Claude Pascal Maistre, originally from France, an abolitionist, censured by Archbishop Jean-Marie Odin, officiated at the funeral. From this same black Catholic community another voice emerged after Reconstruction. Adolphe Plessy, an Afro-Creole, was arrested for refusal to enter the segregated railroad car on the train from New Orleans to Covington, June 7, 1892. The case ended up in the Supreme Court. In 1896 the judgment of the Supreme Court in Plessy v. Ferguson upheld the constitutionality of racial segregation as long as the accommodations were "separate but equal." From this same milieu, black and Catholic, Sister Bernard Deggs of the Sisters of the Holy Family wrote down (1894-96) how God had worked in her community when he called them to use an aban-

doned house, one time a holding place for slaves, now used for the working of the community, a place "to expiate the crimes that had been committed there." (*No Cross, No Crown. Black Nuns in Nineteenth-century New Orleans,* eds. Virginia Meacham Gould and Charles Nolan. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.) To expiate the sins and crimes of slavery is a sentiment peculiarly Catholic and at the same time truly black.

St Meinrad Archabbey CYPRIAN DAVIS, O.S.B.

Thomas Merton: Prophet of Renewal. By John Eudes Bamberger, OCSO. (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2005. Pp. xii, 132.)

A wise person once said: "When the student is ready, the teacher will appear." A basic theme of *Merton: Prophet of Renewal* is the timeliness of Merton's appearance on the monastic and ecclesial scene in the mid-twentieth century. It was a providential moment in the history of the Church and of the Cistercian Order, marking the end of a four-hundred-year era dominated by the spirit and theology of the Council of Trent with its tendency toward rigidity, legalism, clericalism, and defensiveness. It ushered in a new era: that of the Second Vatican Council. The Council witnessed a development in the life of the Church unparalleled in modern history. It was a pastoral Council seeking to update the Church and make the Gospel of Jesus Christ once again an influential force in a world that seemed to be leaving it behind. Thomas Merton embraced the Council wholeheartedly and, in his concern to see its directives implemented, placed at the service of his monastic Order and the Church his considerable gifts as a writer and a spiritual guide. His wisdom and insights helped many people (maybe more lay people than monks?) to grasp the crucial importance of the renovation envisioned by the Council: new ways of thinking and speaking about Christian Faith and the way we live it.

The eight chapters of this book represent the published version of eight conferences that Dom John Eudes gave to a Cistercian monastery in France in the late summer of 2000. The book leaves no doubt of the strong conviction Merton had that he was called by God to the prophetic role. His mission was to open up "new horizons for an old journey," as he expressed it in *No Man Is An Island.* It was an "old journey," for it respected the past, but it also searched for new horizons that would make that past grow and mature through living dialogue with the issues and concerns of contemporary life.

While written for monks, this is a book that reaches far beyond a monastic audience. Dom John Eudes makes clear that Merton's reflection on renewal of monastic life spills over into an understanding of the renewal that is needed in the Church. "[Merton] has had a large effect beyond the cloister and continues to fill an important reforming function in regard to the whole Church" (p. 13). Merton once described himself—in a letter to Pope John XXIII—as "a progressive with a deep respect and love for tradition." Authentic tradition, he

believed, must be faithful to the wisdom handed down to us, yet at the same time open to the insights and intuitions of the contemporary world.

If there was a wonderful timeliness in Merton's appearing on history's screen, I would want to add that there is a certain timeliness about the appearance of *Thomas Merton: Prophet of Renewal*. It is now nearly forty years since Merton's death and nearly sixty since his best-selling autobiography appeared. Over those years much has been written about Gethsemani's famous monk, too much, perhaps. Some of it is good; a lot of it mediocre. Dom John Eudes's book deserves a hearty welcome. Without question it belongs among the best. It abounds in refreshing insights into Merton that emerged from the author's relationship to Merton, first as one of his students, then as a fellow-monk, and finally as a collaborator in evaluating the young men who came seeking admission to the monastery. In the light of that unique relationship, this book offers helpful hints for getting the most out of reading Merton's writings. It is not that he writes of new topics. The themes he discusses (the writer, the reformer, the prophet, the contemplative self, the self-giving love so essential to contemplative living) are themes familiar to anyone with some acquaintance with Merton's writings. What Dom John Eudes has done is to place such familiar themes in new contexts that yield new understandings. It is a book that enables us to appreciate Merton's creative contribution to a much-needed and long overdue renewal of the Cistercian tradition as well as the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church. This book deserves a wide readership.

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WILLIAM H. SHANNON

Canadian

Michael Power: The Struggle to Build the Catholic Church on the Canadian Frontier. By Mark G. McGowan. [McGill-Queen's University Studies in the History of Religion, Series Two, Vol. 27.] (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 382. Can. $49.95.)

Mark McGowan grabs and holds the attention of his audience, from beginning to end, in this important biography of Michael Power, first bishop of Toronto, Ontario. Born in Halifax in 1804, Power went to Montreal and Quebec City for studies. He never returned to work in Halifax but, ordained at twenty-two, stayed in the Montreal region. His education and early ministry gave him experience and knowledge of French such that, at age thirty-seven, he was nominated bishop of the newly-created diocese in 1841. Ontario was pioneer territory when Power was consecrated. Despite the lack of personnel, resources, and the basic amenities of life, Power accomplished a great deal in a mere six years, as McGowan reports. It is no surprise that he was universally mourned at his untimely death in 1847, resulting from typhus contracted while caring for sick diocesans.

Presenting the story, McGowan serves the local and national Church but also a much larger audience, as this really is a "Life and Times" biography. McGowan gives the reader a picture of the man who was devout in faith, loyal to the Church and Magisterium, and rigorous in application of church law, while utterly pastoral, a tireless worker, truly humble and far-reaching in his thinking and planning for the nascent diocese.

Just as important, McGowan paints a larger picture giving context to Power's story. From his background in Nova Scotia, to the province of Quebec, to Ontario, McGowan provides a picture of the Church with its various accomplishments, tensions, and "growing pains." This was when Canada was moving toward nationhood, with the colony itself experiencing "growing pains" as a result of imperial rule and tensions leading to various rebellions. The universal Church figures prominently through Power's loyalty to the pope and with the influence that ultramontanism had in Quebec and on Power himself.

Such things and more allow the reader to see the man and the environment that shaped him. McGowan makes it eminently possible for the historian to gain the significance of events by seeing them in their context. Further, as he did in his earlier work, *The Waning of the Green* (1999), he weaves together the institutional, sociological, and popular history, giving a complete picture. Among other benefits, the reader will find maps, illustrations, and tables. These will appeal to all who appreciate a good biography. For other researchers, there are a useful index and copious notes. It is difficult to find any work with footnotes these days, since publishers have a penchant for saving space and money! However, these notes are easy to follow, being set out in a manner that makes them accessible merely by using a second bookmark.

A few errors are found: McGowan makes reference to the Penal Laws which were used to persecute Catholics in the British empire, stating they were implemented by the Stuarts in 1701 (p. 15), but which began much earlier under Elizabeth I in 1560. The Stuarts made things worse, for sure, with the plantations of Ulster and Connaught (1603-1649) during which time many Catholics lost their homes and land there. Two other errors reflect Vatican II theology before its time. Power was not ordained to the episcopacy, but rather consecrated a bishop (pp. 137, 186). He uses both terms, but "ordination" reflects a more developed theology of Orders not seen in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. The same would be true of reference to the Easter Triduum (p. 241). "Triduum" would only surface in the reforms of Vatican II. These are minor in the face of the whole work.

Dr. McGowan provides not only a great story, but a wonderful resource for students of religious and secular history alike, in and outside of Canada. This work should be found in every library attached to universities, colleges, and seminaries.

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JOHN P. COMISKEY

Eternal Memory! Father Achiel Delaere (1868-1939): The First Eastern Rite Redemptorist and Canada's Ukrainian Catholic Church. By Jozef De Vocht, CSSR. Translated by Christian Roy. (Yorkton, Saskatchewan: Gravelbooks, distributed by Laverdure & Associates. 2005. Pp. xxvii, 325. Can. $29.95.)

In 2006, the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists) celebrates the centenary of its Eastern Rite branch. This is due almost single-handedly to the tenacity of Achiel Delaere, who was born in Belgium in 1868, professed his vows in the Redemptorist Congregation in 1889, and was ordained a priest in 1896. Desirous of being a missionary in Western Canada, he began studies of Slovak and later Polish to equip himself to serve the many immigrants. Soon after his arrival in 1899, he realized that the Ukrainian immigrants were in greater need of spiritual support and pastoral care than the Polish.

His pastoral zeal led him to seek special dispensation to study and work in the Ukrainian-Slavonic rite, celebrating his first divine liturgy in 1906. Realizing his inadequacy in caring for these members of the Church, he encouraged his Congregation to send more missionaries who could assist in the work and eventually petitioned Rome for the establishment of a Ukrainian eparchy in Canada.

All the while he battled with Orthodox priests, false priests, and strident Protestants intent on winning the hearts and minds of these Catholics in order to break their ties with Rome. In this tense climate, he suffered abuse from the detractors, misunderstanding from the people he attempted to serve, as well as difficulties within the Congregation that had him move in and out of positions of responsibility, often to his chagrin and disappointment. In the end, the eparchy grew and prevailed, the Orthodox returned to their own flocks, the "sheep-stealing" renegades and Protestants faded away, and Delaere's work prospered. Delaere died a much-beloved and appreciated priest, working to the end, in 1939.

It is to the credit of another Redemptorist from Belgium, Jozef De Vocht, that this story has seen the light of day. A contemporary of Delaere, De Vocht wished to show the decisive influence that Delaere had on the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada (p.xxi). De Vocht leaves an edifying testimonial to Delaere's courage and fidelity, and to the many faithful and priests who worked with him allowing this rite to thrive outside Ukraine. De Vocht lavishes praise on these pioneers and, when heaping scorn on those who were hostile to Delaere, he does not mince words.

This current translation is very readable, making a wonderful story but also giving insight into the history of the Church in Western Canada. There are an overview of Delaere's life, an index and fifty illustrations, mostly photographs of the main characters in the story. If there is any problem for a historian, it is the lack of notes or citations of any primary documents. De Vocht quotes extensively from letters and reports (nicely shaded in the current edition) found in the archives of the Flemish Redemptorists; so it would not be impossible to find the actual sources—perhaps a future project for a student to research and record. The publisher does provide a list of sources for further

reading on the subject, but none less than fifty years old. The publisher has done a great service to make this volume possible.

St. Peter's Seminary JOHN P. COMISKEY
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The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931-1970. By Michael Gauvreau. [McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion.] (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 501. Can. $85.00.)

At this time, several scholars in Quebec are researching the cultural development that led to the Quiet Revolution of the early 1960's. In their *Sortir de la 'grande noirceur'* E.-Martin Meunier and Jean-Philippe Warren and in her *L'Affaire silicose* Suzanne Clavette focus on the resistance to the conservative provincial government and the struggles for social justice initiated by Catholic activists in the name of the Church's social teaching. These authors argue that the social democracy introduced by the Quiet Revolution was prepared by social struggles carried on by Catholic organizations beginning in the 1930's.

In his new book, Michael Gauvreau does something quite different. Social justice issues do not interest him. He focuses on the cultural transformation of Quebec society, by which he means changes in the structure and ethos of the family. He argues that the family is the institution where humans learn to be members of society, respect authority, discover their social roles as men and women, and work selflessly for the common good. Gauvreau's social analysis reminds me of the work of the nineteenth-century French sociologist Frédéric LePlay, who saw in the family the principal institution sustaining society and who argued that the destabilization of the family produced by the French Revolution threatens the well-being of France.

In his first four chapters, Gauvreau documents that specialized Catholic Action in Quebec, beginning in the 1930's, undermined the traditional understanding of the family, produced a conflict between generations, young and old, weakened the sense of authority and democratized the relations between family members. The new emphasis, which Gauvreau attributes in part to the influence of French "personalism," fostered the search for personal happiness. Gauvreau assigns some of the blame for this development to Pius XI's encyclical *Casti connubii* of 1930 which—despite the condemnation of birth control—weakened the institution of the family by shifting the emphasis from social reproduction to personal fulfillment, thus eroticizing the relation between the spouses.

In chapter 5, on marriage in the 1960's, the author changes his tone. The values fostered by a minority movement in the 1930's now define the dominant culture. Gauvreau argues that the women, whose erotic desire had been stimulated by Catholic Action, personalism, and the Church's teaching, now sought personal happiness in married life and therefore refused to accept Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae vitae* of 1968, which condemned the use of the birth

control pill. Here the author accuses the ecclesiastical leadership of internal inconsistency and holds it responsible for the massive exodus of women from the Church of Quebec.

Chapters 6 and 7 deal with the efforts of the Church to exercise a public function in the new pluralistic society—a topic of universal interest that preoccupied Vatican Council II. The author focuses especially on Quebec's new school system. He argues that the secular society and the Church arrived at a viable compromise between 1960 and 1965, but that in the subsequent five years, the liberal idea of the State as directly responsible for the well-being of the citizens minimized the Church's role in the educational system and thus fostered the secularization of Quebec society.

This is a fascinating book that will provoke many debates. Readers will be surprised by the author's barbed writing style: he seems to be angry with the new ideas that emerged in Roman Catholicism. The reader wonders why the author never offers an adequate account of Emmanuel Mounier's personalism and why he interprets a renewal movement in the Church as elitist, fostering heroic behavior and contempt for the masses. Gauvreau fails to notice that the interpretation of Catholicism that arrived in Quebec from France was one of the main theological currents that influenced Vatican Council II. He offers quotations from speakers in Quebec without recognizing that they are citing texts from the Vatican Council.

Gauvreau's definition of culture is too narrow. He never mentions that the Quiet Revolution produced conditions that allowed Quebecers to work and do business in their own mother tongue, a change with important cultural consequences. Nor does he recognize a point made repeatedly by John Paul II that the organization of labor, the place where people spend most of their energies, has a profound effect on the culture of society. I have argued in my own writing that the Quiet Revolution was a major cultural event, a social phenomenon called "effervescence" in the sociology of Émile Durkheim. To this lived experience Gauvreau makes no reference at all.

Still, I regard Gauvreau's book as an important contribution to the study of Catholicism in Quebec because his work draws upon reports, reviews, bulletins, newspapers, and archival material until now neglected by historians. His book is also important because it will provoke new research and many interesting responses.

McGill University (Emeritus) GREGORY BAUM

Lonergan's Quest: A Study of Desire in the Authoring of Insight. By William A. Mathews. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. x, 564. $100.00.)

Mathews, a Jesuit philosopher at the Milltown Institute, Dublin, offers an intellectual biography of his Canadian fellow-Jesuit Bernard Lonergan (1904-1984) through the publication in 1957 of the latter's *Insight: A Study of*

Human Understanding. In Mathews' account the Kantian mind-reality problematic first grasped Lonergan's attention in the course of his philosophic training at Heythrop in 1926. Upon his return to Toronto to teach high school, however, the experience of the Depression diverted him to questions of economic theory that eventuated, fourteen years later, in a manuscript of which, Mathews remarks, "few, to date, have made sense" (p. 53) and to which Lonergan would return much later, in his declining years. Meanwhile Lonergan's arrival in Rome in 1933 to complete the seminary course in theology vividly impressed on him the need for a philosophy of history that could account for the collapse of European culture at the hands of Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini. His superiors decided that Lonergan should stay on in Rome for doctoral studies in theology, not philosophy, in preparation for a teaching post at the Gregorianum, but events supervened to force Lonergan's abrupt return to Canada in 1940 with his thesis on St. Thomas' developing thought on grace undefended. That investigation had, however, awakened for him the question of method in theology. Once back in Canada a light teaching load allowed Lonergan to plunge into a six-year study of Aquinas with the Kantian problematic in mind, the results of which he further developed in preparing courses on "Thought and Reality" and then "Intelligence and Reality" for the Thomas More Institute in Toronto.

The reception of the latter moved Lonergan to begin writing *Insight*, and Mathews devotes the second half of his study to the composition and publication of this work, a process that, on his account, comprised four movements. Lonergan spent two years writing a protoversion of the work, which he then reworked into what would be the central section (chapters 9-13) of the final product, devoted to articulating the positions on cognitional structure, being, and objectivity with which he resolved the Kantian problematic. These constitute the horizon for the analysis of the subject-object relation in mathematics, the natural sciences, and common sense that he undertakes in chapters 1-8, and they underpin the considerations of metaphysics and its method, ethics, and religion with which Lonergan, with his long-delayed Roman assignment now impending, hastened to conclude the work. That conclusion, of course, would itself prove to be but a steppingstone, a way station toward the publication of *Method in Theology* after another decade and a half of arduous research and reflection.

Given the nature of his subject, the bulk of Mathews' narrative is perforce occupied by analytic summaries of what Lonergan wrote, books he read, courses he took, and courses he gave. In these Mathews proves himself an astute, not uncritical reader and a highly skilled pedagogue from whom no student of Lonergan's thought will fail to learn. At the same time these works-in-context provide the data for Mathews' chief interest, namely, the intellectual desire that evoked them, the course of its unfolding, and the term at which what he conceives as Lonergan's vision quest arrived. His narrative gives full recognition to the role of the contingent and fortuitous (fate/providence) in the development it traces. Still, focused austerely on an intellectual biography,

and with invaluable result, Mathews leaves to others the further project of fleshing that venture out in the broader drama of Lonergan's life.

The Catholic University of America WILLIAM P. LOEWE

Latin American

Natural and Moral History of the Indies. By José de Acosta. Edited by Jane E. Mangan, with an Introduction and Commentary by Walter D. Mignolo. Translated by Frances López-Morillas. [Chronicles of the New World Order. Latin America in Translation/En Traducción/Em Tradução.] (Durham and London: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xxviii, 535. $74.95 cloth; $24.95 paperback.)

The first edition of José de Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, in the author's native Spanish, was published in Seville in 1590. It is a compact and elegant volume, conjoining discussion of the natural history of the New World, the "works of God" in Acosta's words, with a discussion of human history, "the works of free will." The book was an immediate success, and several more Spanish editions soon followed, along with translations into Italian, Latin, French, Dutch, and English. Excerpts appeared in the ninth volume of Theodore De Bry's celebrated *America* (Frankfurt, 1601). Among the several early modern historians and scholars who discussed the *History* the best-known would seem to be the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), and the book remained influential until the eighteenth century and beyond. The revised version of the English translation of 1604 that was published in 1880 by the Hakluyt Society signaled the dawn of Latin American studies as we know them today, and has in its turn been reprinted several times. But despite the book's fame, the translation by Frances López-Morillas is the first modern translation into English. It is beautifully done, a felicitous combination of translating accurately and idiomatically, while also giving the reader some sense of Acosta's stylistic idiosyncrasies and of his simple, straightforward immediacy. Among the scholarly editions of the Spanish text of the *Historia*, the most important remains that by Edmundo O'Gorman (Mexico, 1940). O'Gorman's identifications of the biblical, Greek, Roman, patristic, and later texts that Acosta cited have therefore been incorporated into this translation as footnotes. In addition, throughout the text of the *Historia* Jane E. Mangan has added explanatory notes dealing with Central American and Andean history, archaeology, and anthropology, and with Acosta's own cultural world. In places, these notes amount to a full-scale commentary that even experts will find helpful. For students, the notes are likely to prove invaluable for years to come. The *History* is pervaded by a certain ambivalence. On the one hand, Acosta found much to love and admire in New World nature and culture. On the other hand, he thought that Amerindian religions were the work of the devil and had to be replaced by Christianity, the sooner the better. At another level, he found the strangeness and difference of the New World and its people appealing and admirable, while yet

viewing the European past as the yardstick of all human achievement. Mangan regularly draws attention to these dichotomies and finds Acosta wanting in his ability to understand and appreciate American nature and culture in their own right and on their own terms (see e.g. pp. 45, 89, 133 with 221, 336, 349, etc.). This theme occupies center stage in the introduction and concluding commentary by Walter Mignolo, who encourages the reader to peruse Acosta's text for "what is constantly absent and silenced in the narrative, that is, Amerindians' descriptions and conceptualizations of their lives" (p. xxvii; further, pp. 467 ff.). By way of explaining what Acosta should have known and written, Mignolo refers to the work of scholars of our own time as exemplifying an "episteme" that does greater justice—as he sees it—to "Amerindian intellectuals." Perhaps. But it is difficult to get away from the conclusion that Mignolo accuses Acosta of the very sin he commits himself, that is, of imposing his own form of enquiry and understanding not only on the readers of his own time, on us, but also on the Andean and Central American indigenous peoples of the past whose cause he endeavors to defend.

Seeing that this new translation is likely to be consulted for years to come, I add some suggestions for a revised edition. Tumbes is in Peru, not Ecuador (p. 65). One might regret that the opportunity was not taken to update and expand O'Gorman's notes on the classical, biblical, and patristic sources Acosta cited by referring to the relevant recent editions and translations, e.g. p. 257, where mention of Brian Copenhaver's translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (Cambridge, 1992) would help the reader. Elsewhere, the relevant editions and translations especially of patristic texts, which are not always easy to find could usefully be cited. Acosta's departure from Peru is described misleadingly on page 145 and elsewhere; see correspondence on this topic in *Monumenta Peruana* II-III ed. A. de Egaña (Rome, 1958-1961).

University of Notre Dame SABINE MACCORMACK

Missions and the Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Río de la Plata Region and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain. By Robert H. Jackson. (Scottsdale, Arizona: Pentacle Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 568. $44.95.)

This ambitious books sets out to provide a synthesis of recent scholarship on mission history in the Río de la Plata (present-day Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay) and on New Spain's northern frontier (northern Mexico and the southwestern United States). The basis of this study is the work of other scholars, Jackson's own considerable contribution to the historiography of the mission experience, and his examination of archival materials not used in earlier studies.

This work in set squarely in the context of historical ecology and demonstrates how the experience of particular missions was influenced by the natural environment in which they operated. This meant that missions established among indigenous peoples, who traditionally had no fixed settlements but

were gathered together and taught environmentally inappropriate agricultural techniques, were destined to struggle or fail. In the desert of northern New Spain, this was a common occurrence.

In order to Christianize the native peoples of the more remote areas of the New World, the Spanish government and the Catholic Church pursued a policy of relocating indigenous populations at newly created communities, variously called *doctrinas*, *misiones*, or *reducciones*, or they founded missions at established populations centers. This book uses a comparative analysis of the activities of missionaries from various groups within the Catholic Church, such as the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans, in two distinct geographical areas. In comparing mission work in the Río de la Plata with what took place in northern New Spain, the emphasis is placed on Alta and Baja California. This concentration permits a thorough comparison between the adaptations that Jesuits made in arid Baja California and the more favorable environmental conditions their brethren in the Río de la Plata enjoyed.

One of the driving forces of this study, and indeed of much of the author's published research, is demographics. Chapter 5 presents demographic data and analysis from both study areas and draws interesting conclusions about how population dynamics varied in Río de la Plata and northern New Spain and about the implications of these differences for the success of the mission program. Native populations on the northern frontier suffered catastrophic decline as a result of epidemic disease and other health issues. In the Río de la Plata region, by contrast, indigenous populations generally did not face disastrous, unrecoverable losses. Jackson convincingly argues that congregating small populations of hunter-gatherers into missions disrupted the social order and exposed them to greater risk of the spread of disease. The small size of the population made recovery less likely. In the Río de la Plata, the *reducciones* included many more people, and the Jesuits pursued a less disruptive policy that preserved existing social structures.

Pentacle Press, which owns California Missions Resource Center, has targeted this book at the university undergraduate, general reader, or traveler to mission sites. Certainly the specialist will not find much new in this work, but it is a very useful synthesis of current scholarship on mission history. Readers familiar with the author's more clearly scholarly work will note the absence of anticlericalism that features in many of his earlier mission studies directed at the academic audience. Although he correctly points out the detrimental effects of missionization among Native Americans, the tone is measured. An optional CD-ROM that is with PowerPoint presentation is available from the publisher for an additional $12.00 and is described as being for personal study or classroom use. The CD promises to deliver high resolution copies of maps and photographs used in the book. This would be a definite improvement on the modest production values of the printed illustrations.

New Mexico State University, Las Cruces RICK HENDRICKS

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Conferences, Meetings, Lectures

On October 13-14, 2006 the Thirty-Third Annual Saint Louis Conference on Manuscripts was held at the Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri. Among the panels of papers were "Outside the Book of Hours: Alternative Forms of Devotion in Manuscript Illumination ca. 1300," "The Bible in the Thirteenth Century: Beyond the Paris Bible," and "New Studies in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts." For more information, please consult http://www.slu.edu/libraries/vfl/events.htm.

On October 19, 2006 a conference was held in the Aula des Schlosses of the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster on the theme "The Return of Religions? Position Finding and Open-Minded Questions/Wiederkehr der Religionen? Standortbestimmung und Fragehorizonte." The speakers were drawn from the fields of church history, the press, television, law, business, politics, banking, and pastoral care. For more information, please see fboz.uni-muenster.de/mnkg/ .

On November 20-22, 2006 at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan a series of lectures were presented by a group of prominent professors from France: Bernard Dompnier, "Per una storia culturale della pietà cattolica"; Louis Châtellier, "Cristianesimo e scienza nell'età moderna (XVI—inizio XIX secolo)"; and Nicole Lemaître, Bernard Dompnier, Daniel-Odon Hurel, and Jean-Louis Quantin, "Religione, cultura, società: il clero in epoca moderna."

On November 24-25, 2006 the Accademia di San Carlo held a *Dies Academicus* at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan on the theme "Milano borromaica, atelier culturale della Controriforma." Among the papers given were: "Produzione e circolazione delle edizioni bibliche" by Edoardo Barbieri; "La Bible dans le monachisme bénédictin en France à l'époque moderne" by Odon Hurel, "Filologia e teologia: i testi patristici nelle controversie religiose del XVI e XVII secolo" by Jean-Louis Quantin; "La tradizione teologica milanese tra Cinque e Seicento" by Franco Buzzi; "La formazione ecclesiastica dei seminari e dei collegi di istruzione" by Simona Negruzzo; "La formation des prêtres en France dans la première modernité (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)" by Nicole Lemaître; "Le modèle milanais et le monde rhénan" by Louis Châtellier; "La 'filosofia cristiana' di Valier e la scuola borromaica" by Marzia Giuliani; "Caratteri della predicazione in età federiciana" by Erminia Ardissino; "'Il Predicatore' di Francesco Panigarola" by Rita Bramante; "Cornelio Musso, vescovo e predicatore frances-

cano dell'età conciliare" by Maria Teresa Girardi; "La via 'devota.' Doni mistici e carisimi intorno a Isabella Berinzaga e Achille Gagliardi" by Sabrina Stroppa, "Letteratura devota tra Carlo e Federico" by Claudia di Filippo; and "'Chi sei tu?' Imparare ad essere cristiani: la produzione catechistica in età borromaica" by Miriam Turrini.

On November 27-29, 2006 an international conference was held in the Konuk Evi building at the "Aya Sofya" Hotel in Istanbul on the theme " Modes of Communication between Rome and Constantinople through the Centuries." Among the papers given were "The Roman *Apocrisiarii* at Constantinople" by Robert Markus; "The *Concilium Quinisextum*: A Case Study of Communication at the End of the Seventh Century" by Heinz Ohme; "The Correspondence between Hadrian and Tarasius" by Erich Lamberz; "Unity in Peril: The Issue of the Cyrilomethodian Mission" by Charalambos Papastathis; "The Communication of the Thrones in the Twelfth Century" by Constantine Pitsakis; "The Roman-Byzantine Relationship in the Register of Innocent III" by Werner Maleczek; "Modes of Communication in the Palaeologan Era" by Symeon Paschalidis; "Roman Initiatives for Contacts between Constantinople and Rome in the XIII and XIV Centuries" by Luca Pieralli; "The Orthodox Presence at the Councils of Constance and Pavia-Siena" by Walter Brandmüller; "The East Meets the West in Ferrara and Florence" by Evangelos Chrysos; "Modes of Dogmatic Discourse at Ferrara and Florence" by Alexandros Alexakis; "Contacts between the Two Thrones in the Early Ottoman Time" by Kreiton Chrysochoidis, and "Experiencing the Meetings of Popes and Patriarchs in Recent Times." For further information, please contact pcss@scienstor.va.

From November 29 to December 1, 2006 a conference was held in Rome sponsored by the German Historical Institute and the University of Zurich on the papal idea of the liturgy over the centuries. For more information, please see http://www.dhi-roma.it/.

On December 2, 2006 the Twentieth Barnard Medieval and Renaissance Conference was held at Barnard College in New York with the theme "War and Peace in the Middle Ages and Renaissance." Among the papers presented were: "Jerusalem and Jihad: 1100-1300" by Carole Hillenbrand; "The Sacredness of Violence: Why Even Artists in the Middle Ages Supported the Death Penalty" by Samuel Edgerton; and "Reconsidering the Evidence for the Peace of God, ca. 970-1036" by Thomas Head. There was also a panel on the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre with papers by François Rigolot, Kathleen Long, and Jan Miernowski.

On December 11-12, 2006, on the occasion of the publication of the five hundredth volume (*Cyprien de Cathage: L'unité de l'Église*) in the series *Sources Chrétiennes*, a conference entitled "Les patrologues humanistes du XXe siècle" was held in various places in Rome: the Cultural Center Saint-Louis de France, the Pontificia Università Gregoriana, and the office of *La Civilità Cattolica*. Among the speakers were: cardinals Walter Kasper, Paul Poupard, and Georges-Marie Cottier; bishops Claude Dagens (Angoulême) and Vincenzo

Paglia (Terni-Narni-Amelia); and professors Aimable Musoni, S.D.B., Michel Fédou, S.J., Monique Alexandre, Theresia Hainthaler, Luis Ladaria, S.J., Paolo Siniscalco, Enrico dal Covolo, S.D.B., Angelo Di Berardino, Jean-Noël Guinot, Emanuela Prinzivalli, Giovanni Maria Vian, and Sergio Zincone. For further information, please see http://www..saintlouisdefrance.it/I-patrologi-umanisti.html.

On February 16–18, 2007 the annual conference of the California Mission Studies Association will be held at Mission Dolores. For further information about the conference, please consult www.ca-missions.org or email chochenyo@aol.com.

On April 9-13, 2007 an international conference is scheduled to be held on Corfù with the theme "Motivi e strutture di divisioni ecclesiali." Four panels are envisioned with the titles: "Da Calcedonia (451) a Costantinopoli II (553)," "La Cristianità medievale (orientale e occidentale): Medioevo," "Cristianesimo diviso: età moderna," and "L'Europa dei tempi moderni e contemporanei." For further information, please contact the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche at pcss@scienstor.va.

On May 3-5, 2007 the XXXVI Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana will be held at the Agustinianum Istituto Patristico in Rome with the theme "Motivi e forme della poesia cristiana antica tra Scrittura e Tradizione classica." The conference organizers seek the proposal of papers treating such themes as the poetic *genera* (autobiography, medleys, elegies, epigraphy, metric epistles, hymn writing, biblical paraphrase, hagiography, didactic and moral poetry and theology), Christian poetry examined from its origins and developments and in their medieval and Byzantine outcomes, individual poetic personalities, the analysis of programmatic and poetic declarations, and a review of recent literature. Proposals should have been sent by December 15, 2006 to incontri@aug.org.

On May 10-17, 2007 an international conference on "Christianity, Culture, and Moral Value" to be held in Kostroma, Russia is in the planning stages. For further information, please contact the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche at pcss@scienstor.va.

The seventy-fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association will be held at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon on May 28-29, 2007. The theme of the meeting is "Bridging Communities." Proposals for papers and entire sessions are invited and should be sent by e-mail by January 31 to the program committee: Linda Wicks (lwicks@csj-to.ca); Heidi MacDonald (heidi.macdonald@uleth.ca); and Peter Meehan (peter.meehan@senecac.on.ca).

On June 2-24, 2007 an annual conference will be held at the Marriott Westfields Conference Center in Reston, Virginia sponsored by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. The conference organizers are seek-

ing papers in all areas of diplomatic history, foreign relations, and international studies. Special funding to help cover travel expenses is available to qualified graduate students. To be given full consideration, proposals should have been sent by December 15, 2006 to the conference organizer, Douglas Little at Clark University, email SHAFR2007@clark.edu.

On November 24-27, 2007 an international conference will be held in Vienna with the theme "The Ottoman Turks in Eastern Europe and in the Balkans: Expansion, Presence, and Heritage (XIV - XX Centuries)." Among the topics to be treated are: chronology and stages, effects on the administrative-institutional level, effects on the religious level (conversions to Islam, conservation of Christian identity), political and diplomatic aspects, military aspects (in treatises and in the effected reality), the image of the Christian in testimony of the Turks (literature, iconography, etc.), the image of the Turk in Christian texts (literature, iconography, etc.), the Islamic community, the Christian community, relations among Catholics, Orthodox, Jews, and Muslims, and other topics. For further information, please contact the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche at pcss@scienstor.va.

On April 10-13, 2008 a conference will be held on "Sacred Violence in Early North America" to be sponsored by Yale University and Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture. The papers will treat how violence was sacralized in seventeenth- to early nineteenth-century North America among Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans and how religious beliefs and practices were used to mitigate and redirect violence in less destructive channels. The conference organizers are soliciting paper proposals that address such questions as the role of religion in colonial wars, the legal prosecution of heterodox beliefs and practices, the creative uses of violence within religious cultures, the destruction of religious objects, buildings, or communal sites, the violent reordering of cosmologies, the role of print in fostering or mitigating religious violence, theologies of pain and suffering in cultural context, the psychological rupturing of notions of self and other in the act of conversion, etc. Written proposals together with a curriculum vitae should be sent to Kim Foley at kawahl@wm.edu using the subject line "Religion and Violence Conference" and questions may be sent to Christopher Grasso at cdgrass@wm.edu.

On August 3-9, 2008 the Thirteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law will be held in Esztergom-Budapest, Hungary with the theme "Eastern Influence in the West." The conference organizers are interested in receiving proposals for papers that address such issues as the direct or indirect influence of the Eastern ecclesiastical discipline on the Western canonical collections and the scholarly interpretation of this, councils and local ecclesiastical law, ecclesiastical institutions, and canon law as "jus sacrum." For further information, please contact Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, Kánonjogi Posztgraduális Intézet, 1088 Budapest, Szentkirályi u. 28, Hungary; tel. (36) 1-429-7217.

Workshops

A workshop in editing philosophical and theological texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries will take place at Georgetown University from July 9 to August 3, 2007. It is open to students, graduate and undergraduate, and others in the early stage of their academic careers who have some skill in medieval Latin and in paleography; ten to twelve participants will be admitted. The directors of the workshop will be Dr. Girard Etzkorn and Dr. Gordon Wilson, distinguished editors whose publications include volumes in the *Opera Omnia* of Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham.

The deadline for application is February 15, 2007, with final selection and notification by March 15. Applications should include: (1) a one-page statement indicating how the workshop fits into one's career goals, including any present or future projects, and evidence of skill in medieval Latin and paleography (e.g., courses taken or studies with a tutor); and (2) two letters of recommendation to be sent directly to the address below.

The following expenses will be paid by funds from the Martin Chair of Medieval Philosophy, Georgetown University: air fare, room and board for a month in a Georgetown University residence hall, and a licensed copy of Classical Text Editor (a software program for editing texts). In addition participants will receive $100 a week for incidental expenses. They must, however, supply their own laptop computers.

Topics to be treated include: choosing a project; locating codices: libraries, archives, and catalogues; the critical edition: text, apparatus of variants, and apparatus of citations; description and dating of manuscripts; introduction to Classical Text Editor; establishing a basic working text; stemma codicum: its use and limits; text collation: common and unique variants. Other topics include: common paleographical abbreviations in philosophical and theological literature and orthography. In addition, topics of wider interest will be treated, as the question of literary genre, e.g., ordinary questions and questions *de quolibet* and problems peculiar to editing a text distributed by an exemplar in pecia. Guest speakers will lecture on special topics.

Application materials should be sent to: Mark G. Henninger, S.J., at mgh7@georgetown.edu or to Neil T. Lewis at lewisn@georgetown.edu.

On June 25 to July 6, 2007 the first of two summer institutes will be held at the Stanford Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences; the other at the Collegium Budapest, Hungary, in 2008, on the topic "The Vision Thing: Studying Divine Intervention," that is, visionaries or visions, broadly defined, with social recognition and social consequences. These summer workshops are sponsored by a consortium of institutes in Europe (Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Collegium Budapest, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, and the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences)

and in the United States (Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences of Stanford, Institute for Advanced Study of Princeton, National Humanities Center of Research Triangle Park, Radcliffe Institute at Harvard, and the Russell Sage Foundation of New York). Led by Gábor Klaniczay of Budapest and William A. Christian, Jr., of Las Palmas, the Canary Islands, a group of twenty recent (2002 or after) recipients of doctoral degrees and doctoral candidates studying at European or American institutions of higher learning will study visions from the viewpoints of anthropology, history, art history, psychology, and neuroscience, using primary source materials that are studied in their broader contexts, with attention to their conditionants and their real world consequences. Funding will cover travel, meals, lodging, and texts for both the European and American meetings, plus a stipend of €600 for the workshop in Europe and $600 for that in the United States. The deadline for application is February 28, 2007 with application forms available online at the National Humanities Center's web site: <http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/sias/index.htm>. Please address inquiries to Richard R. Schramm at rschramm@ga.unc.edu or to Petria Saleh at petria.saleh@wiko-berlin.de.

Awards

The Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche has announced a competition for a "journalistic prize" for published articles in newspapers or periodicals of elevated distribution that appeared between October 31, 2006 and April 30, 2007 and promote the teaching and appreciation of the study of the classical languages of Greek and Latin as ways to approach the classical and Christian roots of the countries of the European cultural area. For more information, please see the web site: http://www.vatican.va/roman curia/pont committees/scienstor/it/default.htm under the heading "Concorsi."

Archives

The Archives of the Catholic University of America has put at the disposal of secondary and college teachers and students a web site dedicated to American Catholic history. It seeks to establish a collaborative network of Catholic religious orders, diocesan, and college and university archives across the country in support of this web site and to become the film and video archives of the Church in America. As part of its educational outreach program, it has developed virtual Catholic history classroom web sites (accessible through the home page of the archives http://libraries.cua.edu/achrcua/index.html) that makes primary documents in Catholic history more accessible to high school and college teachers. Among the topics treated are: "Catholic Patriotism on Trial: The Oregon School Case in the 1920s," "The Federated Colored Catholics," "How Much is Enough? Catholics and a Living Wage," and "Catholic Responses to Industrialization." A collection of 111 images dating from ca. 1927 and ca. 1942-1946 created by the National Catholic Welfare

Conference of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops that highlight the NCWC's work with veterans of both World Wars I and II are available online at www.aladin.wrlc.org/dl/.

Exhibition

An exhibition of images, objects, manuscripts, and ephemera that documents the construction of the Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Baltimore, the first Catholic cathedral in the United States, designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, opened in Baltimore on November 8, 2006 at the H. Furlong Baldwin Library Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore. The cathedral has recently undergone a major renovation. For further information, please see www.mdhs.org.

Cause of Saints

By a decree of the Congregation for Saints' Causes of October 23, 2006 Margaret Occhiena (1788-1856), the mother of Saint John Bosco, was recognized for heroic virtue. Widowed early on, she raised her own two sons and her youthful brother-in-law and took care of his mother-in-law, and then joined her son John in his mission among the poor and abandoned boys of Turin. Although illiterate she was known for her wisdom and became with John the co-founder of the Salesian family.

For information on the Spanish Jesuit missionary martyrs of Virginia, especially Juan Bautista Segura, who attempted to set up a mission at Ajacán, some thiry-seven years before the English settlement at Jamestown, please see the following web sites: http://newsaintswisprov.org/news/julyold.html ("Sainthood sought for slain 16th century Jesuit missionaries); http://newsaints.faithweb.com/year/1571/htm (with engravings of the martyrs); and http://www.catholicherald.com/cns/jesuits.htm ("Richmond Promotes Cause of Jesuit Martyrs").

Publications

The issue of the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* for July-August-September, 2006 (Volume 152), publishes the papers presented at a colloquium held at Montpellier on May 15-17, 2003, on the theme "L'architecture des temples réformés (XVI^{e} -XVI^{e} siècles) en Europe et notamment en France." The last of the fourteen articles is "Les conséquences de la Réforme sur la distribution intérieure des églises catholiques" by Bernard Chedozeau (pp. 513-519).

Seven articles in the *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento—Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient*

for 2005 (Volume XXXI) are devoted to the theme "Il dibattito storiografico sulla figura di Pio XII. Punti di arrivo e problemi aperti," as follows: Giovanni Miccoli, "Santa Sede, guerra, e Shoah: una proposta di discussione" (pp. 227-259); Philippe Chenaux, "Il cardinale Pacelli e la questione del nazismo dopo l'enciclica 'Mit brennender Sorge' (1937)" (pp. 261-277); Emma Fattorini, "Pio XI, Mussolini, Hitler e Pacelli (1937-1939)" (pp. 279-317); Anna Foa, "Le due leggende. Riflessioni sulla storiografia su Pio XII e gli ebrei" (pp. 319-331); Hubert Wolf, "Pius XII. als Nuntius in Deutschland. Pacellis Schlussrelation vom November 1929" (pp. 333-353); Heinz Hürten, "Die Briefe Pius' XII. an die deutschen Bischöfe zur Kriegszeit. Eine zentrale Quelle für seine Amtsauffassung?" (pp. 355-365); and Matteo Luigi Napolitano, "I documenti diplomatici come fonte per il dibattito storiografico su Pio XII" (pp. 367-394). An abstract in English is printed at the beginning of each article.

The theme of the third issue for 2006 of *Erde und Auftrag* is "Mönchtum in Nordamerika." The following four articles are here published: Joel Rippinger, O.S.B., "Pioniere in der Neuen Welt: Benediktiner in Nordamerika von den ersten Gründungen bis zum 2. Vaticanum" (pp. 246-253); Maria Magdalena Zunker, O.S.B., "Ein weitverzweigter Baum. Die Gründungen der Benedikterinnen von St. Walburg/Eichstätt in den Vereinigten Staaten" (pp. 254-264); Ephrem Hollermann, O.S.B., "Liebe, stark wie der Tod: Benediktinerinnen und Zisterzienserinnen in Nordamerika" (pp. 265-281); and Hugh Feiss, O.S.B., "Abbruch, Umbruch, Aufbruch: Mönche in Nordamerika 1965-2005)" (pp. 282-293).

The issue of *Istina* for April-June, 2006 (Volume LI, Number 2), is devoted to "Le Métropolite André Szeptyckyj et Vladimir Soloviev, Prophètes de l'unité," with the following articles: Patrick de Laubier, "Le Métropolite André Szeptyckyj et l'unité (1900-1914)" (pp. 116-124); Augustyn Babiak, "André Szeptyckyj, Métropolite ukrainien (1900-1944)" (pp. 125-145); Andrzej Zięba, "André Szeptyckyj. Actualité et mystère d'un grand prélat ukrainien" (pp. 146-163); Konstantin Sigov, "Vladimir Soloviev, penseur du Bien" (pp. 164-170); and Vladimir Zielinsky, "L'Antéchrist de Vladimir Soloviev et l'histoire de la Russie" (pp. 171-179).

The centenary of *Römische Quartalschrift für Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* is celebrated in the first two numbers combined of Volume 101 (2006). Following an introduction by the editor, Erwin Gatz, "Zum 100. Jahrgang der Römischen Quartalschrift," are articles by Stefan Heid, "Der christliche Archäologe Joseph Wilpert und das Römische Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft" (pp. 4-49); Claus Arnold, "Joseph Sauer (1872-1949) in Freiburg und Rom" (pp. 50-59); Christoph Weber, "Der päpstliche Hausprälat Dr. iur. Dr. theol. h.c. Paul Maria Baumgarten und das deutsche Rom. Eine Skizze aus dem goldenen Zeitalter der Archivforschung in der Epoche Leos XIII." (pp. 60-74); Erwin Gatz, "Das Römische Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft und die Römische Quartalschrift von der Auflösung der Gesellschaft durch das NS-Regime (1941) bis zum Jahre 1975)" (pp. 75-87); Andreas Kraus, "Eine Heimat in Rom. Erinnerungen eines ehemaligen Stipendiaten" (pp. 88-97); Ernst Dassmann, "Römische Jahre. Erinnerungen an die Studienzeit im Priesterkolleg am Campo

Santo Teutonico" (pp. 98-112); and Dominik Burkard, "Diözesansynoden und synodenähnliche Foren sowie Kirchenvolksbegehren der letzten Jahrzehnte in den deutschsprachigen Ländern" (pp. 113-140).

Two issues of *U.S. Catholic Historian* have appeared in the last three months. Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., was the guest editor of the issue for summer, 2006 (Volume 24, Number 3), which has the theme "Missionary Thought and Experiences in the Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." The contributors and titles are: Paul Kollman, C.S.C., "The Promise of Mission History for U.S. Catholic History" (pp. 1-18); Robert Carbonneau, C.P., "Resurrecting the Dead: Memorial Gravesites and Faith Stories of Twentieth-Century Catholic Missionaries and Laity in West Hunan, China" (pp. 19-37); David J. Endres, "The Global Missionary Zeal of an American Apostle: The Early Works of Daniel A. Lord, S.J., 1922-1929" (pp. 39-54); Frank Hoare, S.S.C., "The Influence of the Crusade Symbol and War Metaphor on the Motivation and Attitudes of the Maynooth Mission to China, 1918-1929" (pp. 55-74); Edward T. Brett, "African-American Missionaries in Central America: The Sisters of the Holy Family in Belize" (pp. 75-94); Stephen P. Judd, M.M., "A Journey of Immersion into Liminality: Forty Years of the Maryknoll Language Institute, Cochabamba, Bolivia" (pp. 95-110); Susan Fitzpatrick Behrens, "Knowledge Is Not Enough: Creating a Culture of Social Justice, Dignity, and Human Rights in Guatemala: Maryknoll Sisters and the Monte María 'Girls'" (pp. 111-128); Regina Siegfried, A.S.C., "'The Great Mission Work': The Influence of the China Mission on the Adorers of the Blood of Christ" (pp. 129-148); Elizabeth Kolmer, A.S.C., "The Death of Five Adorers of the Blood of Christ and the Changing Meaning of Martyrdom" (pp. 149-164); and William R. Burrows, "From a Roman Catholic 'Mission Church' to a Catholic 'World Christianity' Paradigm: A Personal Pilgrimage" (pp. 165-179).

The issue for fall (Volume 24, Number 4) is focused on "Catholics in the South" with the following articles: Dennis C. Rousey, "Catholics in the Old South: Their Population, Institutional Development, and Relations with Protestants" (pp. 1-21); R. Bentley Anderson, "Pride and Prejudice in New Orleans: Joseph Fichter's *Southern Parish*" (pp. 23-46); Justin D. Poché, "The Catholic Citizens' Council: Religion and White Resistance in Post-War Louisiana" (pp. 47-68); Cecilia A. Moore, "'To Serve through Compelling Love': The Society of Christ the King in Danville, Virginia, 1963" (pp. 83-103); Andrew S. Moore, "The Beloved Community and the People of God: The Community of Christ Our Brother in the Archdiocese of Atlanta, 1967-1969" (pp. 105-123); and Michael Pasquier, "Medjugorje in the American South: Our Lady of Tickfaw and the Politics of Devotion" (pp. 125-148).

The Società Editrice "Il Ponte Vecchio" (Via Caprera 32, I-47023 Italy; email ilpontevecchio@libero.it) announced the publication of the *Monumenta borromaica*, I: *L'Archivio di un principe della Chiesa, Le carte segrete di Carlo Borromeo,* edited by Angelo Turchini, that surveys various projects to publish the epistolary of Saint Charles Borromeo.

Personal Notices

John Conway has recently published a paperback entitled *To Saint James—with Love: Reflections on History and Faith*, a collection of essays Dr. Conway has published in the magazine of his parish, St. James (Anglican) Church in downtown Vancouver, that is celebrating its 125th anniversary. His book is available through Regent College Bookstore at breimer@regent-college.edu.

The Reverend John W. O'Malley, S.J., has been appointed a university professor of Georgetown University.

James M. O'Toole has been appointed to the Charles I. Clough Chair of Religious History in the History Department of Boston College.

Msgr. Francis Weber has published another book, *The California Missions,* that surveys twenty-one famous mission sites and seeks to answer the most common questions in a simple and straightforward manner regarding the missions' founding, legendary friars, missionary activities, and their treatment of the Native Americans. It is available through Barnes and Noble Bookstores.

Obituary

The Reverend Francis J. Murphy, a priest of the Boston Archdiocese and Associate Professor Emeritus of the History Department of Boston College, died of cancer on August 28, in Wellesley Hills. Born in Boston on July 11, 1935, Father Murphy was a graduate of the College of the Holy Cross. He was ordained to the priesthood on February 2, 1962. He served in several Boston parishes, most recently, Sacred Heart in Newton. Since 1986 he was Chaplain of the Sisters of Charity, Mt. St. Vincent Community, in Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts.

In 1971 he earned a doctoral degree in European history from The Catholic University of America, with a dissertation on "French Catholics and the *main tendue.*" In 1972 he taught one course in summer school at Boston College, which so impressed his students and colleagues that he was invited to join the History Department faculty. Father Murphy soon became one of the most respected and popular teachers in the department. The main focus of his teaching was twentieth-century France, but he also offered courses in other aspects of twentieth-century European history, especially the post-World War II period. He also enthusiastically taught the freshman Western Civilization course in every semester, despite the large number (250) of students involved. He took his teaching duties very seriously, and won a reputation as an enthusiastic and stimulating lecturer. He was deeply concerned for the welfare and the intellectual development of his students, devoting much time and energy to counseling them; the corridor outside his office was usually lined with students waiting patiently to have their personal time with Father Murphy.

Like his teaching, his scholarship revolved around twentieth-century French history. In addition to numerous articles and papers, he published two monographs. The first was *Communists and Catholics in France, 1936-1939: The Politics of the Outstretched Hand* (University of Florida Press, 1989). It dealt with the policy adopted by the French Communist Party toward Catholicism in 1936, of the *main tendue*. This policy was ordered by Stalin, who, alarmed by the rise of Nazism, directed western Communist parties to form a Popular Front with other parties to resist it. The French Communist Party therefore sought to bring Catholics into this policy by offering an "outstretched hand" to them, a startling shift from its former militant hostility.

Father Murphy examined, on the basis of impressively thorough research, the evolution of this policy, the Catholic response to it, and what effects it may have had. It is hardly surprising that the attitude of the French hierarchy and the Vatican was largely negative, since the long-term hostility of French Communists and the persecution of Catholicism in the Soviet Union suggested, correctly, that the *main tendue* was simply a temporary tactic, not a genuine change of attitude. Most French Catholics reacted similarly, though a few marginal Catholics may have been affected. The policy was therefore a failure, without lasting effects.

His second book appeared in 1998: *Père Jacques: Resplendent in Victory* (Institute of Carmelite Studies, 1998). It is the biography of a Carmelite friar, Father Jacques de Jésus, who became more widely known as "Father Jean," the hero of Louis Malle's film, *Au revoir les enfants*. Born Lucien-Louis Bunel in 1900, he entered the Carmelite order in 1931. As headmaster of a Carmelite preparatory school in Avon, he made it a refuge for those fleeing persecution by the Vichy regime, especially Jews. Though the Nazi occupation of Vichy France in November, 1942, made his activities far more dangerous, he redoubled his efforts, in particular by finding Catholic families with whom Jews could be hidden. In January, 1944, he was arrested and sent to the concentration camp at Mauthhausen. He survived that brutal experience until liberation in May, 1945, but his health was broken and he died on June 5, 1945. Like his first book, his second is based on solid research, both published and archival.

Father Murphy was a member of the American Catholic Historical Association from 1972 until his death. He also belonged to the Society for Italian Historical Studies, the Society for French Historical Studies, the Western Society for French History, and the American Historical Association.

A funeral Mass was celebrated in Mt. St. Vincent Chapel in Wellesley on August 31, 2006. He was a great teacher, a fine scholar, an exemplary priest, and a good man. He will be greatly missed.

Boston College ALAN J. REINERMAN

Letters to the Editor

Patrick J. McGeever's review of my book, *Harry, Tom and Father Rice: Accusation and Betrayal in America's Cold War* in your April 2006 issue (pp. 298-299) misrepresents how I present a key element of the book. Noting that my uncle, Harry Davenport, went into a steep decline after losing his Congressional seat in 1950, McGeever comments that the book fails to "shed some light on why he [Davenport] betrayed his friends or walked away from his family. The nephew, despite spending much time in bars with his subject, was too embarrassed to ask."

McGeever is referring to my conversations with Harry mostly in the late 1960s, often in bars but also at holiday dinners in my home (p. 4). It is true that at first I was "reluctant" to ask him what had gone wrong during his one term in Congress (1949-50). As I say on page 4, "How do you ask a man, what caused you to fall apart?" But I could not have asked him about the first act of betrayal, his failure to speak up for his friend Tom Quinn when he was subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1949. I learned about this incident only in 1999, by which time Harry had been dead for 22 years (p. 12).

A second betrayal of sorts occurred in April 1950 when Harry publicly denounced one of his principal supporters, the United Electrical Workers (UE), as a "puppet of Moscow" during the UE's battle with a rival union to represent Westinghouse Electric workers. Harry did tell me about this incident in response to a question, and I later essentially confirmed the story in my research for the book. Harry turned against the UE because David Lawrence, the Pittsburgh mayor and Democratic Party boss, made this a condition of continued party support. In retaliation, the UE helped defeat Harry in November 1950 (pp. 190-199).

Why did Harry act as he did? I could not plumb his heart for the deepest reasons, but I described his troubled boyhood, his craving for the public spotlight and political success, his broken marriage, and his excessive drinking. Is this not "some light"?

Teaneck, New Jersey JOHN HOERR

"Mr. Davenport, why did you turn your back on the people who got you elected to Congress, almost as soon as you arrived there? Was it out of genuine conviction, or sheer political opportunism? Are you ashamed of what you did?" "Mr. Davenport, are you a homosexual and was your marriage more or less a sham that you walked away from when it no longer seemed likely to pay political dividends?" These are some of the lines of questioning that a tough, thorough, independent investigator might have pursued with Harry Davenport in trying to make sense of his brief political career and subsequent life. Of

course, Davenport might not have responded candidly, or at all. But it's a pity such questions were never asked, because the answers just might have explained, better than references to his troubled childhood, love of the limelight, or alcoholism, why he behaved as he did.

As I said in my review, I found other parts of John Hoerr's *Harry, Tom and Father Rice* quite rewarding, but not the ones dealing with his Uncle Harry. At the end of the book, Davenport and his motivations remained a mystery to me. They still do.

Indiana University (Emeritus) PATRICK J. MCGEEVER

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STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

Filed: October 1, 2006. *The Catholic Historical Review* (ISSN 008-8080) is issued quarterly—January, April, July, and October. Editorial and business offices are located at The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064. The Editor is Nelson H. Minnich, whose office is also located at The Catholic University of America. The publisher is The Catholic University of America Press, a *nonprofit organization*. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during the preceding 12 months. The average number of copies for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 1,892 and the total number of copies printed for the single issue nearest to filing date was 1,627. The total paid and/or requested circulation to subscribers and members of the American Catholic Historical Association (including exchange copies) by mail, carrier delivery, or by other means was an average of 1,261 during the preceding 12 months and 1,253 for the issue nearest to filing date. Free distribution, including sample copies by mail, averaged 0 copies during the preceding 12 months and 0 for the single issue nearest to filing date. The total number of copies distributed was 1,261 for the average number of copies for each issue during the preceding 12 months and 1,220 for the single issue nearest to the filing date. The net press run was 1,892 copies, including an average of 631 copies of each issue for stock purposes. Signed: Melisa Darby, Business Mgr., *The Catholic Historical Review.*

April, 2007 Vol. XCIII, No. 2

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VOL. XCIII NO. 2

The Catholic Historical Review

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THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

Official Organ of the American Catholic Historical Association

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All communications concerning direct subscriptions and advertising should be addressed to the Business Manager. Communications concerning editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, 320 Mullen Library, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064; telephone and fax number: 202-319-5079; electronic mail address: CHR@CUA.EDU. Manuscripts of articles must not exceed thirty pages, must be typewritten or computer-printed with double spacing (including the footnotes), and must be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped manila envelope if the return of the manuscript is desired in case of rejection.

Subscription price: Institutional: United States and Canada $50.00; foreign $55.00; single issue $15.00.

A missing issue will be replaced without charge only if a claim is made within thirty days after the following issue is received.

Published Quarterly by

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS
The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064

Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

The Catholic Historical Review is indexed in the *Catholic Periodical Index* and in *Religion Index One: Periodicals, Index to Book Reviews in Religion, Religion Indexes: RIO/RIT/IBRR 1975- on CD-ROM* and *ATLA* [American Theological Library Association] *Religion Database on CD-ROM* (http://www.atla.com). The articles are analyzed and indexed in the *Bulletin Signalétique Sciences Humaines* and in *IBZ* (International Bibliography of Periodical Literature). The medieval articles are indexed in the *International Medieval Bibliography* and in the *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law.* The modern European articles are abstracted in *Historical Abstracts*, and the American articles in *America: History and Life.* The book reviews are indexed in *Book Review Index*, and *An Index to Book Reviews in the Humanities*, and in *IBR* (International Bibliography of Book Reviews).

International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) 0008-8080

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Postmaster: Send address changes to Business Office, The Catholic University of America Press, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 620 Michigan Ave., N.E., Leahy Hall, Room 240, Washington, D.C. 20064.

Cover illustration credit: The photograph of Ms. Alba Zizzamia is taken from the cover of the June, 1950 edition of the publication *The Stigmatine* (Official organ of the Stigmatine Fathers of Waltham, Massachusetts). From the Records of the NCWC / USCC Office of the General Secretary. Courtesy of The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

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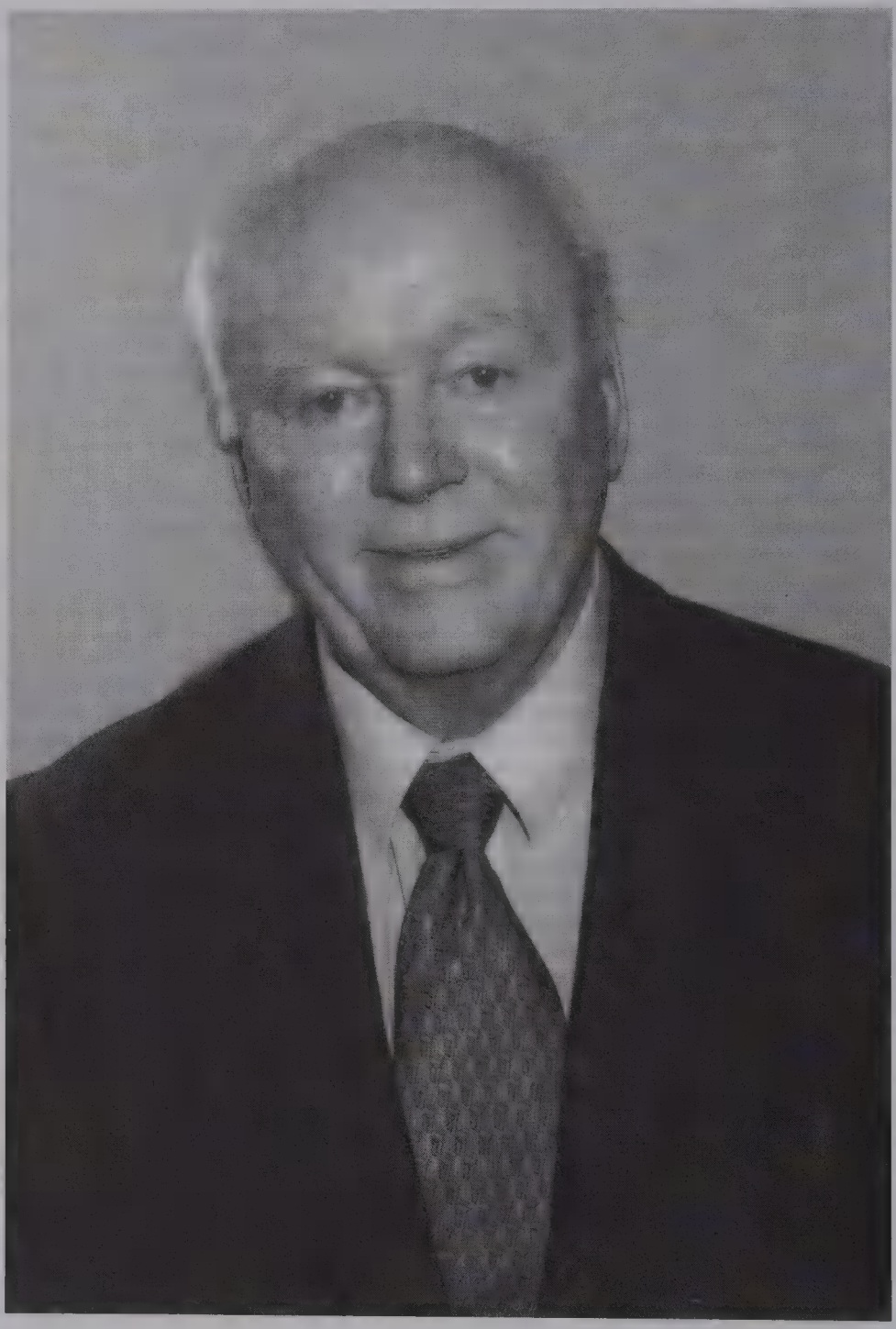

James M. Powell, President of the
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The Catholic Historical Review

VOL. XCIII APRIL, 2007 No. 2

CHURCH AND CRUSADE: FREDERICK II AND LOUIS IX

BY

JAMES M. POWELL*

In the course of the thirteenth century, the crusade movement underwent significant changes. Its focus expanded beyond military expeditions against the Muslims as it came increasingly to be employed for political purposes and in defense of the faith. Increasingly, leadership of major crusading expeditions was under the control of secular rulers. Frederick II and Louis IX, though often contrasted, shared a common view of their role as leaders of the crusade. The role of the papacy, which through the early part of the century was central, became more marginal. While the religious ties of the crusade remained and may have moved even more to the fore, papal leadership became increasingly symbolic. By the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, continuing adversity undermined efforts to maintain papal leadership.

The thirteenth century represents a critical transition in the history of crusading. By focusing on the approaches taken by Frederick II and Louis IX, I believe we can gain a much better understanding of the changing role of the Church in the history of the crusades and, more broadly, in the history of Italy and the Latin West leading up to the crises of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, all of which

*Dr. Powell is a professor emeritus of medieval history in Syracuse University. He read this paper as his presidential address at a luncheon held in the Hilton Atlanta Hotel on January 6, 2007, during the eighty-seventh annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association.

had a profound impact on both the Church and the crusades.[1] The fact is that during the thirteenth century the role of the papacy altered and diminished, but the role of religion did not. Given the fact that the papacy had supported military action against Muslims even before Pope Urban II's summons of Western leaders to aid the Byzantine Empire and to liberate Jerusalem, it may seem surprising to query changes in that role in the thirteenth century. But this point deserves attention because modern views of the crusades accept a static image of that role that does not fit the realities of the period. In this view, religion is central to the discussion, but no effort is made to differentiate the changing role of the papacy and the reasons for that from the manner in which religious ideology was employed. In the preface to his recently published work: *God's War: A New History of the Crusades,* Christopher Tyerman has written:

> Violence, approved by society and supported by religion, has proved a commonplace of civilized communities. What are now known as the crusades represent one manifestation of this phenomenon, distinctive to western European culture over five hundred years from the late eleventh century of the Christian era. The crusades were wars justified by faith conducted against real or imagined enemies defined by religious and political elites as perceived threats to the Christian faithful. . . . Crusading reflected a social mentality grounded in war as a central force of protection, arbitration, social discipline, political expression, and material gain.[2]

While this statement can to a limited degree be defended, it fails as an expression of the role of religion in the history of the crusades throughout our period. There is no denying that it had a foundation in the events, aspirations, frustrations, and tragedies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but it has assumed its modern shape chiefly in the period since the eighteenth century.

The writings of Elizabeth Siberry have traced the development of these images, showing that the most influential shapers of our views of the crusades were writers like David Hume and Sir Walter Scott, the one the severe critic, the other the creator of heroes.[3] It is these

[1]See David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London, 1988), pp.164-201, and Jean Richard, *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 85-152; 293-329.

[2]Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2006), p. xiii.

[3]Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusade in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 1-2 and 112-132.

images that are in contention today rather than the far different reality of the thirteenth century. The crusades, like so many other aspects of life, were part of a changing world, which I believe becomes more evident in our examination of two of the pivotal figures of the thirteenth century. What emerges, I believe, is a mirror of a society not only different from our own but also more complex. Our vision of this world is still quite distorted. I will try to provide some insight into the nature of the problem through a study of these two crusaders, one at odds with the Church, excommunicated, the other intensely loyal to the faith, but perhaps not to the papacy.

Frederick's commitment to the crusade became public on July 25, 1215, when he took the cross following his coronation as King of the Romans. He was following in the footsteps of his grandfather, Frederick Barbarossa, and his father Henry VI, as well as the example of his Norman forebears. For he was Frederick Roger, scion of the Norman line, grandson of King Roger II, founder of the Kingdom of Sicily, whose family had conquered Muslim Sicily and laid tribute on Muslims in North Africa. A fleet sent by King William II had come to the rescue of Tyre besieged by the forces of Saladin shortly before the Third Crusade. Frederick was twenty-one years old.[4] Although some have argued that he took the cross without the knowledge of the pope and even lightly, papal representatives were present.[5] There is no indication that he acted from any motives beyond those generally accepted at this time. The fact that he enjoyed the support of Innocent III and Philip Augustus of France reinforces this understanding. The only cloud on the horizon came from the fact that his predecessor, the Emperor Otto IV, whose Italian policies had led to his rejection by the pope and who had already suffered a serious defeat at Bouvines in 1214, still had some support until his death in 1218. But Frederick needed to conciliate the powerful German dukes and bishops, recognize the growing importance of the cities, and restore order in his Kingdom of Sicily after a long period of internal turmoil.

In April, 1213, Pope Innocent III had announced that he was summoning a council that would take up church reform and the crusade. There was no Western monarch, with the possible exception of King

[4]James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221* (Philadelphia, 1986); Keith R. Giles, "The Emperor Frederick II's Crusade, 1215-1231" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Keele, 1987); Thomas C. Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," in: Kenneth Setton, *History of the Crusades,* 6 vols. (Madison, Wisconsin, 1969-1989), 2: 429-462.

[5]Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 43.

John of England, ready to lead a crusade. When, in November, 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council promulgated a sweeping program of reform and supported Innocent's plan for the crusade, appending "Ad liberandam" to the conciliar decrees to provide detailed guidance regarding the crusade, the plan was to depart in June, 1217.[6] Since Frederick had taken the crusade vow in July, 1215, there was ample time for the pope to take that into consideration; yet there is no evidence that Innocent dealt with his role in the crusade prior to his own death in early 1216.[7] During the period following the council the pope was busy with preparations, including letters to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and al-Adil, the brother of Saladin and his successor as sultan. He had heard as early as 1199 that it might be possible to obtain Jerusalem through negotiations, and he pursued this route in his letter.[8] In fact, he did succeed in arranging a truce to last until 1217. The absence of a letter to Frederick is not really surprising under the circumstances. Innocent was certainly aware of Frederick's problems. We cannot read anything specific into his failure to announce that Frederick was to lead the crusade. His was a very active mind, and he did not hesitate to explore various possibilities. Early in his pontificate he had shown a desire to enter into direct negotiations with the Emperor Alexius III, by-passing western crusade leaders of the Fourth Crusade, who were kept in the dark.[9] With Innocent's death, however, his successor, Honorius III, found himself confronted not merely with plans for the crusade but also negotiations with Frederick on a wide range of subjects, from the Matildine Lands, disputed between the empire and the papacy since the early twelfth century, to the unresolved issue regarding the Sicilian Kingship and the Imperial succession. What has usually been treated as a rather simple issue of preparations for the crusade entailed a complex set of priorities facing the papacy and the empire.

The interpretation of the failure of the Fifth Crusade, blamed on Frederick's intransigence or on Cardinal Pelagius's stubbornness, was the product of oversimplification. The negotiations between Frederick and Honorius III were extremely difficult. Among other troubles, Frederick faced virtual civil war in the Kingdom of Sicily, led by pow-

[6]*Ibid.*, pp. 44-47.

[7]James M. Powell, "Honorius III and the Leadership of the Crusade," *Catholic Historical Review,* 63 (1977), pp. 521-536.

[8]Powell, *Anatomy,* p. 28.

[9]James M. Powell, "Innocent III and Alexius III: A Crusade Plan that Failed," in: *The Experience of Crusading,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2003), 1: 96-102.

erful northern nobles, who drew support from some elements in the Roman Curia. Contemporaries, including the pope, were aware of this, and both faced considerable pressure to reach settlements. Frederick's imperial coronation in 1220 signaled progress on one front, but not in the Kingdom of Sicily. On the other hand, Cardinal Pelagius was only partially responsible for the final bad decision that led to the defeat of the crusaders in Egypt; he faced considerable pressure from the crusaders to move against Cairo and feared the break-up of the army. In fact, it was the presence of reinforcements sent by Frederick and the fear of widespread departures if no action were taken that put Pelagius and the other leaders in such a difficult position. Defeat of the Fifth Crusade was probably inevitable. Even if Frederick himself had arrived with his forces, the Egyptian strategy of flooding the roads would have led to the same conclusion. Ultimately, defeat was the result of trying to fight too strong an enemy on its home ground with too few forces under terrible conditions.

But the Fifth Crusade revealed some very important developments in the Muslim world and in the Western reaction to it. On at least two occasions, al-Kamil, who had succeeded his father, al-Adil, as sultan in Egypt during the crusade, had offered truces which included the return of the holy places in exchange for Damietta, the port city held by the crusaders. Our chief source, Oliver Scholasticus, who opposed this treaty, nevertheless seems to indicate that this offer received serious consideration.[10] Moreover, we know that there were some negotiations, given the rather detailed understanding of the sultan's offer on the part of the crusaders.[11] In fact, we know that the offer was taken to both the pope and the emperor. Their rejection of a truce stemmed directly from the failure of the sultan to include the return of the fortresses in trans-Jordan that they regarded as essential to the defense of Jerusalem.[12] The important point is not the truce, but recognition that the crusade was not a major issue with al-Kamil. What was far more important was the internal struggle within his family for control of the entire territories amassed by their uncle, Saladin. Western priorities were not shared in the East.

[10]Oliverus Scholasticus, *Die Schriften kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina* (Tübingen, 1894), Cap. 72.

[11]There is no detailed record of these negotiations in Western sources. Arabic sources were strongly influenced by the conflicts of the time. Historians have not been as critical as they should have been.

[12]Jonathan Riley-Smith, *A History of the Crusades,* Second Edition (New Haven, 2005), p. 179; Powell, *Anatomy,* p. 184.

While the defeat of the crusade army was a bitter pill, it did not cause Pope Honorius III to change the course he had been following. Both he and the emperor continued to negotiate over the crusade. Frederick devoted his efforts to restoring royal authority in the Kingdom of Sicily. Negotiations over Frederick's leadership of a crusade played directly into both ecclesiastical and dynastic interests in this region. The agreement reached at San Germano, in the shadow of Monte Cassino, called for Frederick's marriage to Isabella of Brienne, the heiress to the throne of Jerusalem, and guaranteed that he would go on crusade in 1227. Honorius and Frederick maintained the cooperative effort begun under Innocent III, despite setbacks. There was a mounting pressure on both, which is revealed in the terms of their agreement, especially the provision that Frederick's failure to go on crusade would entail his automatic excommunication, but marriage to Isabella provided a powerful motive for Frederick to go to the East.

While preparations for the crusade and efforts to pacify the Kingdom of Sicily continued, in 1226 Frederick met with Fakhr ad-Din, representing the sultan, al-Kamil.[13] Although we have no clear record of the negotiations, it is most likely that Al-Kamil was seeking Frederick's support against his brother, al-Mu'azzam, the ruler of Damascus, who, in the view of Al-Kamil, posed a threat to his own rule in Egypt as well as his ambitions in Syria.[14] Al-Kamil probably offered the same or similar truce with the return of Jerusalem that he had made during the Fifth Crusade. David Abulafia has suggested that Frederick's willingness to negotiate "was less that of a traditional crusader, more that of the kings of Jerusalem themselves."[15] Since through his recent marriage Frederick was king of Jerusalem, his attitude should not surprise us. But his failure to depart for the East in 1227, caused by an outbreak of fever in the port of Brindisi, triggered his excommunication by Gregory IX.

[13]Reported by Ibn Wasil in Francesco Gabrielli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 267-268.

[14]Gabrieli, *Arab Historians,* pp. 268-269. See also James M. Powell, "Frederick II and the Muslims: The Making of an Historiographical Tradition," in: *Iberia & the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1995), 1:261-269. Propaganda played a critical role in this period. For example, the attitude of Patriarch Gerold to Frederick's treaty with al-Kamil was presented in an exaggerated manner in the letter purportedly by Gerold copied by Matthew Paris. See my "Patriarch Gerold and Frederick II: The Matthew Paris Letter," *Journal of Medieval History,* 25 (1999), 19-26. I have argued that this letter is a forgery.

[15]Abulafia, *Frederick,* p. 171.

The common assumption is that the crusade was the reason that Gregory refused to accept Frederick's reason for his failure to depart. Emphasis has been put on Frederick, the excommunicated crusader, but a thorough reading of events supports a somewhat different view. While Gregory certainly acted under the terms of the agreement in excommunicating the emperor, his concerns were as much on the situation of the Church in the Kingdom of Sicily as on the crusade.[16] This concern predated the Kingdom of Sicily. In part, it reached back to the conflict with the Byzantine Patriarchs over jurisdiction of the churches in Southern Italy and Sicily. Much of the dispute centered on the so-called apostolic legation granted by Pope Urban II to Count Roger of Sicily, which had provided a basis favorable to the monarchy for relations between the Kingdom of Sicily and the Church. Even though Frederick and Honorius had enjoyed a co-operative relationship, it remained a source of concern to the Church.[17] On his re-entry into the kingdom in 1220, Frederick worked to settle disputes with churches and monasteries. In many ways, however, conflict remained because of his assertion of his rights based on the claims of his predecessors.[18]

Despite excommunication, Frederick determined to depart for the East. A major factor was his desire to claim his role as king of Jerusalem. Stopping in Cyprus en route, he intervened to assert his right to be regent there. A strong party both on Cyprus and the mainland opposed him.[19] When his wife died, they resisted his regency for his son Conrad. Even though he regained Jerusalem by diplomacy, he was dragged into the quagmire of politics in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.[20] Gregory IX, moved in part by the disputes over the Church in the kingdom but also influenced by rebellious northern barons like the Count of Molise, invaded the Kingdom of Sicily.[21] Frederick found himself unpopular in the East and besieged in the West. He had no choice but to return and attempt to settle affairs in his kingdom. But it is important at this point to recognize that his conflict

[16]Giles, "The Emperor Frederick," p. 57.

[17]James M. Powell, "The Papacy and the Muslim Frontier," in: *Muslims under Latin Rule*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), pp. 175-204, esp. 183-185.

[18]Donald Matthews, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 327, provides a list of complaints.

[19]Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus* (New York, 1936), pp. 72-92.

[20]*Ibid.*, pp. 92-95, which contains a good example of the problems faced by any Western ruler in the East.

[21]Abulafia, *Frederick*, p. 200, scarcely mentioned the problems of the Church.

with the papacy was no longer over his crusade. Despite the barrage of propaganda letters on this topic, his diplomatic *fait accompli* was accepted, and Jerusalem remained for a time in Christian hands. Strangely, the diplomacy that has aroused the most discussion among scholars was not really the central concern of the papacy nor of future crusaders.[22] The long-term implication of Frederick's crusade was not the fact that he negotiated the return of holy places rather than leading a conquering army. Rather, it reflected a shift in crusading away from the leadership of the papacy and toward royal control. Pope Gregory IX did try to regain some initiative. In 1234, he approached Theobald IV of Champagne, King of Navarre, to lead a new crusade. Theobald led his forces to Acre, unsuccessfully besieged Tripoli, and recognizing his weakness, entered into negotiation with the ruler of Damascus, who promised to return Jerusalem and other cities in return for an alliance against the sultan of Egypt. Theobald used this leverage to regain Jerusalem, which Damascus had failed to hand over, from the Egyptians. He then left for home in September, 1240. He had been in the Holy Land for almost exactly one year. When Richard of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III, arrived with a substantial army a month later, he was able to support the royal officials and force the local barons to accept the treaty with Egypt. Richard stayed only about seven months before he returned to the West. Jerusalem was lost definitively to Kwarismian mercenaries in the employ of Egypt in 1244. Its loss was due chiefly to the lack of sustained Western support. Negotiation was successful when it was backed by sufficient military force. After Gregory's death, the cardinals elected Celestine IV, who survived only seventeen days. For the next twenty months there was no pope.

Pope Innocent IV, a Genoese, who was elected in 1243, directed most of his attention to Italy. But there was still strong popular support for a new crusade. Innocent gave some heed to it at the council of Lyons in 1245, but his main concern was Frederick II's Italian policy, which aimed at restoring imperial rule and punishing his opposition.[23] At first, the emperor looked to the new pope to deal more sympathetically with his cause. There seemed to be reason for optimism. Negotiations resulted in a tentative agreement that was to be concluded by a joint meeting in Narni. But Innocent did not come. Instead,

[22]Matthews, *Norman Kingdom*, pp. 333-334.

[23]Jean Richard, *Histoire des Croisades* (Paris, 1996), p. 347; Hans Wolter and H. Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II* (Paris, 1966), pp. 95-98.

he traveled to Genoa and, after a stay of three months while he recovered from an illness, he journeyed northward to the imperial city of Lyons, to which he summoned a council.[24] Louis IX, a long-time ally and supporter of Frederick, had worked for years to mediate between the emperor and the pope. His personal commitment to the crusade exercised a strong influence on his effort. He had taken the crusade vow in the previous December. He had not sought papal approval. He did not allow Innocent to enter his kingdom. He continued to support negotiations. At Lyons, Innocent preached on the crusade, most probably to placate Louis.[25] Frederick made clear his willingness to lead a crusade. Innocent rejected the offer. Clearly, Louis was determined to act independently of the pope. Innocent was obviously aware of this problem, and that may have triggered the decision of the council to enact a crusade tax. Lyons was a very important effort by the papacy to reclaim its weakened position of leadership. The pope chose to emphasize Italy rather than the crusade. Louis IX disagreed with the pope and the council regarding the deposition of Frederick, but he limited his role to his support of the crusade. I suggest that this background needs to be considered in our effort to understand his crusade.

William Jordan has provided us with a detailed discussion of Louis IX's preparation for his crusade.[26] What is most striking is the degree to which he addressed the shortcomings of previous crusades, especially the Fifth Crusade. It seems apparent that he took advice from

[24]Peter Herde, "Literary Activities of the Imperial and Papal Chanceries during the Struggle between Frederick II and the Papacy," in: *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen. Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. Symposium Papers, XXIV* (Washington, D.C., 1994), pp. 227-239. Professor Herde raises important questions regarding the letters employed in the papal-imperial disputes, especially under Innocent IV. He questions the way in which historians have used these letters, particularly since some may not have circulated, at least not in the form often cited. Even genuine letters may have fed propaganda or may reflect propaganda drawn from other sources. See Powell, "Frederick II and the Muslims," pp. 261-262, regarding "Ascendit de mari bestia. . . ."

[25]Richard, *Histoire,* p. 347, says only: "L'intervention de Louis IX fut inutile." See also his *Saint Louis,* pp. 103-104; William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 25-30. A problem that has affected virtually all efforts to understand the conflicts between the papacy and the empire has been the tendency to place blame on one side or another. In this case, that has resulted in a failure to assess the underlying factors in the conflicts adequately and to stress the role of individuals over the issues that motivated them. In each case, they were bound by precedents which were so powerful that it was virtually impossible for them to move beyond them. Assessment of blame does little to explain the causes of conflict.

[26]Jordan, *Louis IX,* pp. 65-104.

knowledgeable sources, most probably from John of Joinville, Marshall of Champagne, and men of that sort. For one thing, he secured control of finances, including moneys from ecclesiastical sources, a major departure from the Fifth Crusade, during which Pelagius had controlled these funds. As we have noted, the Council of Lyons had voted a twentieth of ecclesiastical revenues for three years. The French church, which was virtually the only source for funding, provided almost one million livres tournois. Louis also raised funds from other sources including a campaign against usury, which resulted in virtual extortion of funds from the Jews. As a result almost no money from the royal treasury went to the crusade. He lent or gave large sums in support of those who were going with him. He built a new sea port in the south at Aigues Mortes. He stored supplies there and sent them ahead to Cyprus. He probably forced some of the nobles to accompany him because they had participated in rebellion against him. He was totally in charge.

On August 25, 1248, Louis, with about 2500 knights, embarked from Aigues Mortes for Cyprus. He made the trip in a bit more than three weeks. But, following his arrival, he was in no hurry to move on to Egypt, which once again was chosen as the goal of the crusade. He spent the next eight months in further preparations. He collected additional troops from the East, no mean feat considering that the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II, had been touring Europe seeking money and military support. Indeed, Louis had contributed generously to him as well as to the crusade of Theobald of Champagne. On June 4 he arrived off Damietta, thus replaying the Fifth Crusade. The crusaders quickly captured Damietta and began an advance southward along the Nile toward Mansurah, which was now the main headquarters of the Egyptian forces. Just as Mansurah had proven to be the turning point in the Fifth Crusade, it once again proved an obstacle to the crusaders. Defeated and forced to retreat, the army had to surrender. Louis and many of his nobles were either killed or captured.[27] The result was one of the worst debacles in the history of the crusades, perhaps as bad as the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin. The importance of this defeat cannot be overestimated. Though contemporaries continued to plan and even mount some expeditions, the reality was that the attention of Europe and the papacy had turned inward.

[27]John of Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis* (New York, 1955), pp. 104 and 443, presents two unusual stories in which Frederick is credited with supporting John himself and later the king.

Europe was becoming the main theater of the crusade, which played out in Italy and on other fronts, against those labeled enemies of the Church. The papacy and its supporters were obsessed with this idea of crusade. Their main concerns were internal. They perceived a growing threat from heresy, but even more from rising secular powers. Although the application of the crusade to political problems and heresy was not new, it now developed on a scale that dominated all other issues. Even the death of the Emperor Frederick II brought no respite in Italy. First his son Manfred, with strong ties in northwestern Italy and in the Kingdom of Sicily, mounted a strong resistance. Then, Frederick's heir, Conrad III, took to the field. The successors of Innocent IV shopped for surrogates to rule in Sicily as supporters of the papacy. The introduction of Charles of Anjou into Italian affairs made it clear that the position of the papacy had shifted from the effort to defeat imperial forces and their Italian allies to one of reliance on France. Through much of this period and in spite of the involvement of his brother, Louis IX concentrated on the recovery of his kingdom. Neither Charles nor the papacy received much in the way of support from the crusader king, who continued to hold to his own commitment to the crusade.[28] While Henry III of England took the cross in 1250, it was his son, Edward I who would fulfill that vow. But these "crusades" could not escape from the shadow of papal-sanctioned crusades in Europe. The death of Louis IX at Tunis in 1270 of an illness and the virtual collapse of crusade plans reminded Westerners of the failure of his first crusade. After Louis's death, Edward I led a small force to the Holy Land. He managed to secure a truce for ten years.

In the meantime, the cardinals elected Tedaldo Visconti as Pope Gregory X, two and a half years after the death of Clement IV. The story of Gregory X is the story of a man who was dedicated to the crusade. He had taken the cross and journeyed to the Holy Land in 1270 ahead of the crusaders. It was then that he was elected pope. Gregory was well aware that many had grown disenchanted with the crusade. He commissioned a number of well-known figures to investigate and report on the situation. Benjamin Kedar has provided an insightful discussion of these reports, especially those by William of Tripoli and Humbert of Romans, in *Crusade and Mission.*[29] There

[28]Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 308-313.

[29]Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 180-187; Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth Century Society* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 176-194.

was no broad consensus regarding the approach to be taken. William of Tripoli took the stance that all effort should be put into missionary activities; Humbert systematically rebuffed every criticism of the crusade and advocated a grand plan. It was this view that was taken up by Gregory X at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. His conciliar decree, entitled *Constitutiones pro zelo fidei,* an agonized appeal to the Christian community to free the Holy Land and a reproach for their failure, put words in the mouths of the "blasphemous and faithless Saracens . . . who insult the Christians with many reproaches: Where is the God of the Christians?"[30] These statements were clearly aimed at arousing Christian feelings. What is perhaps of greater import than the rhetoric, however, is the intensification of the measures promulgated in the decree. Gregory increased the levies and took a tougher stance on collection of taxes from the clergy. He also sought financial support from secular rulers. Although some believe that had Gregory lived, his great crusade would have come to be, we must also recognize that it was only with great difficulty that he had succeeded in enlisting secular support. His death, in 1276, brought an effective end to his plans. From our historical perspective the effort of Gregory X marks the end of papal leadership of the crusading movement to the East.

Moreover, the situation in the East had changed when the Mamluks, the bodyguard of the sultan, seized power in Egypt. Under Baybars and his successors, city after city fell, Antioch (1268) and Tripoli (1289), then, in 1291, Acre.[31] The last foothold of the Latins on the mainland was lost. Still, Western interest in the crusade and in the East did not suddenly die. What did change, though not so much in men's minds as in political realities, was the relationship between East and West. In the West, the position of the Church at the end of the thirteenth century may be characterized as desperate. The conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip IV, the Avignonese papacy, the Black Death, and its continuing visitations, and, over all, the Hundred Years' War overshadowed the papacy's efforts to revive the crusade. Such initiatives as there were passed elsewhere, to the Hospitallers at Rhodes, the Venetians in

[30]Norman Housley, *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274-1580* (New York, 1996), p. 16; *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta,* third edition (Bologna, 1973), pp. 309-314. Gregory's constitution was the most sweeping papal document regarding the crusade since "Ad liberandam" in 1215.

[31]Erwin Stickel, *Der Fall von Akkon: Untersuchungen zum Abklingen des Kreuzzugsgedanken am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Bern, 1975), pp. 68-95; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, pp. 341-350.

Greece, and the kings of Cyprus.[32] After the pontificate of John XXII, there were crusade proposals galore, but actual expeditions were directed chiefly at defending western holdings in the East against Turkish pirates. In the East, a new power was emerging with the rise of the Ottoman Turks, named for their founder, Osman. They expanded their hold on Asia Minor and moved into southeastern Europe already in the fourteenth century. At Nicopolis in 1396, Murad II defeated a great crusading army. The nature of crusade had changed completely. Although religious rhetoric continued to form an ideological cocoon, the political reality was that Europe was confronted by its first modern war. The Ottoman State had moved beyond the limits of Asia, sealing its European status by the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. From this point on, the idea of crusade was entirely bound up in the defensive struggle of Europeans against the threat posed by the Ottoman Empire.

With the collapse of papal leadership of the crusade to the East, we are entering the age of myth-making. One of the chief elements in this process has been the idea that the crusades were holy wars. Like many myths, this one has some factual basis behind it. The term itself, from the Latin *bellum sacrum*, holy war, was contemporary.[33] But these words do not adequately describe the reality of the crusades or of the society that produced them. Like so many generalizations, they certainly ring true for some crusades, but even then we must recognize that these crusades reflected only a portion of the society and limited periods. The use of the term "holy war" as a stick to beat on the crusade distorts historical reality. Another and rather different myth views the crusades as a clash of civilizations. This is a revival of the so-called "Eastern Question," a view popular in the last century. Applied to the crusades, it obscures much more than it enlightens. In effect it presents an almost purely Western view that does not take sufficient account of internal developments in Muslim lands. What I have tried to do in this talk is demonstrate that there is little connection between modern ideas of crusade whether in Western or Muslim minds and what was actually happening in the thirteenth century, but at the same

[32]Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 101-179.

[33]The use of the term "holy war" has become conventional. In my view, this usage should be employed in a more precise sense to refer to cases in which not only was there papal authorization but also considerable evidence of religious motivation. The latter was less evident in the later period and papal authorization was, in my view, more *pro forma*.

time to show that we can learn a great deal from the transformation of the crusade under Frederick II and Louis IX. Rather than contrasting them, we need to see them as exemplars of the way in which different approaches were reflecting the emerging realities of their time. Part of that reality resulted from changes taking place in Europe itself; part from changes occurring in Muslim societies. These resulted in a diminished influence of the papacy on the crusade to the Holy Land, especially as the rise of the Ottoman Empire altered the relationship between East and West. Increased emphasis on crusades in Europe gradually reinforced an ideological basis for internal conflicts. Norman Housley and others have traced that development in considerable detail.[34] One of its results was a deepening of factionalism in Italy and in various parts of Europe. In spite of many sincere efforts, the position of the papacy was increasingly defensive. But the decline in the role of the papacy did not mean a decline in the role of religious rhetoric in the crusade. Even though traditional interpretations have continued to link the papacy to the crusade, it seems clear to me that there was a very substantial change in the way in which religion was employed. It was moving toward a more exclusively propaganda role. Religion was more and more serving the interests of secular rulers. As this role developed, we are moving closer to the linkage between religion and nationalism. Unfortunately, the image of an excommunicated Frederick and the picture of Louis IX as a crusader saint have overshadowed the major changes we have tried to present here. Hopefully, this essay is suggestive. We do not have to agree to recognize the complexity of a movement that probably tells us much more about ourselves than about any clash of civilizations.[35]

[34]Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Cambridge, 1992).

[35]Aziz S. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce, & Culture* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1957), pp. 1-40, deals with the Eastern Question. His remarks are well worth reading.

THE RECEPTION OF *UNIGENITUS* IN THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY AT LOUVAIN, 1713-1719

BY

TOON QUAGHEBEUR*

This article focuses on the years immediately following the introduction of the bull Unigenitus *(1713), which condemned 101 propositions extracted from Quesnel's* Réflexions morales. *At that time, ultramontanist principles were gaining more and more strength at the Theology Faculty of Louvain. On 8 July 1715, the Faculty accepted and submitted itself to* Unigenitus *for the first time. The Faculty again accepted the bull in 1718 and 1719. The origins of these declarations of obedience to the Holy See are the focus of study here. The research presented highlights the intricacies and the high public profile of academic and ecclesiastical politics in the confessional age.*

In the sixteenth century, the University of Louvain was well known all over Catholic Europe. It was one of the leading centers of learning

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List of abbreviations: AAM=Aartsbisschoppelijk Archief Mechlin; ACDF, S.O., St. St.=Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede o dell' Sant'Uffizio, Sanctum Officium, Stanza Storica; ARB=Algemeen Rijksarchief Brussel; ASV=Archivio Segreto Vaticano; *BCJ=Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,* 11 volumes plus Supplements (Brussels, 1890-1990); *BETL=Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium* (Louvain, 1948-); *BIHBR=Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* (Rome, 1919-); *BJB=Bibliotheca janseniana Belgica*, 3 volumes (Brussels-Paris-Namur, 1949-1951); *BN=Biographie nationale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1866-); *DBF=Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1923-) *CHR=Catholic Historical Review* (Washington, 1915-); *DBI=Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960-); *DHGE=Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1912-); *DTC=Dictionnaire de théologie catholique,* 15 volumes plus 3 of Tables générales (Paris, 1903-72); *ECT=Encyclopedia of Christian Theology,* 3 volumes (New York, 2005); *ETL=Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* (Louvain, 1924-); *IR=Innes Review* (Glasgow, 1950-); KB=Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België; *NBW=Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, 12 volumes (Brussels, 1964-87); *NDB=Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin, 1953-); NF=Nunziatura di Fiandra; *ODNB=Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford-New York, 2004); UL=Oude Universiteit Leuven; *PIBA=Prosopographia Iesuitica Belgica Antiqua. A Biographical Dictionary of the Jesuits in the Low Countries 1542-1773*, 4 volumes (Louvain, 2000); *RHE=Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (Louvain, 1900-); RL=Rijksarchief Leuven; *TS=Theological Studies* (Woodstock, 1940-); UL=Universiteitsarchief Leuven.

both in Northern Europe and in the Habsburg domains and was proudly orthodox and proudly modern.[1] In 1519—more than half a year before the Holy See reached any doctrinal decisions on Lutheranism—Louvain theologians condemned some of Luther's articles. In 1544, at the request of the Habsburg emperor, Charles V, the Theology Faculty of Louvain drew up a summary of Catholic doctrine in its thirty-two *Articuli orthodoxam religionem sanctamque fidem nostram respicientes* (Louvain, 1545), which the Emperor then imposed on his States as an expression of orthodox faith. Articles 22, 23, and 24 stressed papal primacy, which had to be obeyed in matters of faith and religion. The Catholic Church and the *cathedra Petri* could not err on these points. The fathers at the Council of Trent also repeatedly made use of this list. In 1546, a Louvain index of forbidden books appeared. It was not until thirteen years later that Paul IV promulgated the first Roman index.[2] In 1547, the Louvain theologians were responsible for the first official Catholic edition of the Latin Bible.[3] New and corrected editions formed the basis of the official Roman edition of the Bible, which did not appear until 1592. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Faculty, in its *Justificatio* (1588) of the Lessius-censure (1587), proclaimed the Holy See to be the teacher of the entire Church in matters of faith and religion, and the primary authority to be obeyed.[4] As a result of the Faculty of Theology taking on so many ini-

[1]William Doyle, *Jansenism. Catholic Resistance to Authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (New York, 2000), p. 9.

[2]For the Louvain Index and the Index of the Council of Trent, see Albert Heymans, *De ecclesiastica librorum aliorumque scriptorum in Belgio prohibitione disquisitio* (Brussels, 1849), pp. 231-243; F. Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du concile de Trente dans les Pays-Bas et dans la principauté de Liège* (Louvain, 1929), pp. 138-148; and Jesús Martínez De Bujanda, *Index des livres interdits*, vols. 2 and 7 (Sherbrooke-Québec, 1986 and 1988).

[3]*Biblia ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata* (Louvain, 1547).

[4]In 1587, the Faculty censured the doctrine of Louvain Jesuits Leonardus Lessius and Johannes Hamelius, which was said to be Semi-Pelagian. Lessius (1554-1623) taught philosophy at Douai (1574-1581) and afterwards studied at Rome for five years, where one of his professors was Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1610). From 1585 until 1600, Lessius taught a course of scholastic theology at the Jesuits' house of studies in Louvain. See *PIBA*, vol. 2, p. 68. Hamelius (1554-1589) was a fellow student of Lessius in Rome. Both returned to the Low Countries in 1585 and taught a similar course at the Louvain Jesuit College, see *PIBA*, vol. 1, pp. 417-418. On August 17, 1588, the Faculty published a justification of its censure of Lessius, the *Justificatio censurae* of *Antapologia*. The Faculty ended the *praefatio* by submitting itself in the material discussed to the judgment of the Holy See, see *Justificatio seu Defensio Censurae Facultatis S. Theologiae Academiae Lovaniensis contra assertiones quasdam professorum ibidem Societatis Nominis Jesu de Scriptura Sacra, praedestinatione et gratia Christi, Jussu Reverendissimorum et*

tiatives, the University of Louvain appeared in the international spotlight and obtained the reputation of a bastion of Catholic orthodoxy.[5]

Notwithstanding this sixteenth-century legacy, from 1640 onwards, internal polemics fully absorbed the energies of the Louvain theologians. Outside interests increased dissension within the Faculty; more specifically, two factions pitted Augustinianism and Thomism against each other. In its contribution to Catholic renewal, the Faculty developed its own appropriation of the *depositum fidei* and the question of authority in the Church, which was in line with Cornelius Jansenius' *Augustinus* (1640). Jansenius was a professor of Holy Scripture and went on to be a bishop of Ypres. For many years, the University of Louvain, and especially its Theology Faculty, was considered to be a center of Jansenist ideas. What was called "Jansenism" was nothing more than the prolongation of the sixteenth-century Louvain quarrel between the University's theology and the doctrine of the Jesuits (who continually sought to establish themselves within the University), concerning the topic of grace, free will, and predestination.[6] Successive popes had tried to impose a silence on the matter instead of offering a real theological solution. After several condemnations by the magisterium in the bulls *In eminenti* (1642), *Cum occasione* (1653), *Ad sacram* (1656), *Vineam Domini Sabaoth* (1705), and *Unigenitus* (1713), "Jansenism" was authoritatively defined as a spiritual and theological movement of dissidents proclaiming an Augustinian fundamentalism and reacting against the living authority in the post-Tridentine Catholic Church. In the southern Low Countries, many important and influential figures in the academic, ecclesiastical, and secular world were labelled Jansenists.[7]

Illustrissimorum Belgii episcoporum, anno 1588 (Paris [Louvain], 1641), pp. 14-15, and Fernand Claeys Bouuaert, "Les origines de la controverse théologique dite *De Auxiliis Divinae Gratiae* (1587-1588)," *ETL* 41 (1965), 548-560. The Lessius-censure was never upheld or suspended by the Holy See.

[5]Jan Roegiers, "Louvain et Rome: six siècles d'histoire," in: *idem* and Ignace Vandevivere, eds., *Louvain/Louvain-la-Neuve. Aller Retour* (Louvain, 2001), pp. 65-76.

[6]Doyle, *Jansenism*, pp. 9-12, 21-22.

[7]On Jansenism at Louvain University and in the Low Countries, see: Fernand Claeys Bouuaert, *L'ancienne Université de Louvain. Etudes et documents* (Louvain, 1956), pp. 155-179; Mathijs Lamberigts, "Il giansenismo nei Paesi Bassi meridionali nel XVII secolo," in: Luciano Vaccaro, ed., *Storia religiosa di Belgio, Olanda e Lussemburgo*, vol. 1 (Milan, 2000), pp. 281-314; Jan Roegiers, "Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^{e} siècle," in: Guido Cooman, Maurice Van Stiphout, and Bart Wauters, eds., *Zeger-Bernard Van Espen at the Crossroads of Canon Law, History, Theology and Church-State Relations* [BETL, 170], (Louvain, 2003), pp. 1-17.

Unigenitus and the Southern Low Countries

The content of *Unigenitus* and its reception in the southern Low Countries caused serious problems.[8] The bull appeared at a time when both the political and ecclesiastical authorities in the southern Low Countries were unstable.

Unigenitus in Brief[9]

The bull was of French origin that, at first sight, had nothing to do with Louvain and the Southern Netherlands. In 1672, the French Oratorian Pasquier Quesnel edited his *L'Abrégé de la Morale de l'Evangile.* This work was a collection of devout contemplations on the Gospel and found wide approval in all French-speaking countries.[10] In 1685, he joined Antoine Arnauld, a Jansenist and Sorbonne doctor, at his retreat in Brussels, where they devoted themselves to organizing the Jansenist party.[11] Many new additions to Quesnel's work lengthened it considerably so that the author republished it in 1692 under a different name: *Le Nouveau Testament en français avec des Réflexions Morales sur chaque verset.* Both in France as well as in the southern Low Countries protests arose against Quesnel, who came to be considered the undisputed leader of the Jansenists when Arnauld died in 1694.[12] The archbishop of Mechlin, Humbert Guillaume

[8]See Lucien Ceyssens," La publication de la bulle Unigenitus en Belgique, " in: Lucien Ceyssens, *Le sort de la bulle Unigenitus. Recueil d'études offert à Lucien Ceyssens à l'occasion de son 90e anniversaire* (Louvain, 1992), pp. 541-566.

[9]On *Unigenitus*, see: David Hudson, "The Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, Jansenism, and Conciliarism, 1717-1735," *CHR* 70 (1984), 389-406; James F. McMillan, "Jansenists and Anti-Jansenists in Eighteenth Century Scotland: The Unigenitus Quarrels on the Catholic Mission 1732-1746," *IR* 39 (1988), 12-45; Jacques M. Gres-Gayer, "The Unigenitus of Clement XI: A Fresh Look at the Issues," *TS* 49 (1988), 259-282; and *idem*, *Théologie et pouvoir en Sorbonne. La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et la bulle Unigenitus, 1714-1721* (Paris, 1991).

[10]On Quesnel (1634-1719), see Louis J. Cognet and J.M. Gres-Gayer, "Quesnel, Pasquier (Paschase)," in *NCE,* vol. 11 (New York-London, 2003), pp. 861-862.

[11]For an overview of the years that Quesnel spent in the Netherlands, see Joseph A.G. Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas* (Groningen-Paris, 1960); Lucien Ceyssens, "Quesnel à Brussels (1685-1703), " *Augustiniana* 44 (1994), 137-176.

[12]On Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694), doctor of the Sorbonne in 1641, theologian, philosopher, and polemist: Jean Carreyre, "Arnauld, Antoine," in: *DHGE*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1930), cols. 447-484. John Q.C. Mackrell and Jacques M. Gres-Gayer, "Arnauld," in: *NCE,* vol. 1 (New York-London, 2003), pp. 714-717. The years of his exile have been studied by E. Jacques, *Les années d'exil d'Antoine Arnauld (1679-1694)* [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 63] (Louvain, 1976).

Precipiano, managed to confiscate Quesnel's papers and correspondence in 1703. He condemned Quesnel's book on 10 November 1704 and prohibited its publication and reading in his archdiocese.[13]

Four years later, the cardinals of the Holy Office forbade the book through a special brief and stressed that it contained false doctrine.[14] The Roman ban on the reading of *Réflexions morales* was not sufficient in the eyes of the French anti-Jansenists. Madame de Maintenon and the Jesuits urged Louis XIV to intervene.[15] On November 11, 1711, the French King suspended the licence to print the book. Five days later, the ambassador in Rome asked for a papal condemnation of the book on the King's behalf. At that very moment, Clement XI resided at Castel Gandolfo and was attended by the young chamberlain d'Alsace, who later became the archbishop of Mechlin. The Pope asked his chamberlain for advice. D'Alsace, who had received his doctoral degree after four years of theology at the Jesuits' Collegio Romano in Rome,[16] advised Clement XI to renew only the ban of 1708 on reading of the book and, certainly, not to draw up a constitution, which could have enormous consequences.[17]

Clement XI ordered the Holy Office to examine the book. In 1712, the Augustinian Lambert Ledrou, a member of the Strict Faculty of Louvain who resided at Rome, was one of the consultors on the com-

[13]On Precipiano (1627-1711), archbishop in 1690, see: Charles De Clercq, *Cinq archevêques de Malines*, vol.1: *1689-1759. Humbert-Guillaume de Precipiano, Thomas-Philippe d'Alsace et la liquidation du jansénisme* (Paris, 1974); and Lucien Ceyssens, "Thyrse Gonzalez, général des Jésuites, et Humbert de Precipiano, archevêque de Mechlin. Correspondances," in: *BIHBR* 65 (1995), 89-119. On the condemnation by Precipiano, see *Causa Quesnelliana sive Motivum juris pro procuratore curiae ecclesiasticae Mechliniensis, actore, contra P. Paschasium Quesnel, citatum fugitivum* (Brussels, 1704), pp. 513-514.

[14]Rome, ACDF, Decreta S.O., 1708, fol. 214: July 13, 1708. The cardinals considered Quesnel a young Oratorian, professor at the seminary of the archbishop and cardinal Louis Antoine de Noailles. De Noailles (1651-1729) was successively bishop of Cahors (1679) and Châlons (1681). In 1695 he became archbishop of Paris. In June 1700 he was named cardinal, see Lucien Ceyssens and Joseph A.G. Tans, *Autour de l'Unigenitus. Recherches sur la genèse de la constitution* (Louvain, 1987), pp. 649-733. Donald R. Campbell and Jacques M. Gres-Gayer, "Noailles, Louis Antoine de," in: *NCE*, vol.10 (New York–London, 2003), pp. 405-406.

[15]On Madame de Maintenon, see: Lucien Ceyssens, "Madame de Maintenon (1635-1719)," in: Ceyssens, *Le sort de la bulle Unigenitus*, pp. 47-100.

[16]Lucien Ceyssens, "Le cardinal d'Alsace (1679-1759)," in: *Le sort de la bulle Unigenitus*, pp. 572-573.

[17]*Ibid.*, pp. 581-583.

mittee of five cardinals and nine theologians who examined 155 of Quesnel's propositions.[18] The members of the Strict Faculty, the regents, made arrangements for curriculum, drew up the decisions taken by the Faculty, and controlled the finances of the Faculty. The other doctors of the Faculty who taught courses formed the Large Faculty. Regent Ledrou, who participated in the discussions from June 6 to August 30, 1712, was remarkably more lenient in his judgment than the others, but gave a negative opinion on sixteen propositions, all of which were included in the bull of condemnation.[19]

On September 8, 1713, *Unigenitus* condemned 101 propositions taken from the *Réflexions morales*. As a dogmatic bull the document was directed not only to France but to the universal Church. Besides the so-called Jansenist doctrine on grace and the alleged rigorist moral theology, the disciplinary propositions of Quesnel and the Gallican view on the Church were also censured.[20] The bull condemned, without naming names, the Jansenists who opposed the general obligation to swear the anti-Jansenist formulary prescribed since the bull *Regiminis Apostolici* (1665).[21] These "Jansensists" considered themselves to be in harmony with the Church, defenders of the truth, and

[18]From 1689 until 1714 the Augustinian Ledrou (1641-1721) was a member of the Strict Faculty. Retaining his place on the board, he resided in Rome between 1692 and 1712, see G. Moisse, "Pierre Ledrou," in: *BN*, vol. 37 (Brussels, 1971-1972), cols. 499-522.

[19]G. Moisse, "Pierre Ledrou," cols. 505-506. Namely, the propositions: 5-7, 10, 28, 29, 31, 34, 35, 37-39, 41, 42, 52. In November 1712 Ledrou settled definitively in Liège. After that the Pope gave the position of sacristy master to Augustine Nicolas Abbati Olivieri and Ledrou was nominated vicar-general in Liège. Ledrou became a fervent adherent of *Unigenitus*, on which he himself had collaborated, see Lucien Ceyssens, "L'Unigenitus à Rome (1712-1713). Les jugements théologiques portés sur les 155 propositions de Quesnel dénoncées au Saint-Office," *Lias* 8 (1981), 3-77, 269-306.

[20]Rigorism is the moral system according to which, in every doubt of conscience as to the morality of a particular course of conduct, the opinion of law must be followed. The view was defended by the Irish theologian John Sinnich, who taught at Louvain, see Francis J. Connell, "Rigorism," in: *NCE*, vol. 12 (New York-London, 2003), p. 246. For Sinnich (1603-1666), see Paul Arblaster, "Sinnich, John," in: *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004). On Gallicanism, see Jacques M. Gres-Gayer, "Gallicanism," in: *ECT* (New York-London, 2005), pp. 603-606.

[21]The formulary claimed that the Church had the ability to rule on the material presence in the *Augustinus* of the five propositions condemned in *Cum occasione* and on their meaning as intended by the author. For the reception of the anti-Jansenist formulary in the southern Low Countries, see Lucien Ceyssens, "L'introduction du formulaire antijanséniste en Belgique. Premier essai (1692-1694)," in: *idem*, *Jansenistica*, vol. 4 (Mechlin, 1962); *idem*, "La seconde introduction du formulaire malinois en Belgique (1697)," *Augustiniana* 46 (1996), 229-257.

persecuted by church leaders who, blinded by passion, refused to conduct serious investigations before acting forcefully.[22]

The Crisis of *Unigenitus*

Unigenitus was an unfortunate and unrealistic document.[23] The authors of *Unigenitus* took on too much. Regarding the 101 propositions they first tried to bracket together all possible and imaginary heresies on dogmatic, moral-theological, ecclesiological, and pastoral-theological levels. They claimed and condemned these to be a summary of Jansenist teaching. *Unigenitus* aimed at a comprehensive condemnation of Jansenism in an attempt to define the heretical beliefs of Jansenists. The bull listed all the propositions and bracketed them together *in globo* as "false, fallacious, offensive, injurious to pious ears, scandalous, pernicious, rash, damaging to the Church and her customs, outrageous not just to her but to secular powers, seditious, impious, blasphemous, under suspicion of heresy, reeking of heresy, favorable to heretics, heresies and schism, erroneous, close to heresy." The fact that *Unigenitus* condemned 101 propositions *in globo* with more than twenty different qualifications made it extremely difficult to know which propositions were connected with which qualifications. Contrary to *Cum occasione* (1653), which condemned five propositions without explicitly denoting their origin, almost none of the 101 propositions were rejected at that time.

Gres-Gayer showed that there was more to this bull than a collection of condemned extracts from a spiritual book. The bull represented more than a simple condemnation of theological errors. *Unigenitus* desired to destroy the root of Jansenism itself and, at the same time, prove the ultimate authority of the Pope. Specifically the way in which Rome and the anti-Jansenist bishops asked for total and unconditional submission revealed the real intentions behind the condemnation of certain propositions and what was really at stake for Rome: the confirmation of the personal infallibility of the Pope, the claim of immediate

[22]See Heinrich Denzinger and Peter Hünermann, *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* (Paris, 1996) [=Denzinger-Hünermann], 2497, proposition 97; 2500, proposition 100; 2501, proposition 101.

[23]Jan Roegiers qualifies *Unigenitus* as 'ongelukkig' or 'unfortunate', in "De Leuvense Faculteit der Theologie en haar rol in de geschiedenis der Oostenrijkse Nederlanden (1713-1797)," *Onze Alma Mater* 36 (23-36, 1982), p. 24. Jacques M. Gres-Gayer calls the bull 'unrealistic', in "The *Unigenitus* of Clement XI," p. 279.

jurisdiction over the whole Church, and the recognition of the supremacy of the Church by secular authority. The crisis of the reception of *Unigenitus* concerned a clash of two opposite conceptions of theology and two visions of authority in the Catholic Church.[24]

The Jansenist faction considered the condemnation of Quesnel in *Unigenitus* to be as unsound as that of Athanasius. All Regalists and Gallicans forwarded a defense against the condemnation of the 21st proposition, wherein Quesnel claimed that the fear of unfair excommunication should not restrain a Christian from fulfilling his duty.[25] They argued that *Unigenitus* broadly imposed imperial authority and reduced the bishops to mere meek executors of papal instructions. Debates on *Unigenitus* led the Sorbonne in Paris into complete chaos.[26]

In the southern Low Countries, in the Faculty of Theology at Louvain, *Unigenitus* reinforced the already existing polarization among the professors. The Jansenist theologians saw Louvain doctrine and *Unigenitus* as irreconcilable. In their eyes, Rome wanted to oblige Louvain to leave behind its own doctrine. The theologians criticized *Unigenitus'* condemnations of Bible-reading by unqualified laity (propositions 80 and 81), the ecclesiastical doctrine of grace (1, 2, 5, and 38-42), the omnipotence of divine grace (19, 20, 37), and the doctrine of the Lessius-censure. *Unigenitus* favored *attritio* at the expense of *contritio* (60-64, 66, and 67) and condemned the necessity of love toward God in order to realize good actions (44-58).[27] At the same time, the bull was defended by anti-Jansenists. The Louvain theology professor Antoine Parmentier, president of the Grand Holy Spirit College from June 1702 and doctor since 1703, put himself forward as the spokesman of this group.[28]

[24]Gres-Gayer, "The Unigenitus of Clement XI."

[25]Denzinger-Hünermann, 2491.

[26]See Gres-Gayer, *Théologie et pouvoir en Sorbonne.*

[27]On contritionism and attritionism, see: Pietro Stella, "Attrizione e contrizione in età moderna: l'importanza storica di una disputa irrisolta," in *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 3 (1998), 151-172; and Jean-Louis Quantin, "Le rigorisme: sur le basculement de la théologie morale catholique au XVIIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* 89 (2003), 23-43.

[28]A biography of Parmentier (1667-1722) is lacking, see Brussels, KB, ms. 22172/III: BAX, *Historia universitatis Lovaniensis*, vol. 3: *Sacrae Theologiae Doctores*, fol. 135v. Edmond Reusens, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain (1425-1797)*, 5 volumes (Louvain, 1881-1903), vol. 3, p. 29 (We use volumes 3-5 in an anastatic reprint by the State Archives, Brussels, 1999.)

The Political and Ecclesiastical Situation of the Austrian Low Countries

Due to the lack of political and ecclesiastical power in the southern Low Countries around 1713, and especially in Brussels, which was the seat of government, and Mechlin, which was the primatial see, the government and the ecclesiastical authorities were unable to deal with the reception of *Unigenitus*.

In 1713, the War of the Spanish Succession ended at the negotiating table in Utrecht.[29] The Austrian Habsburg monarchy, which lost the war, had to be satisfied with its acquisition of the southern Low Countries, which was now placed under the government of Charles VI of Austria, the Duchy of Milan, and the Kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples. With the Treaty of Rastatt of March 6, 1714 and the Barrier Treaty signed in Antwerp on November 15, 1715, the Spanish Netherlands came under Austrian sovereignty. The Austrian Habsburgs accepted the southern Low Countries under awkward conditions from the hands of the allied occupying forces of Great Britain and the United Provinces. At first, the new regime had problems establishing its authority. The first Governor General appointed by the Emperor, Prince Eugene of Savoy, continued fighting the Turks in the East.[30] He allowed himself to be represented by the unpopular minister plenipotentiary, Joseph Louis Turinetti, Marquis of Prié, who arrived in Brussels on November 17, 1716.[31]

At the time of the promulgation of *Unigenitus* in Rome, the episcopal sees of Ypres and Bruges and the archiepiscopal see of Mechlin were vacant. In October 1713, Pope Clement XI appointed his chamberlain Thomas Philippe d'Alsace, also a canon of Ghent, to the episcopal see of Ypres.[32] At that time, the southern Low Countries had

[29]See Linda S. and Marshall L. Frey (eds.), *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary* (Westport, Connecticut, 1995); and Paul Arblaster, *A History of the Low Countries* (New York: Basingstoke, 2005).

[30]In 1697 Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736) was supreme commander of the Austrian troops against the Turks, in 1701 commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops in the War of the Spanish Succession and in 1715 again against the Turks, see Max Braubach, "Eugeen, Prinz von Savoyen," in: *NDB*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1959), pp. 673-678.

[31]The Marquis of Prié (1658-1726), ambassador of Savoy in Vienna, was a delegate of the emperor in Rome since 1706, see Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen. Eine Biographie*, vol. 5 (Vienna, 1965), pp. 121-136.

[32]D'Alsace (1679-1759) studied humanities at the Jesuit College in Brussels and received his doctoral degree in 1702 at the Gregorianum in Rome, see Charles De Clercq, *Cinq archevêques de Malines*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1974), pp. 158-338; Lucien Ceyssens, "Hennin-Liétard," in: *DHGE*, vol. 23 (Paris, 1990), cols. 1037-1041.

already been granted to Austria but was still under the provisional government of the States General of the United Provinces. Problems arose with Emperor Charles VI about the right of appointment. Parmentier, the Dean of the Theology Faculty at the time, became involved in this dispute and defended the papal appointment of d'Alsace.[33] Parmentier sent his congratulations to the new bishop and hoped that d'Alsace would one day be appointed to the see of Mechlin, which had been vacant since the death of Archbishop Precipiano. Rumors in this regard were already circulating.[34] D'Alsace was very grateful to Parmentier for mediating in his appointment at Ypres. The new bishop promised to seize any opportunity to serve Parmentier. He would do anything to maintain good relations with the University and offer it due respect.[35]

Rumors about the nomination of d'Alsace to Mechlin were soon confirmed. A commission by order of the Supreme Court of the Low Countries at Vienna recommended d'Alsace to Charles VI for the see of Mechlin. The letter stressed the importance of the archbishopric because its territory included the University of Louvain, where the plague of Jansenism had already spread.[36] Since both Charles VI and the States General of the United Provinces claimed the right of appointment exactly as they had with regard to the see of Ypres, and since discussions on that topic continued, both Charles VI and Clement XI declared that they would wait until the Treaty of Rastatt (March 6, 1714) placed the southern Low Countries under the Habsburgs. A relieved d'Alsace wrote to Parmentier on March 27, 1714 that his appointment as archbishop was arranged. He thanked the Dean again for intervening in his promotion and requested Parmentier's permanent advice and support. In return, d'Alsace promised to give practical expression to his appreciation for the University, for the Faculty, and especially for Parmentier.[37]

[33]The intervention of Parmentier is suggested in: Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: D'Alsace to Parmentier, January 12, 1713.

[34]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Parmentier to d'Alsace, December 20, 1713.

[35]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: D'Alsace to Parmentier, January 12, 1714.

[36]Louis Jadin, *Le cardinal Thomas-Philippe d'Alsace, archevêque de Malines, et le Saint-Siège. Correspondance tirée des Archives du Vatican (1703-1759)*, [Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 6] (Brussels, 1953), p. 25: Supreme Court to Charles VI, February 23, 1714.

[37]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19. In the preliminary investigation, Parmentier, however, is not represented under the official testimonies, see Louis Jadin, "Procès de nomination de Thomas-Philippe d'Alsace Boussu, proposé pour le siège archiépiscopal de Mechlin (1714)," *BIHBR* 11 (1931), 11-15.

The plans of Parmentier and d'Alsace quickly became clear. In a letter to Fabrizio Paolucci, Secretary of State in Rome, d'Alsace declared the aims of his program. With the support and help of the Emperor and the councillors he wanted to purge the Low Countries of Jansenism.[38] In Vienna, d'Alsace was ordained bishop on January 19, 1716. One month later, he took possession of his see as the new archbishop; he was thirty-seven years old. On March 15, 1716, there was the solemn entry into the city of Mechlin. During the episcopacy of Precipiano, sustained by Charles II through the *Junta de gobierno*, Philip V, and Louis XIV, Jansenism at Louvain University was treated on a case-by-case basis. D'Alsace would reap the rewards of his predecessor's actions and would show himself, like his predecessor Precipiano, to be explicitly anti-Jansenist.

The Faculty of Theology at Louvain Accepts *Unigenitus*

The ultimate acceptance of *Unigenitus* by the Faculty took two years. Before the official publication of *Unigenitus* by the Faculty, some individual professors had already pronounced their views on the bull. The Strict Faculty, as the board of the academic theological community, was composed of Ledrou, Guillaume Renardi, Herman Damen, Charles-Ghislain Daelman, Francis Martin, Parmentier, Hiëronymus t'Seraerts, and Jean Libert Hennebel.[39]

[38]Louis Jadin, *Relations des Pays-Bas, de Liège et de Franche-Comté avec le Saint-Siège d'après les 'Lettere di Particolari' conservées aux archives vaticanes (1566-1779)*, [Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 11] (Brussels–Rome, 1961), pp. 542-543: D'Alsace to Paolucci, October 5, 1715. Paolucci (1651-1726), cardinal since November 1697, was between 1696 and 1698 nuncio at Cologne. In December 1700 Clement XI appointed him as his Secretary of State. In 1721 he left the Roman scene together with the pope, see Jacques-Paul Migne, *Dictionnaire des cardinaux* (Paris, 1857), col. 1356.

[39]Renardi (1651-1731), former professor at Pedagogy of the Pork, president of Pope's College since 1689, doctor and member of the Strict Faculty from 1691 on. He became professor of catechetics in 1713 but requested that a substitute teach in his place. He actively took part in the Jansenist network, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 3, p. 447. Damen (1656-1730), doctor since 1691 and professor at the Faculty one year later, became president of Atrecht College in 1713. He is the author of several anti-Jansenist writings, Antoine Haine, *De Hermanni Damenii vita et meritis oratio quam die XV mensis julii M.DCC.LXVII habuit Anvol. Jos. Jac. Franc. Haine. Accedunt annotationes et appendix exhibens Hermanni Damenii nonnullas orationes academicas nunc primum collectas* (Louvain, 1867); and Jacques Forget, "Damen," in: *DTC*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1911), cols. 36-38. Daelman (1670-1731), doctor since 1701, taught one of the two courses on scholastic theology at the Faculty and was president of Pope's College from

A Roman-minded Faculty

In July 1713, everything seemed quiet at the Faculty. The majority of the Faculty was very favorably disposed toward the Holy See.[40] The former internuncio and Cardinal, Giulio Piazza, congratulated Parmentier for his many efforts and asked him to send Damen his regards.[41]

It was not Parmentier or Damen, but Daelman and Martin who launched *Unigenitus* within the Faculty. In the lecture he gave on October 17, 1713 under the title *In theologia vetustas novitati est praeferenda*, Daelman expressed the aversion of the Faculty to any form of innovation. He argued that the *depositum* of their predecessors in the Louvain Faculty had to be preserved and defended against innovators.[42]

Martin was Dean of the Faculty from the end of August 1713 and expressed his devotion to Rome in his own way in an *Oratio de bulla novissima* he held during the doctoral defense of the Augustinians Ignatius Sweerts and Jan Libens on November 17.[43]

1702 on, see Jacques Forget, "Daelman," in: *DTC*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1911), cols. 1-3. Martin (1652-1722) began his academic career as a vehement anti-Jansenist, but went over to the other party shortly after 1705. He is probably the only example of a switch from anti-Jansenism to Jansenism. He ended as an *Einzelganger*. Martin showed himself to be an inconsistent person. Because of this, for every point he made, he never got any credit from anybody, and he could not count on any sympathy from the Jansenists or from the anti-Jansenists, see Lucien Ceyssens, "François Martin (1652-1722), Professeur à l'Université de Louvain," *Augustiniana* 46 (1996), 371-404; and Paul Arblaster, "Martin, Francis," in: *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004). The Dominican t'Seraerts († 1738), doctor since 1701, was accepted as member of the Strict Faculty in September 1704. He taught Holy Scripture at the house of studies of the Dominicans at Louvain, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 5, p. 1322. Hennebel (1652-1720), doctor since 1682, became two years later president of Viglius College. Between 1692 and 1700 he stayed in Rome as delegate of the Jansenists at Louvain, see Lucien Ceyssens, "Hennebel, Jean-Libert," in: *DHGE*, vol. 23 (Paris, 1990), col. 1024.

[40]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Parmentier to Piazza, July 16, 1713.

[41]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Piazza to Parmentier, August 15, 1713.

[42]Charles-Ghislain Daelman, *Theologia seu observationes theologicae in summam D. Thomae*, pp. xi-xvi.

[43]Sweerts (1676-1748) defended his doctoral degree on October 17, 1713 and taught at Louvain's Augustinian monastery from 1725 until 1729, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 5, p. 1426-1427. D. Verkerken and Werner Grootaers, *Repertorium Ordinis Fratrum Sancti Augustini. Provincia Coloniae-Provincia Belgica, 1252-1995* (Louvain, 1996), p. 448. Libens (1675-1747) taught philosophy at the monastery at Antwerp in 1708-1709 and theology at Louvain in 1711-1713. He received his doctoral degree together with Sweerts, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 5, p. 1418-1420; and Verkerken and Grootaers, *Repertorium*, p. 281.

Martin argued that although he had not expected *Unigenitus*, the bull really condemned the 101 propositions. He submitted himself to the bull. He was inclined to think that the Faculty would also accept the bull since it was purely dogmatic and did not deal with facts. Moreover, Quesnel was not a Louvain theologian but came from Paris, and the condemnation did not refer to the *sensus* of the propositions meant by the author. Concerning at least sixty-three propositions Martin wondered whether they were really taken from the *Réflexions Morales*. According to Martin, Quesnel simply taught the legacies of Augustine and Thomas, faithfully expressed in the Louvain Lessius-censure. Martin called Quesnel a devout and erudite person, and saw in him an ally in his battle against scholasticism.[44] Martin's standpoint offered a possibility to avoid the impending impasse regarding *Unigenitus* and to bring Jansenists and anti-Jansenists to as great a consensus as possible.

The board of the Faculty interpreted the *Oratio* very differently. Damen considered the lecture to be fully positive according to *Unigenitus* and used it as an example of the Faculty's loyalty to *Unigenitus*.[45] But not everybody appreciated the speech. Internuncio Vincenzo Santini received a copy of the lecture from Martin and sent it to Paolucci.[46] The internuncio recognized in this speech what he considered to be the unacceptable interpretation that the condemnation by *Unigenitus* did not refer to the significance of the propositions meant by Quesnel, but only to the sense of the propositions viewed by the bull. This meant that *Unigenitus* condemned propositions that nobody, not even Quesnel, taught. This left open the possibility for the *Réflexions Morales* to remain a sound, Catholic book. Santini considered Martin's loyalty to Quesnel unsuitable.[47] The following day, Santini asked Parmentier for advice on the speech. According to the internuncio, Martin declared, wrongly, that *Unigenitus* did not contain any facts whatsoever and was therefore fully dogmatic. Moreover, according to Martin, *Unigenitus* stipulated nothing about the *sensus* of the

[44]A manuscript is in: Rome, ASV, NF, 105, fol. 809, and Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19.

[45]Louvain, RL, OUL, 467: Herman Damen, *Commentarius*, annum 1715.

[46]Santini (1676-1728), a doctor in canon and civil law, was internuncio at Brussels from October 1713 until June 1721. Afterwards he became nuncio at Cologne and in Poland, see Jacques Thielens, *La correspondance de Vincenzo Santini, internonce aux Pays-Bas (1713-1721)* [Analecta Vaticano-Belgica, Nonciature de Flandre, 12] (Brussels, 1969), p. v.

[47]Thielens, *La correspondance de Vincenzo Santini*, p. 9: Santini to Paolucci, November 23, 1713.

condemned propositions.[48] Parmentier fully agreed with Santini and gave the internuncio his *Réflexiones* in response. Parmentier disagreed completely with the speech. According to Parmentier, Martin insinuated that *Cum occasione*, in contrast with *Unigenitus*, was not purely dogmatic. Parmentier considered the lecture offensive to the University and the Faculty. To him, Martin seemed to be implying that if *Unigenitus* dealt with the *sensus* meant by the author, the Faculty and the University would not accept *Unigenitus*.[49]

In mid-January 1714, Santini received directives from Paolucci. The Secretary of State agreed with Santini's analysis. Santini acted well in not responding to Martin on paper. The lecture could not be printed. Santini had to warn Martin that he could be deprived of his *regius* professorship chair if any new flagrant irregularities were to arise in the future.[50]

A few weeks later, the self-willed Martin seemed to be toeing the line again. He published his *Scutum fidei contra haereses hodiernas seu Tillotsonianae concionis sub titulo: Strena opportuna contra papismum et refutatio*, which he dedicated to Hendrik Jozef Van Susteren, vicar general of Mechlin, who was appointed to the episcopal see of Bruges on March 8, 1714.[51] Martin refuted a lecture from 1710 by Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, who, in an anti-Roman spirit, fulminated against the Catholics of England and Ireland. Martin countered the Anglican pretensions and made a plea for papal infallibility.[52]

An Invitation from the Faculty of Theology in Douai

Before *Unigenitus*, the members of the Faculty had already submitted themselves to the decision by Rome and the infallible magisterium: any person who wanted to receive a degree was obliged to subscribe

[48]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Santini to Parmentier, November 24, 1713.

[49]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19.

[50]Thielens, *La correspondance de Vincenzo Santini*, p. 15: Paolucci to Santini, December 23, 1713.

[51]On Van Susteren (1668-1742), see: Michel Cloet, Boudewijn Janssens De Bisthoven and Robrecht Boudens, *Het bisdom Brugge (1559-1984). Bisschoppen, priesters, gelovigen* (Bruges, 1984), pp. 178-189. Louis Jadin, "Procès de nomination de Henri-Joseph van Susteren, proposé pour le siège épiscopal de Bruges (1714)," *BIHBR* 11 (1931), 17-22. In the dossier there is a testimony in favor of Van Susteren made by Martin and Damen.

[52]Léopold Willaert, *BJB*, 8278b. The *approbatio* is dated January 15, 1714.

to the bull *Vineam Domini*.[53] The forced appointment politics of the government and Rome presupposed that the submission of the Faculty to *Unigenitus* would happen without any problem. In reality, however, this submission was a long time in coming. On August 21, Van Susteren invited Parmentier to a conference with Daelman and Martin.[54] The three regents and the vicar general most certainly discussed the reception of *Unigenitus* at the Faculty.

The Faculty did not come to accept *Unigenitus* on its own. In mid-September, Adrian Delcourt, Dean of the Faculty of Theology in Douai, presented himself to Santini.[55] Delcourt had considered going to the Louvain Faculty to propose that it sign the declaration of acceptance of *Unigenitus* made by the Faculty of Douai or draw up its own declaration. Santini gave him the names of the persons who were receptive to such a project and could help Delcourt efficiently. The internuncio promised Delcourt that he would contact these men so that they would cooperate with his project.[56] Undoubtedly, Damen, Parmentier, and Daelman were at the top of this list.

In mid-December Delcourt sent Parmentier the letter he intended to present to the Louvain Faculty. In this letter, Delcourt argued that Philip II had wanted a full consensus between both universities from the very beginning of the foundation of the University of Douai.[57] Because of the rumor that the Louvain Faculty did not obey *Unigenitus*, Delcourt proposed to the regents of the Strict Faculty that they work together to counter the heresy against which *Unigenitus* reacted. This could succeed only if the bishops and the theology faculties united their efforts.[58] Parmentier and Damen read the letter

[53]On October 16, 1705 the Faculty promised Clement XI to demand from all *graduandi* allegiance to the bull *Vineam Domini*, see Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent (1927), 295. For an introduction on the tensions in the Faculty concerning the reception of *Vineam Domini*, see Claeys Bouuaert, *L'ancienne Université de Louvain*, pp. 168-172.

[54]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Van Susteren to Parmentier, August 21, 1714.

[55]Delcourt (1662-1740), born at Nivelles, was secretary of the bishop of Namur and professor at the Seminary of that diocese. Later he became professor of catechetics at the University of Douai and afterwards professor of Holy Scripture at the same University, see Reusens, "Delcourt, Adrien," in: *BN*, vol. 5 (Brussels, 1876), cols. 347-350.

[56]Thielens, *La correspondance de Vincenzo Santini*, p. 72: Santini to Paolucci, September 20, 1714.

[57]On the University of Douai, see Gilbert Dehon, *L'Université de Douai dans la Tourmente (1635-1765). Heurs et malheurs de la faculté des Arts* (n.p., 1998).

[58]Rome, ASV, NF, 107, fol. 106: Draft of the letter by Delcourt to Parmentier, shortly before December 21, 1714.

together and delivered their remarks to Delcourt. Damen and Parmentier thought it better to wait until the Austrian emperor had taken possession of the provinces of the southern Low Countries and until the new bishops (including d'Alsace) were confirmed. In this way, their concerted project would find the necessary support, so that nobody would dare to resist it openly. In the meantime, Damen and Parmentier assured Santini that the Faculty of Louvain had accepted *Unigenitus* without any opposition and that nobody from the public houses of study dared to defend even one of the condemned propositions.[59] Parmentier believed that if the new government and the Church cooperated, his aim could be achieved: the sound doctrine of the *majores* would return and the University of Louvain would be again in Rome's favor.[60]

Santini left the case completely to the prudence of Parmentier who knew the members of the Faculty very well, and was thus also acquainted with the suspected motives of some people.[61] On June 10, 1715, Parmentier gave Delcourt new instructions after deliberating with Damen, Daelman, and Santini. They decided that the Theology Faculty of Douai should address a letter to the Faculty of Louvain. The letter should stress the rumors that were spreading. Parmentier emphasized that this letter should not be written in radical language. It should be short, simple, showing a real and honest concern about the reputation of the Faculty of Louvain. Parmentier, Damen, and Daelman promised an answer on behalf of the Faculty. The Faculty would give a report of its activities in line with *Unigenitus*. The Faculty would accept *Unigenitus* and insist that this declaration be made public. Delcourt would then only have to publish and circulate the letter of the Louvain Faculty. Parmentier, Damen, and Daelman would try to obtain a unanimous answer from the Strict Faculty, or if this was not possible, at least a majority of votes. They were convinced that Jerome t'Seraerts and Jacob Bossuyt, provincial of the Augustinians, would side with their party.[62] From 1714 on, Bossuyt represented his religious order in the Strict Faculty.[63]

[59]Rome, ASV, NF, 107, fol. 103: Parmentier to Delcourt, December 21, 1714.

[60]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Parmentier to Santini, in the beginning of January 1715.

[61]Thielens, *La correspondance de Vincenzo Santini*, p. 98: Santini to Paolucci, February 14, 1715.

[62]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19.

[63]In his handbook on moral theology of 1710, *Theologia moralis contracta et delucide ad petitiones responsionibus adjunctis, ad instructionem singulorum proposita*

With respect to a possible Louvain declaration of acceptance regarding *Unigenitus*, Parmentier, Damen, and Daelman did not trust Martin, Hennebel, or Renardi.[64] Martin attracted attention because of his view on the dogmatic character of *Unigenitus*. Parmentier, Damen, and Daelman found Hennebel's views of the anti-Jansenist formulary far too unclear and open to many interpretations. Hennebel was resistant to accept any form of perjury and in *Theses de juramento* of April 12, 1715 he defended the view that even those who took an oath with reservations in the back of their mind were bound to the *sensus verborum* of the oath. Hennebel, however, never expressed himself clearly about the *sensus verborum* or the aim of Rome in regard to the formulary. Renardi was rather secretive so that nobody really knew his position at that time.

A First Declaration by the Faculty of Louvain in Favor of *Unigenitus*: July 8, 1715

Santini, Parmentier, Daelman, and Damen conceived the plan to draw up a letter, which the Faculty of Douai would then address to the Faculty of Louvain. Santini and Parmentier adapted their opinions on this letter to suit one another.[65] Santini, who agreed completely with Parmentier's plan, left the realization of it to Damen and Parmentier. As an example, Santini sent to Parmentier the declaration by the University of Cologne in favor of *Unigenitus*.[66] Santini hoped for an answer from the Faculty in favor of the University of Louvain that would also be beneficial to the Catholic Church, which was encountering problems due to the opposition to *Unigenitus*. He appealed to Parmentier. The Strict Faculty read the internuncio's letter. The provincial of the Augustinians, Bossuyt, was absent. One of the regents—prob-

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(L. Willaert, *BJB*, 7876), the classical handbook for Louvain students during the entire eighteenth century, Bossuyt (1669-1727), doctor in 1712, defended the Augustinian doctrine. He was a very influential man, vehemently anti-Jansenist and militantly Augustinian,see Jean-Noël Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la Principauté de Liège et de quelques contrées voisines*, vol. 14 (Louvain, 1763-1770), pp. 373-376; Verkerken and Grootaers, *Repertorium*, p. 56; and J. Roegiers, "L'Augustinisme de l'école de Louvain au XVIIIe siècle," in: Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Kenis (eds.), *L'augustinisme à l'ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain* (Louvain, 1994), pp. 333-360, esp. 342-343.

[64]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Declaration to Parmentier, Damen, and Daelman, not dated.

[65]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Santini to Parmentier, June 14, 1715.

[66]UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Santini to Parmentier, June 28, 1715.

ably Hennebel or Renardi—argued that only the Holy See could take the initiative in this case; the Faculty of Douai could not do this.[67] Santini advised Parmentier that the declaration by the Faculty of Louvain could differ in no way from the declaration of Douai and Cologne.[68] Parmentier answered that the Louvain Faculty had always defended papal infallibility and respected all apostolic constitutions. The Faculty could not accept the teaching of even one of Quesnel's condemned 101 propositions. He even remarked that the situations at Cologne, Douai, and Louvain were completely different and therefore patience was needed.[69] Santini once more urged Parmentier that the declaration of acceptance by the Faculty of Louvain had to follow the example of the Faculty of Douai and the University of Cologne.[70]

After some time, the internuncio accepted the specific situation at Louvain. He considered it a hopeless task to expect a declaration from Louvain similar to those from Douai or Cologne, which strongly favored *Unigenitus*. At Louvain, such a declaration would cause much trouble. Santini did not want to wait to execute the plan until Bossuyt returned from his tour as provincial of the Augustinians. The internuncio delivered the so-called letter from the Faculty of Douai to Parmentier, who gave it to the acting Dean of the Louvain Faculty, Damen. The Dean read the letter at the meeting of the Strict Faculty.[71] The letter of the Faculty of Douai was dated June 22, 1715. In it, the Faculty of Douai made its concern known about rumors in France saying that the Faculty of Louvain did not accept *Unigenitus*.[72]

Of course, the letter by the Theology Faculty of Douai was a set up. The answer from the Faculty of Louvain was also contrived and corresponded completely to the project that Parmentier had worked out in

[67]Rome, ASV, NF, 107, fol. 343v: Parmentier to Santini, July 1, 1715.

[68]Rome, ASV, NF, 107, fol. 344, and Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Santini to Parmentier, July 2, 1715. Douai and Cologne already had a decree that enforced *Unigenitus: Declaratio Sacrae Facultatis Theologicae Duacensis circa constitutionem apostolicam quae incipit: Unigenitus Dei filius* (Douai, 1714); cf. L. Willaert, BJB, 8213 and 8228; *Declaratio Sacrae Facultatis Theologicae Coloniensis circa constitutionem apostolicam, quae incipit: Unigenitus Dei filius etc. cum brevi apostolica ad eamdem directa* (Louvain, 1715); and cf. L. Willaert, *BJB*, 8369.

[69]Rome, ASV, NF, 107, fol. 344v: Parmentier to Santini, July 4, 1715.

[70]Rome, ASV, NF, 107, fol. 346: Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Santini to Parmentier, July 5, 1715.

[71]Rome, ASV, NF, 107, fols. 340-342v: Santini to Paolucci, July 11, 1715, see Thielens, *La correspondance de Vincenzo Santini*, p. 132.

[72]Louvain, RL, OUL, 389, fol. 819.

his letter of July 4 to Santini. In a *Declaratio Sacrae Facultatis theologicae Lovaniensis contenta in Epistola responsoria ad Sacram Facultatem Theologicam Duacensem* of July 8, the Faculty of Louvain denied, with great emphasis, the rumors in Paris and France that it considered *Unigenitus* as senseless, heretical, and impious and therefore rejected the bull. On the contrary, the Faculty argued that it had always submitted itself to the apostolic constitutions and had always upheld papal infallibility. *Unigenitus*, said the Faculty, appropriately condemned the 101 propositions.[73]

Hennebel, Renardi, and Martin unanimously approved the text, even though Parmentier, from the very beginning, had been uncertain about their votes. The declaration stated that Bossuyt, provincial of the Augustinians, was not present at that time, but agreed with this declaration. Parmentier and Damen were the authors of this answer by the Faculty of Louvain. The following day, Parmentier delivered the declaration to Santini.[74] Bossuyt, who was in Liège at the time, let the Faculty know he fully agreed with the copy of the declaration that was sent to him.[75] Santini greatly thanked Parmentier and his friends for the declaration, which effectively put the universities of Louvain, Douai, and Cologne on the same page.[76]

However, the declaration of July 8 did not elevate *Unigenitus* to an article of faith and did not censure the opponents of *Unigenitus*. In retrospect, Santini preferred a decree by the Faculty that required submission to *Unigenitus* by all the members and candidates for degrees of the Faculty. Parmentier once again pointed out to Santini that the situation at Louvain differed completely from the ones at Douai and Cologne, where dissension among the professors was not a chronic problem. According to Parmentier, the declaration by the Faculty of Louvain had the same effect as a decree in France. Moreover, Parmentier argued that he would never have obtained unanimous approval by the Faculty for a decree. If Santini was convinced of the

[73]L. Willaert, *BJB*, 8429. Johannes Opstraet, *Antiquae Facultatis Theologicae Lovaniensis, qui adhuc per Belgium superstites sunt discipuli, ad eos qui hodie Lovanii sunt theologos de declaratione sacrae facultatis theologicae Lovaniensis recentioris circa constitutionem Unigenitus Dei filius, edita 8 julii 1715* (n.p., 1717), (L. Willaert, *BJB*, 8597), pp. 370-374; Rome, ASV, NF, 107, fol. 349; and Louvain, RL, OUL, 389, fols. 822-826.

[74]Rome, ASV, NF, 107, fol. 346v: Parmentier to Santini, July 9, 1715.

[75]Louvain, RL, OUL, 389, fol. 827: Bossuyt to Faculty, July 25, 1715.

[76]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Santini to Parmentier, July 10, 1715.

necessity of a decree, he had to let this be known orally or through a secretary. Parmentier and his supporters would then devote themselves to the cause.[77] Secretary of State Paolucci was delighted with the willingness of the Faculty of Louvain.[78]

Parmentier also received expressions of support from Van Susteren. As the bishop of Bruges and the former vicar general of d'Alsace, he would feel honored to cooperate with Parmentier and his colleagues in securing the purity of faith and public well-being. Van Susteren hoped to prove his appreciation in the future.[79] Parmentier succeeded in his project of letting all of Europe know that in regard to submission and obedience to the Holy See there was no better university than Louvain. The declaration of July 8, 1715 was evidence of this.[80]

Some Prominent Figures Inside the Faculty of Louvain

The declaration of July 8, 1715 did not bring harmony to the Faculty of Louvain. Leading figures such as Hennebel and Damen interpreted the submission by the Faculty to *Unigenitus* in completely different ways. Hennebel viewed the submission by the Faculty in a minimalistic way, while Damen interpreted the declaration of acceptance in a maximalistic way.

A Conference by Hennebel

The famous Jansenist and Louvain professor of canon law, Zeger Bernard Van Espen, was hardly delighted about the acceptance of *Unigenitus* by the Faculty.[81] Through the Louvain theologian Francis

[77]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Parmentier to Santini, anno 1715.

[78]Rome, ASV, NF, 151, fol. 104v: Paolucci to Santini, August 31, 1715; and see Thielens, *La correspondance de Vincenzo Santini*, p. 139.

[79]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Van Susteren to Parmentier, January 19, 1716.

[80]Cf. Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Parmentier to Santini, some days after May 23, 1716.

[81]Van Espen (1646-1728), appointed in 1674 as professor in the Faculty of Canon Law, defended his doctoral degree in Law in 1675. From 1677 he taught canon law to the students of Pope's College, where he also resided. On several occasions, he acted as juridical advisor to the Jansenist party. He is known as the last great Louvain Jansenist. As he did not belong to the Faculty of Theology, his attitude toward *Unigenitus* is not a point of study here, see G. Leclerc, *Zeger-Bernard Van Espen (1646-1728) et l'autorité ecclésiastique. Contribution à l'histoire des théories gallicanes et du jansénisme* [Pontificium Athenaeum Salesianum, Fac. Juris Canonici. Studia et textus historiae juris canonici, 2] (Zürich, 1964); Michel Nuttinck, *La vie et l'oeuvre de Zeger-Bernard Van*

Verschuren and the Dutchman Joan Christiaan Van Erckel, he tried to find out the reasons for Hennebel's acceptance.[82] No letter from Hennebel to Verschuren, Van Erckel, or Van Espen explaining his reasons for his acceptance of *Unigenitus* has been found. During the doctoral defense by the theologians Willem Delvaulx and John Francis Stoupy on December 2, 1716, Hennebel delivered a lecture on *Unigenitus*.[83] This speech was completely in line with Martin's *Oratio* of November 17, 1713. It is possible that he hoped to convince doubters and to reach a consensus in the Faculty.

In his *Oratio,* Hennebel expressed that the propositions in *Unigenitus* were, without doubt, appropriately condemned. He only wanted to examine together with his audience what was really at stake in the bull. In line with the thirty-two articles that the Faculty of Louvain drew up in 1544,[84] Hennebel argued that there was only one shepherd in the Church whom everyone had to obey and to whom judgment was reserved in controversies over faith and religion. With

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Espen. Un canoniste janséniste, gallican et régalien à l'université de Louvain (1646-1728) [Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, IVe série, 43] (Louvain, 1969); Guido Cooman, Maurice Van Stiphout, and Bart Wauters (eds.), *Zeger-Bernard Van Espen at the Crossroads of Canon Law, History, Theology and Church-State Relations* [BETL, 170] (Louvain, 2003).

[82][Gabriel Dupac De Bellegarde] (ed.), *Supplementum ad varias Collectiones Operum Clar. Viri Z.B. van Espen* (Brussels, 1768), pp. 313-314: Verschuren on behalf of Van Espen to Van Erckel, August 4, 1715. From 1689 until 1693 Verschuren (1660-1723) taught grammar at Trinity College. From February 1693 on, he was vice-president of Hogenheuvel College where, two years later, he was appointed president, see Philibert Schmitz, "Verschuren, François," in: *BN*, vol. 26 (Brussels, 1936-1938), cols. 689-690. In 1694, Van Erckel (1654-1734) received his license in law. From 1687 he was parish priest at Delft, provisor of Hogenheuvel College, and a member of the vicariate in 1688. He was the man behind the theoretical foundation of the resistance by the Old-Episcopal Church of Utrecht against the Roman pretensions. He was excommunicated in 1711, see J.Y.H.A. Jacobs, *Joan Christiaan van Erckel (1654-1734). Pleitbezorger voor een locale kerk* (Amsterdam, 1981); and G. Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen. Bisschoppen en priesters in de Republiek (1663-1705)* (Amsterdam, 2003), pp. 356-357.

[83]Delvaulx (1681-1761), was born in the ecclesiastical [or episcopal] principality of Liège, was parish priest of Saint-Geertrui at Louvain (1708-1720), professor in theology from 1711/12, doctor in theology in 1716, dean of Louvain and president of Viglius College in 1720, and co-opted as regent in 1722. After his appointment to the episcopal see of Ypres in April 1730, he was ordained on 25 May 1732, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 3, p. 300. P. Lefevre, "Delvaux, Guillaume," in: *BN*, vol. 29 (Brussels, 1956-1957), cols. 541-542. Since 1711, Stoupy (1677-1736) was president of Liège College, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 3, p. 30.

[84]See supra note 2.

explicit reference to the *Justificatio* (1588) of the Lessius-censure (1587), in which the Faculty had also considered the Holy See as the teacher of the whole Church concerning faith and religion,[85] Hennebel stated that the Faculty, according to the common doctrine of the Louvain school, should accept *Unigenitus* unanimously. After this long *captatio benevolentiae,* Hennebel stressed that *Unigenitus* did not ask the Faculty to accept that the Pope stood above a general council or that the Pope was infallible in defining cases of faith or morals. *Unigenitus* only required one to hold the same opinion of the 101 propositions formulated in the bull.[86]

Daelman reported to Hennebel that Santini and d'Alsace would be delighted to receive a copy of the lecture. Hennebel sent a copy to Santini.[87] Hennebel possibly also sent a copy to the archbishop. At first sight, the lecture seemed to Santini very much in favor of the rights of the Holy See. But afterwards, the internuncio changed his judgement, pointing to the ill intentions that lay behind this *Oratio* and which prevented it from being circulated at the University.[88] Santini thanked Hennebel for sending the *Oratio* but advised him that he would have preferred if the superiority of the Pope above a general council and papal infallibility in the magisterium had been stressed more.[89] Hennebel, however, held his ground. Submission to *Unigenitus* did not signify an affirmation of the doctrine that the Pope stood above a general council or that he would be infallible in defining cases on faith and morals.[90] Daelman informed d'Alsace about the controversy arising around Hennebel's lecture.[91] The archbishop was very grateful for the information.[92]

[85]See supra note 4.

[86]A manuscript is in Rome, ASV, NF, 109, fol. 16 and Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 22.

[87]Rome, ASV, NF, 109, fol. 15, and Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 22: Hennebel to Santini, January 7, 1717.

[88]Rome, ASV, NF, 109, fols. 12-13v: Santini to Paolucci, January 14, 1717.

[89]Rome, ASV, NF, 109, fol. 14 and Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 22: Santini to Hennebel, January 9, 1717.

[90]Louvain, RL, OUL, 467: Herman Damen, *Commentarius*, ad annum 1716; Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 22: Hennebel to Santini, January 25, 1717.

[91]Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 22: Daelman to d'Alsace, January 26, 1717.

[92]Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 22: D'Alsace to Daelman, January 28, 1717. When the Faculty in 1720 asked d'Alsace for the *imprimatur* for this *Oratio*, the archbishop answered on August 26, 1720 with a refutation of the *Oratio* by Hennebel of December 2, 1716. The main argument of d'Alsace for the superiority of the Pope to the council said that a papal constitution generally accepted by the bishops had force of law and

A Lecture by Damen

Santini's, and probably also d'Alsace's, wish for a declaration by the Faculty affirming papal infallibility in cases of faith and morals was fulfilled ten months later. During the defense of a licentiate's thesis of a canon of the chapter of Saint Rombout's Cathedral in Mechlin at the beginning of December 1717, the sixty-one year-old Damen delivered a lecture in which he portrayed the dogma of papal infallibility as the central dogma of the University and the Faculty of Theology. According to Damen, only those professors who obeyed *Unigenitus* could be considered *domestici fidei*. D'Alsace, who was present, congratulated Damen very openly while Hennebel and the others looked on.[93]

Opstraet strongly disapproved of the attitude of the majority in the Strict Faculty (Martin and Hennebel remained in the minority) and refuted Damen's *Oratio* in his anonymous *Antiquae Facultatis Theologicae Lovaniensis, qui adhuc per Belgium superstites sunt discipuli, ad eos qui hodie Lovanii sunt theologos de declaratione sacrae facultatis theologicae Lovaniensis recentioris circa constitutionem Unigenitus Dei filius, edita 8 julii 1715*, from the end of December 1717.[94] Opstraet wished to point out that many theologians, clergy, and parish priests rejected the acceptance of *Unigenitus* by the Strict Faculty on July 8, 1715. The Faculty owed it to the doctrine of *majores* to react against *Unigenitus*. In his *Prooemium ad academicos, qui hodie Lovanii sunt, theologos,* Opstraet argued that *Unigenitus* condemned the fundamental truth of Catholic religion, of Christian morality, and of ecclesiastical discipline. In his eyes, *Unigenitus* undermined the foundations of the doctrine of the Church.[95] It grieved him painfully that with *Unigenitus,* above all, the redeeming doctrine of confession was condemned.[96]

In the first chapter, Opstraet showed that Quesnel's propositions could also be found in the Bible, the Church Fathers, the documents of

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could not be changed or reformed by a general council, see Louvain, RL, OUL, 467: H. Damen, *Commentarius*, ad annum 1716. The Faculty decided to answer but wanted first to hear Hennebel on the matter, see Louvain, RL, OUL, 389, fol. 881. Hennebel would not respond any more. He died four days later on August 30, 1720.

[93]See Jadin, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 143: D'Alsace to anonym, December 9, 1717.

[94]L. Willaert, *BJB*, 8597.

[95]Opstraet, *Antiquae Facultatis Theologicae*, p. 4.

[96]*Ibid.*, p. 118.

different councils, and were accepted by the professors of the University of Louvain. The second chapter was one long complaint against the declaration by the Faculty of July 8, 1715. The third and longest chapter was written against Damen's *Oratio*. Opstraet wanted to do away with the doctrine of papal infallibility, which formed the foundation of the *Declaratio* of July 8. According to Opstraet, the Faculty had not always defended papal infallibility. In the thirty-two articles of the Faculty, which Charles V published in 1544, there was no mention of papal infallibility. Opstraet argued that the idea of papal infallibility was launched for the very first time by the Faculty of Louvain only after 1544 and even then under very strict conditions. It was the Louvain theology professor Cunerus Petri who, in 1580, taught papal infallibility without conditions.[97] One hundred years later, Opstraet argued, this was no longer so self-evident. In 1683, five doctors were excluded from appointment to four vacant seats in the Strict Faculty because they refused to approve Roman plans against the Gallican articles.[98] Opstraet ended with the statement that papal infallibility had no foundation in the Bible, the Church Fathers, or the councils. He saw himself obliged to react against *Unigenitus* and reproached the silence of Louvain theologians who were not members of the board of the Faculty.[99]

D'Alsace was not happy about Opstraet's anonymous book. At the beginning of March 1718, the archbishop asked the Faculty to track down the author and punish him if he was a member of the Faculty. The Faculty even had to refute the work by giving an authentic testimony of its old doctrine on infallibility.[100] Through Parmentier, Van Susteren congratulated Dean Damen for his *Oratio* about which so much fuss had been made.[101]

[97]Cunerus Petri (†1580), regent of the Strict Faculty since 1561, later became president of the disputations held by the baccalaurei on Saturdays until he was appointed bishop of Leeuwarden in 1570, see Joseph Wils, "Les professeurs de l'ancienne Faculté de théologie de l'Université de Louvain (1432-1797)," *ETL* 4 (1927), 338-358, esp. 348.

[98]See L. Ceyssens, "L'ancienne Université de Louvain et la Déclaration du clergé de France (1682)," *RHE* 36 (1940), 345-399 (*Jansenistica*, 1).

[99]Opstraet, *Antiquae Facultatis Theologicae*, p.71.

[100]Jadin, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 160: D'Alsace to Paolucci, March 17, 1718.

[101]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: Van Susteren to Parmentier, March 25, 1718.

AN OBEDIENT FACULTY OF THEOLOGY AS D'ALSACE'S SHOWPIECE FOR ROME

Five years after *Unigenitus*, the bull *Pastoralis officii* of August 28, 1718, the feast-day of St. Augustine, condemned the appellants and the opponents to *Unigenitus*. Without excommunicating the opponents of *Unigenitus*, Clement XI declared that he dissociated himself from them and ordered all Catholics to do the same.[102] D'Alsace could have been satisfied with this, but wanted to take things one step further. "Relying on the prudence of his chapter and of some Louvain doctors,"[103] d'Alsace launched a pastoral letter on October 17, 1718.[104] Claiming much more than the bull *Pastoralis officii*, the archbishop preached *Unigenitus* as an article of faith.[105]

From that time on, d'Alsace and the zealous internuncio Santini (informed and supported by Daelman, Parmentier, and Damen) saw to it that, even in 1718, the Strict Faculty officially declared itself once more in favor of *Unigenitus*. All members of the Theology Faculty, except one or two, submitted themselves to *Unigenitus*.

The Consultations between d'Alsace and Parmentier

When Parmentier informed the archbishop of how well disposed the Faculty was,[106] d'Alsace was reassured but found it a pity that the Theology Faculty did not support the archbishop more actively in the defense of *Unigenitus*. He looked forward to a declaration by the Faculty that it had not only received and accepted *Unigenitus* but also effectively wanted to execute and impose the bull upon all its members.[107] Apparently, d'Alsace was not fully satisfied by the declaration

[102]Charles Coquelines, ed., *Bullarum, Privilegiorum ac Diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum amplissima collectio*, vol. 11 (Rome, 1739), pp. 139-142.

[103]Brussels, ARB, Department of the Netherlands of the Hof- und Staatskanzelarei in Vienna, 807: D'Alsace to Charles VI, October 30, 1718.

[104]It is not known whether Damen or Parmentier helped in the issuing of this pastoral letter. Signs of their cooperation have not been found.

[105]Pierre François Xavier De Ram and Jan Frans Van De Velde, *Synodicon Belgicum, sive acta omnium ecclesiarum Belgii a celebrato concilio Tridentino usque ad concordatum anni 1801,* 4 volumes (Mechlin, 1828-1829; Louvain, 1858; Mechlin, 1839), vol. 2, pp. 7-11; G. Dupac De Bellegarde, *Mémoires*, vol. 3, pp. 327 sq.

[106]Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 39: Parmentier to d'Alsace, November 9, 1718.

[107]Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 39. Louvain, UL, Fonds Gent, D 19. C. Declercq, "Vier reeksen onuitgegeven brieven van Thomas-Philippus d'Alsace, aartsbisschop van Mechlin," in *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor oudheidkunde, letteren en*

of acceptance dated July 8, 1715, shortly before his arrival at Mechlin. Parmentier reminded d'Alsace of this declaration by the Faculty in its letter to the Theology Faculty of Douai. It seemed useless to him to procure another declaration.[108]

D'Alsace continued to try to urge and convince Parmentier.[109] The archbishop announced a letter written by the bishops of the Austrian Netherlands to Clement XI. The bishop of Namur, Berlo de Brus, had signed the letter on November 23, 1718 (the feast-day of Saint Clement). He stated that all bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Mechlin accepted *Unigenitus*, that they had arranged for the bull to be published everywhere, and that they wanted to impose the bull upon everyone as an article of faith and a norm for moral living.[110] D'Alsace was very satisfied with the letter. He had already signed it, together with the bishop of Ghent. It would be beautiful, the archbishop told Parmentier, if the Faculty would draft a similar letter. He invited Parmentier to come and read the letter at the archiepiscopal palace. He could not give out a copy until all the bishops had signed it. The next day, d'Alsace sent the letter to the bishops of Roermond and Bruges and to the vicar apostolic for 's-Hertogenbosch.

In his letter to Parmentier, d'Alsace produced a copy of a letter by the nuncio of Paris and another copy of a letter by the former internuncio of Brussels, Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Bussi, which d'Alsace had received.[111] Bussi said that in Paris the rumor circluated that Louvain's Faculty of Theology was divided into three parties: those who accepted *Unigenitus*, those who rejected the bull, and those who wanted the bull to have no force of law. Bussi asked d'Alsace for an explanation given the importance of the Faculty of Louvain.[112] D'Alsace immediately delivered to Parmentier his answer to Bussi. The

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kunsten van Mechelen 75 (1971), 87-160, esp. 120-121: D'Alsace to Parmentier, November 10, 1718.

[108]Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 54: Parmentier to d'Alsace, November 12, 1718.

[109]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: D'Alsace to Parmentier, November 27, 1718.

[110]P. F. X. De Ram and J.F. Van De Velde, *Synodicon Belgicum*, vol. 2 (Mechlin, 1829), p. 18: Bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Mechlin to Clement XI, November 23, 1718, with their submission to *Unigenitus*.

[111]In May 1712, Bussi (1657-1726), internuncio at Brussels from December 1698 until June 1706, was named cardinal by Clement XI, see Giovanni De Caro, "Bussi, Giovanni Francesco," in: *DBI*, vol. 15 (Rome, 1972), pp. 572-574.

[112]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19, and Louvain, RL, OUL, 389, fol. 861: Bussi to d'Alsace, November 23, 1718.

archbishop explained that Bussi confused the Faculty of Theology with the Faculty of Arts.[113] The Louvain doctors in theology, Hennebel, Renardi, Damen, Daelman, Parmentier, t'Seraerts, Martin, John Francis de le Loz, and Stoupy had all accepted *Unigenitus*. Only the attitude of Verschuren was suspect, according to d'Alsace.[114]

Possibly inspired by d'Alsace, on December 1 Damen allowed John O'Reilly to defend a *Quaestio theologica de Summo Pontifice* against those who wanted to appeal to a general council against *Unigenitus*. O'Reilly had been Martin's secretary for a long time.[115] In the disputations for the licentiate's degree, O'Reilly argued that d'Alsace was right in confirming *Unigenitus*. The infallible judgement of the Pope stood above any general council. This infallibility, according to O'Reilly, concerned cases of both faith and morals.[116] Parmentier sent the *theses* to d'Alsace, who transmitted the *Quaestio* to Paolucci as evidence of the good disposition of the Faculty.[117]

Two days later, d'Alsace invited Parmentier to come to Brussels with some colleagues in order to study the collective letter of the bishops of the Low Countries to the Pope, which had not yet been sent because not everyone had subscribed to it. The archbishop hoped for good cooperation with Louvain's theologians in order to restore peace in the Church. He assured Parmentier that Santini agreed with them and looked forward to a confirmation of the declaration of July 8, 1715.[118]

[113]For the reception of *Unigenitus* in the Faculty of Arts, see F. Claeys Bouuaert, *L'ancienne Université de Louvain*, pp. 172-173.

[114]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: D'Alsace to Bussi, November 23, 1718. De le Loz (1667-1740) was successively lector at the abbey of Vlierbeek and the monastery St. Maartensdal. As a licentiate, he first became lector among the Oratorians at Scherpenheuvel and, afterwards, until 1695, professor at the episcopal seminary at Ghent, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 3, p. 95.

[115]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, (1959), 357b: Parmentier to Santini, December 31, 1717.

[116]Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, reg. 58, fol. 285. Extracts of the theses have been published in Francis Martin, *Motivum juris pro bullae Unigenitus orthodoxia contra novissimas P. Quesnelli Litteras morientisque professionem fidei. Et S. Thomas pro infallibilitate pontificia vindicatus, contra Natalis Alexandri, et Opstratii cavillos* (Louvain, 1720), pp. 174-175. On November 5, 1718, John O'Reilly had defended under the presidency of Hennebel the theses *Ex prioribus capitibus epistolae B. Pauli ad Romanos*. The theses condemned the appellants for a general council and affirmed that Clement XI had justly condemned the 101 propositions in *Unigenitus* because of their similarity to the doctrine of Luther, see Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, reg. 58, fol. 278.

[117]Jadin, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 185.

[118]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19. AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 54.

A Second Declaration by the Faculty of Theology: 23 December 1718

Parmentier was willing to draw up a declaration and have it approved by the Faculty.[119] D'Alsace was delighted by the news and hoped that this declaration by the Faculty would stem the tide of scandalous rumors that came from France. D'Alsace also asked Parmentier to deliver a list with the names of those who opposed *Unigenitus* so that the secular power could act against them. Then they could no longer be opposed. Parmentier had to act in all secrecy, with patience and prudence. The archbishop stressed that he could put this information to good use.[120] Of course, d'Alsace brought Paolucci the good news of an impending declaration by the Faculty to confirm its acceptance of *Unigenitus* and its opinion on infallibility.[121]

Parmentier and Damen worked out a plan. The Faculty, together with Dean Hennebel, approved the declaration after some minor amendments.[122] The ultimate declaration was dated December 23. The Faculty argued that rumors about its disobedience to Rome and *Unigenitus* and about dissension among the professors were false. The Faculty repeated its declaration of July 8, 1715 and stated that the propositions in *Unigenitus* were justly condemned. The Faculty rejected any appeal to a general council and disapproved any recourse to secular tribunals.[123] The Faculty was ready to submit its doctrine to the *cathedra Petri* as it had already done with the *Justificatio* of 1588.[124]

The declaration by the Faculty was a compromise. It is striking that just like the first declaration of July 8, 1715, the declaration of

[119]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: D'Alsace to Parmentier, December 13, 1718.

[120]*Ibid.*

[12]Jadin, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 186: D'Alsace to Paolucci, December 15, 1718.

[122]Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 54: Parmentier to d'Alsace, December 17, 1718.

[123]For some background on the question of appeal from the bull to a future general council, inaugurated in March 1717 by four French bishops, soon sustained by other members of the episcopate and by doctors of the theological faculty in Paris, see Jean Carreyre, *Le jansénisme pendant la régence*, 3 vol. (Louvain, 1932). J. M. Gres-Gayer, "The Unigenitus of Clement XI," *passim*; *idem*, *Théologie et pouvoir en Sorbonne*, pp. 57-67; L. Ceyssens, "Le Régent (1674-1723)," in *idem*, *Le sort de la bulle Unigenitus*, pp. 257-309.

[124]Louvain, RL, OUL, 389, fols. 861-864. Edited as *Iterata declaratio Facultatis Theologicae Lovaniensis circa acceptationem constitutionis apostolicae, quae incipit* Unigenitus (n.p., 1718).

December 23, 1718 did not make *Unigenitus* an article of faith and did not censure opponents to *Unigenitus*—two stipulations demanded by the pastoral letter of d'Alsace dated October 17, 1718. It is possible that Parmentier and Damen would never have obtained a unanimous declaration had they left these stipulations in the text. Such a unanimous declaration certainly had much more impact than a mere majority. The answer by the Faculty with regard to *Unigenitus*, with reference to its teaching expressed in the *Justificatio*, was a way to downplay *Unigenitus* without attacking the authority of the Pope directly.

On December 29, Dean Hennebel brought Santini the unanimous declaration by the Faculty.[125] The internuncio sent everything to Paolucci[126] and thanked the Faculty.[127] Parmentier delivered d'Alsace a copy of the declaration.[128] The archbishop was delighted and sent the declaration to Bussi in Paris.[129] Nevertheless, it was not the declaration d'Alsace had hoped for. Considering the status of the Faculty, and with the aim of reaching the larger public, he had been looking forward to a declaration that would react against the appellants more broadly and more explicitly. D'Alsace urged Parmentier to obtain another solid and balanced declaration. It seemed to him that the time had come to wipe out the heresy completely. The Marquis of Prié, argued d'Alsace, had promised all support so that *Unigenitus* would obtain the force of law in the Austrian Netherlands.[130] This had not been the case so far.

Opstraet, a Jansenist professor of Louvain who resisted any compromise, published his *Monitum cum responso ad iteratam declarationem Facultatis Theologicae Lovaniensis circa acceptationem constitutionis apostolicae, quae incipit Unigenitus* against the declaration of December 23, 1718. In the *Monitum,* he poked fun at the doctors of the Faculty who kept silent and did not defend the doctrine of their predecessors. Opstraet reproached Parmentier for filling the post of inquisitor-general at University.[131]

[125]Rome, ASV, NF, 111, fol. 14.

[126]Rome, ASV, NF, 110, fols. 585-586v: Santini to Paolucci, December 29, 1718; see Thielens, *La correspondance de Vincenzo Santini*, p. 302.

[127]Rome, ASV, NF, 111, fols. 14v-15: Santini to Hennebel, December 31, 1718; and Louvain, RL, OUL, 389, fol. 866.

[128]Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, bundel 54: Parmentier to d'Alsace, December 29, 1718.

[129]Louvain, RL, OUL, 389, fol. 865: D'Alsace to Faculty, December 30, 1718.

[130]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19: D'Alsace to Parmentier, January 4, 1719.

[131]Cf. Louvain, RL, OUL, 467: Damen, *Commentarius*, ad annum 1718.

The Declaration by the Large Faculty of Theology: July 10, 1719

Even before Parmentier was informed of d'Alsace's criticism of the declaration by the Strict Faculty, he tried to augment the importance of that same declaration by seeking support for it among the doctors of the Large Faculty and the doctors of the Faculty of Louvain who taught elsewhere. Some members of the Strict Faculty who did not agree with this informed Santini that confirmation by the Large Faculty of a declaration made by the Strict Faculty was unprecedented, that the Large Faculty consisted only of a small number of academics, and that in the Large Faculty there were persons who could cause trouble. They feared that Opstraet, among others, would negatively influence Florence Sullivane, president of the Irish College at Louvain and a doctor in theology.[132] The day before Christmas 1718, Santini prudently let Parmentier know that a confirmation by the Large Faculty of the declaration might be useful but that he did not know if this agreed with the custom of the Faculty.[133] Around the same time, Santini warned Sullivane to give his opinion on the case clearly and concisely.[134] Sullivane told the internuncio that he did not have anything to fear from him. He confirmed that he accepted *Unigenitus* and the infallibility of the Holy See.[135] Santini was somewhat reassured; but to be absolutely sure, he warned Sullivane that it was important that he, as president of the Irish College, be an example to his students.[136] If he did not support the plans of the Holy See, the presidency of the Irish College could easily go to someone else. Santini conscientiously informed Paolucci on everything.[137]

At the end of February, Santini received directives from Paolucci. In the eyes of Rome, Santini's hesitations regarding Parmentier's plan to obtain a declaration from the Large Faculty were justified. Santini did

[132]Rome, ASV, NF, 111, fol. 28rv: Santini to Paolucci, January 12, 1719, see Thielens, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 307. Sullivane (1655-1731), president of the Irish College from 1692 until 1697 and from 1699 until his death on August 19, 1731, received his doctoral degree in 1698, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 1, p. 291; vol. 3, p. 482.

[133]Louvain, UL, Fund Ghent, D 19.

[134]Rome, ASV, NF, 111, fol. 28rv: Santini to Paolucci, January 12, 1719; cf. J. Thielens, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 307.

[135]Rome, ASV, NF, 111, fols. 30v-31: Sullivane to Santini, December 30, 1718.

[136]Rome, ASV, NF, 111, fol. 30r-v: Santini to Sullivane, January 3, 1719.

[137]Rome, ASV, NF, 111, fol. 28rv: Santini to Paolucci, January 12, 1719; see Thielens, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 307.

not have to involve himself with additional, superfluous, particular declarations.[138]

Notwithstanding the advice by the Secretary of State, d'Alsace went his own way. He stayed in Louvain for the last three weeks of March 1719. In the morning, he visited the eight monasteries and all the parish priests of Louvain. All monasteries and parish priests pleased him with the exception of pastor Jan Baptist Schoeps of St. Peter's.[139] In the afternoon, d'Alsace visited the theologians at the Faculty. He found good intentions in all of them. On March 21, d'Alsace took part in a licentiate's degree disputation *De Summo pontifice* presided over by Damen and defended by Jozef Ignatius Deprez, professor at Pedagogy the Lily.[140] It dealt with papal infallibility as Jansenius defended it in his doctoral *theses* of October 9, 1617.[141] Bachelor Deprez argued that Louvain University had always stood for papal infallibility in cases of faith and morals, that *Unigenitus* had to be held as an article of faith, and that Quesnel's 101 propositions were justly condemned. In this way, he struck down Jansenism, Calvinism, Lutheranism, Donatism, and Baianism. The two declarations by the Theology Faculty were lauded.[142] In his *Oratio* entitled *Verba Jansenii non jansenistica ad modernos Jansenistas*, Damen picked out some statements from Jansenius' doctoral theses. It is possible that Damen delivered this lecture at about the same time given the similarity in theme. Damen repeated the confession of Jansenius in which he expressed his belief in papal infallibility, recognized papal authority over all (the faithful and the unfaithful, laymen, and clergy), and accepted the Pope as the highest jurisdiction in cases of faith. Damen correctly argued that Jansenius expressly confessed that councils confirmed by the Pope could not err. Damen concluded that whoever followed Jansenius, could not adhere to Jansenism.[143] D'Alsace,

[138]Rome, ASV, NF, 151, fols. 239-240: Paolucci to Santini, February 4, 1719; cf. J. Thielens, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 310.

[139]Schoeps (1675-1742), a pleban since 1713, defended his licentiate's degree in theology on November 24, 1716; see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 3, pp. 190-191.

[140]Deprez († 1744) had taught at Pedagogy the Lily since 1716; see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 4, p. 787.

[141]In 1703, the doctoral *theses* by Jansenius were edited, see [Martin Steyaert], *Opuscula Ex. D. Martini Steyaert, S. Th. Doctoris et Professoris Regii in Academia Lovaniensi*, vol. 5 (Louvain, 1742), pp. 75-79.

[142]Mechlin, AAM, Jansenistica, reg. 58, fol. 314.

[143]Maurits Sabbe, Mathijs Lamberigts and Frans Gistelinck, *Bernardus en de Cisterciënzerfamilie in België 1090-1990* (Louvain, 1990), pp. 463-465: *Oratio* by Damen, preserved in the abbey of Saint Bernard at Bornem, manuscript 116.

who witnessed the large crowd, encouraged all present to adopt Damen's view.

While d'Alsace was in Louvain, there appeared the *Notae breves per quas ostenditur quod propositiones 101 merito damnatae sint per constitutionem Unigenitus* by the vehement anti-Jansenist Léger Charles de Decker.[144] In his report to Paolucci on the many afternoon talks with the theologians, d'Alsace stated that the Large Faculty was on its way to preparing a declaration. He boasted that there were no more than eighteen or twenty opponents left at the University and that they were rapidly melting away as snow in the sun.[145]

Neither an eventual confirmation by the Large Faculty of the declaration of December 23, 1718 nor the drawing up of a completely new declaration could satisfy the archbishop. Together with several doctors of the Theology Faculty, he arranged to counter the instruction given by de Noailles on January 14, 1719. In this instruction, the archbishop of Paris justified his resistance to *Unigenitus* by arguing incorrectly that the doctors of Louvain resisted the bull.[146] D'Alsace thought it would be useful if the Faculty expressed itself publicly against this in an important work, "a work of value." It was clear that d'Alsace would not be satisfied this time with a simple declaration that was nothing more than a refutation of rumors. D'Alsace said he wanted to draw up a refutation of the arguments of de Noailles himself but could not because of his pastoral visitations. He encouraged the Faculty to react against de Noailles, and argued that the Louvain theologians would never have done anything without his inspiring ideas and exhortations.[147] This was not a flattering statement for the Faculty of Louvain. In regard to Rome, d'Alsace stressed his own role in the affair.

[144]Willaert, *BJB*, 8841. The book received the *approbatio* on July 4 and 20, 1719. De Decker (1645-1723) manifested himself as a voluminous writer in service to the anti-Jansenists; see Reusens, *De Decker, Léger-Charles*, in *BN*, vol. 5 (Brussels, 1876), cols. 73-77.

[145]L. Jadin, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 206: D'Alsace to Paolucci, March 30, 1719.

[146]Louis Antoine De Noailles, *Première instruction pastorale de son Eminence Monseigneur le cardinal de Noailles, archevêque de Paris, au clergé séculier et régulier de son diocèse, sur la constitution Unigenitus* (Paris, 1719), pp. 164- 165; L. Willaert, *BJB*, 8846; and cf. Jean Carreyre, " Unigenitus, " in *DTC*, vol. 17/2, cols. 2142-2153.

[147]Jadin, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 208: D'Alsace to Paolucci, April 20, 1719.

In mid-May, d'Alsace received a letter from Paolucci. Clement XI was delighted with the report of d'Alsace's visit to Louvain. The Pope recognized and lauded the efforts of d'Alsace, which laid the foundation of the good disposition of the clergy and the doctors at Louvain. Thanks to d'Alsace, the heresy, which had already spread everywhere in neighboring countries, had not yet affected the Austrian Netherlands.[148] Just a short time before, Paolucci had expressed himself very skeptically regarding the different declarations by the Faculty at the request of d'Alsace.[149] This was probably only the personal opinion of the Secretary of State and was not to be considered the official point of view of the Holy See.

After various meetings and after reading the instruction by de Noailles, the doctors of the Large Faculty decided to publish a declaration of their own. The "work of value" that d'Alsace anticipated, would never happen. The declaration, dated July 10, stated that Louvain's theological school had always been very devoted to the Holy See. The signatories declared that they accepted *Unigenitus* unanimously as a constitution *ex cathedra*. In line with their predecessors, they upheld the doctrine that popes were infallible in such matters.[150] The declaration was signed by the members of the Strict Faculty, the doctors of the Large Faculty, de le Loz, Delvaulx, and Stoupy, the four Augustinians, Francis Pauwens, Ignatius Sweerts, Jan Libens, and Gerard Melijn,[151] and the four Dominicans, Francis d'Enghien, Thomas Du Jardin, Norbert Van Bilsen, and Vincent van Severen.[152] The only name missing

[148]*Ibid.*, p. 210: Paolucci to d'Alsace, April 29, 1719.

[149]See supra.

[150]Jadin, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 247.

[151]Pauwens (1653-1725) defended his doctoral thesis on November 9, 1685 and taught the Augustinians at Louvain from 1682 until 1696; see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 5, p. 1407; and E. Beeckman, "Pauwens, François," in *BN*, vol. 16 (Brussels, 1901), cols. 770-772. On October 17, 1713, Sweerts (1676-1748) received his doctoral degree and taught at the Louvain monastery of his order from 1725 until 1729, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 5, pp. 1426-1427; and Verkerken and Grootaers, *Repertorium*, p. 448. Libens (1675-1747) taught philosophy at the monastery of his order at Antwerp in 1708-1709 and theology at the Louvain house of studies in 1711-1713. He received his doctoral degree on the same day as Sweerts, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 5, pp. 1418-1420; and Verkerken and Grootaers, *Repertorium*, p. 281. For Melijn (1657-1734), see Verkerken and Grootaers, *Repertorium*, p. 314.

[152]D'Enghien († 1719) taught at the Louvain house of studies of his order from 1682 until 1703. He received his doctoral degree in 1687, see Jacques Quétif, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1721), p. 798. Also Du Jardin (1653-1720) taught at the Louvain house of studies from 1680 until

was that of Verschuren, president of Hogenheuvel College, who was prudent enough not to resist *Unigenitus* publicly.

In many pamphlets, Opstraet would resist this declaration by the Large Faculty.[153] His main argument against the acceptance of *Unigenitus* was that, first of all, there was not even a consensus in the Church regarding accepting the bull, and, secondly, that there were serious doubts about the question of whether the bull was correct or not, or even contradictory to Catholic faith. Moreover, Quesnel was condemned without having been heard.

On behalf of Clement XI, Paolucci congratulated d'Alsace for the declaration by the Louvain theologians.[154] At the consistory of November 29, 1719, Clement XI made him a cardinal. He was the first archbishop of Mechlin since Antoon Perrenot de Granvell to receive this honor.[155]

1698 and received his doctoral degree in 1687, see *ibid.*, pp. 813-814. Van Bilsen taught at the Louvain house of studies from 1701 until November 1702, see Reusens, *Documents*, vol. 5, p. 1322. Van Severen (1663-1719), as regent at the Louvain house of studies, was responsible for the organization of the courses, see Brussels, KB, hs. 22172/III: BAX, *Historia universitatis Lovaniensis*, vol. 3, *Sacrae Theologiae Doctores*, fol. 138v.

[153]Johannes Opstraet, *Animadversiones in causam disparem, seu causa episcoporum non acceptantium constitutionem Clementis XI. Par causae S. Cypriani non acceptantis rescriptum S. Stephani* (Louvain, 1719); (L. Willaert, BJB, 8816); Opstraet, *Pondus novum adjectum ad partem tertiam staterae appensae in statera etc. contra postscripta Poelmanni seu Quaestio facti. An S. Thomas docuerit Summum pontificem esse infallibilem in decidendis quaestionibus fidei et morum ? Ex ipso S. Thoma et Thomistis soluta* (Delft, 1719); (L. Willaert, BJB, 8920); Opstraet, *Petrus Malleus, tundere nuper ausus Commonitorium ad RR. DD. Pastores aliosque etc. nunc ad eiusdem Commonitorii incudem revocatus, retunditur et obtunditur* (Louvain, 1720); (L. Willaert, *BJB*, 9065); Opstraet, *Responsionis quae sub nomine pii cuiusdam theologi manuscripta circumfertur, confutatio* (n.p., 1720); and (L. Willaert, *BJB*, 9078).

[154]Jadin, *Correspondance d'Alsace et le Saint-Siège*, p. 248: Paolucci to d'Alsace, November 4, 1719.

[155]Granvelle (1517-1586) was archbishop of Mechlin from March 10, 1561 until his resignation on January 24, 1583. Shortly before his appointment as archbishop, he was named cardinal. He left the Netherlands in March 1564, see Maurice Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot, bisschop van Atrecht, kardinaal van Granvelle, minister van Karel V en Filips II* [Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 18] (Brussels, 1953), with a summary in English.

CONCLUSION

In the years 1713-1719, ultramontanist leaders in the Theology Faculty gained more and more influence. Instead of bringing about unity among theologians, *Unigenitus* brought dissension. The Faculty coped in a very specific way with this new ecclesiastical situation. The two declarations by the Faculty requested by archbishop d'Alsace, who had the help and support of Parmentier, Damen, and Daelman, appeased Rome. Nevertheless, the contents of these declarations did not express the fervent anti-Jansenist standpoint held by d'Alsace. Apparently, the moderate faction in the Strict Faculty formed enough counterweight to turn the declarations into a compromise. The reception of *Unigenitus* in the Faculty of Theology at Louvain shows once more that the Catholic Church itself could no longer expect unconditional obedience, even from those who had no desire to abandon such obedience.[156] Nevertheless, there is a remarkable evolution in the ultramontanism of the Faculty. Whereas the Faculty in 1682 gave no official declaration on the four Gallican articles, it was now, thirty-five years later, willing to testify publicly to its obedience to the *cathedra Petri* and to recognize the personal infallibility of the Pope and his immediate jurisdiction in the Church.

Thanks to *Unigenitus*, the archbishop, the internuncio, and Parmentier strengthened their positions with regard to the Faculty. D'Alsace put himself on a pedestal as defender of apostolic authority and did everything to show Rome that he had a firm grip on the Faculty. Further investigation on the shifts in d'Alsace's position, from a voice of moderation as a Roman official to an anti-Jansenist hardliner as Archbishop, still has to be done. It is clear that different paths suggested by Hennebel and Martin were not attainable or realistic for the Faculty as an institution.

[156]See Doyle, *Jansenism*, p. 90.

"THE STATUS OF WOMEN": TWO AMERICAN CATHOLIC WOMEN AT THE UN, 1947-1972

BY

JOSEPH S. ROSSI, S.J.*

From the late 1940's until the American bishops closed their United Nations Office in 1972, Catherine Schaefer and Alba Zizzamia, two American lay women, served as both National Catholic Welfare Conference UN Observers and Catholic Non-Governmental Organization representatives for the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations. This article discusses their creation and leadership of a circle of Catholic NGOs at the UN, many of them women, that developed strategies for promoting Roman Catholic teachings on issues of concern for women, and delves into their successes and failures in matters such as the family, marriage and divorce, child and adult education, prostitution, equal pay, birth control, and the status of women in the developing nations.

In an August 1947 memorandum to Monsignor Howard J. Carroll, General Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), Miss Catherine Schaefer,[1] appointed Carroll's Assistant for United Nations Affairs in October 1946, included the following paragraph:

> Special assistance in supplying documentation and day-to-day information has been given to...the National Council of Catholic Women [NCCW], and other interested departments of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, on the matter of consultative relationships [Non-Governmental Organization or NGO status] of international organizations with the [UN's] Economic and Social Council [ECOSOC]. In the latter connection, as consultant to the National Council of Catholic Women International Relations

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[1]Born on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Catherine Schaefer joined the Social Action Department of the NCWC immediately upon graduating from Trinity College in Washington, D.C., in 1927. In the 1930's she earned a master's degree in economics and international relations from the Catholic University of America. For many years she served as Secretary of the Catholic Association for International Peace. She was the first and only director of the NCWC Office of United Nations Affairs, appointed to that position by its Administrative Board in 1946.

> Committee, the Assistant to the General Secretary, NCWC, for United Nations Affairs [i.e., Schaefer herself] spoke before the ECOSOC Commission on the Status of Women, on the competence of the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues [IUCWL] to serve in this consultative capacity.[2]

The same report documents that the IUCWL, whose headquarters were in the Netherlands, and another international Catholic organization with "the reliability and fitness . . . to make a contribution to ECOSOC," namely, the International Union of Catholic Social Service (IUCSS), had already been granted consultative NGO status with the Economic and Social Council. This permitted the IUCWL, the first international Catholic organization to be so recognized, to submit memoranda to ECOSOC on matters within its competence.[3]

Schaefer was appointed one of the first ECOSOC consultants from IUCWL. This designation was apropos, because it was due to her intervention as the UN consultant from the National Council of Catholic Women, the US affiliate of IUCWL, that the IUCSS had achieved NGO status. Schaefer had been the clear choice for the IUCWL consultant, both because of her familiarity with women's issues and because she was already the NCWC Observer, mandated by the American bishops to monitor and lobby the UN.[4]

From the start, Schaefer moved with great ease and authority within women's circles at the UN, Catholic or otherwise. Within her first year (1946-47) as NCWC Observer, she spoke at several conferences on women's rights, most notably the Inter-American Commission of Women and the Commission on the Status of Women, the latter established by the United Nations in 1946.[5] She also addressed conventions of American women's groups, such as the Biennial Convention of the National Council of Catholic Women, the

[2]Archives of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (ANCWC): International Affairs: United Nations: Office for UN Affairs: "Report of the N.C.W.C. Office for U.N. Affairs, October 1, 1946-August 1, 1947," Schaefer to Carroll [New York], August 1947, p. 2.

[3]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[4]Archives of the United States Catholic Conference-National Conference of Catholic Bishops (AUSCC-NCCB): Departmental Committees: International Affairs: UN: 1967, "Office for UN Affairs," Enclosure with Dougherty to Tanner, [South Orange, New Jersey], April 18, 1967, pp. 1-2.

[5]Edward J. Gratsch, *The Holy See and the United Nations, 1945-1995* (New York, 1997), pp. 112-113.

Supreme Directorate of the Catholic Daughters of America, the Institute on Women in Industry, the Catholic Women's Club of New York, and the Saint Paul's Junior Guild.[6] In a prescient comment during the summer of 1947, she remarked on the potential for Catholic influence at the United Nations, anticipating that

> As Catholics within the United Nations get to know each other better, and as Catholic organizations, such as the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues...are admitted to consultative relationships with the Economic and Social Council, the utility of NCWC's Office for U.N. Affairs should increase, in the informational, liaison and other assistance it may be able to render, and in its efforts to integrate Catholic principles into the formal action and atmosphere of the United Nations and of international life....[7]

In no other aspect of the work of the UN Office would Schaefer and her assistant, Alba Zizzamia,[8] better integrate their duties and priorities on behalf of the NCWC, Catholic social thought, and the rights of women internationally than with their roles as UN consultants or NGOs from the IUCWL. Schaefer recounted that by 1948 the volume of work at the NCWC Office during its second year of operation had increased significantly. Her official explanation for the greater workload was that the United Nations in *its* second year was developing a sense of itself and its obligations with regard to global peace and security; in fact, it was her NGO duties, which demanded "actual participation in the work of the various [UN] Commissions" and required expanded contacts with other Catholic international groups and organizations, that accounted for the expanded workload.[9] In time Alba Zizzamia would take on responsibilities not only as an IUCWL consultant, but also as the National Council of Catholic Women representative at meetings of UN-

[6]ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: Office for UN Affairs: "Report of the N.C.W.C. Office for U.N. Affairs: October 1, 1946-August 1, 1947," pp. 4-5.

[7]Joseph Rossi, *American Catholics and the Formation of the United Nations*, [Melville Studies in Church History, 4] (Lanham, Maryland, 1993), p. 36.

[8]Alba Zizzamia was born in Hartford, Connecticut and taught in the public schools there. At the time of her appointment to the UN Office in 1948, she was an Associate Professor of Italian Literature at Trinity College, Washington, D.C. The holder of a doctoral degree from the University of Rome, she was a noted translator of Italian classics. Her acquaintance with several young clerical diplomats at the Apostolic Delegation in Washington would ultimately serve her well during her stint at the UN Office.

[9]ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: Office for UN Affairs: "Report of N.C.W.C. Office for U.N. Affairs: August 1, 1947-August 1, 1948," Schaefer to Carroll, [New York], pp. 1-2.

related associations such as "Women United for the United Nations." But it was as an NGO, not an NCWC Observer, that she covered most of the meetings of the eleven ECOSOC commissions, including its Commission on the Status of Women.[10]

The achievements of Schaefer and Zizzamia as Catholic women NGOs in the late 1940's were extraordinary. As liaisons between the NCWC and the IUCWL, they laid the groundwork for what would become an enduring alliance with various Catholic NGOs, many of them women's organizations. By the fall of 1947 the UN Office had initiated correspondence with all Catholic NGOs. Schaefer then secured representation from each of these for a preliminary ICO (International Catholic Organizations) meeting hosted by the NCWC. At those sessions, she briefed them for an NGO Conference in September sponsored by the UN's Department of Public Information. At a subsequent meeting of all NGO representatives in New York, Schaefer represented the IUCWL as its consultant. This interim conference resolved to hold a summit of all international organizations at Geneva in May 1948, where Schaefer once again represented the IUCWL. Her election as a delegate was a singular honor, for she was chosen by her forty-two NGO peers to be one of only eight delegates to go to Geneva. There, she was appointed to the Ad Hoc Committee that prepared the agenda, and she was credited with securing acceptance of Human Rights, especially the rights of women, as a "discussion theme."[11]

During the New York discussions, Schaefer had kept Catholic NGOs in Europe apprised of the progress being made, so that they would be adequately briefed for Geneva. Through such preparedness, it was anticipated that the Catholics would be able to interject their proposals and principles into the crucial debates. Schaefer would later verify that "Catholic principles were generally well accepted by the representatives of the 200 organizations" at Geneva. The capstone of all her preliminary work for both New York and Geneva, however, was her selection as IUCWL representative to the Interim Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations that was to consider future relations among all NGOs. The members of this committee also were charged with preparing an agenda for the NGO Conference to be held the following year.[12]

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

After her return from Geneva, Schaefer found that her principal work as a consultant centered on the work of three ECOSOC commissions: the Commissions on Social Affairs, on Human Rights, and especially on the Status of Women. They were, she noted conscientiously, "fully attended and reported in the capacity of Consultant for the IUCWL." But Schaefer, and later Zizzamia, did not merely attend and report on these sessions; "interventions" were made in each, especially the Commissions on the Status of Women and Human Rights. In 1948 and 1949, these interventions pertained chiefly to the suppression of commercial prostitution and venereal diseases in the Third World, the efforts of Catholics and others against divorce, and the wording in the draft document of the UN's International Declaration of Human Rights on the rights of parents regarding the education of their children.[13] Schaefer's intervention against the inclusion of divorce into the human rights document was ultimately eliminated from the Draft Declaration, but her interventions on behalf of the rights of parents in their children's education, especially in opposition to the power of the state, precipitated, at the very least, vehement discussion among the members, and her labors in recognition of Catholic mission schools in the UN Trust Territories motivated a majority of committee members to incorporate into the final draft an article that "did not infringe on the right of parents to send their children to schools of their own choice."[14]

The United Nations Commission drafted the first international covenant on human rights after the UN General Assembly had adopted the International Declaration of Human Rights in 1949. Subsequently, the covenant had to be ratified by the General Assembly, and afterward by individual member states; only then would it become legally binding on the UN signatories. Schaefer and Zizammia would fight doggedly for endorsement of this covenant.[15] Of particular interest to them were the sections dealing with genocide, freedom of information and a code of ethics for journalists, discrimination, refugees and stateless persons, and the status of women. They were particularly successful in the final category.[16]

[13]*Ibid.*

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 8;

[15]ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: UN Office: *Annual Report: 1950: NCWC Office for United Nations Affairs and Bureau of Information* (Washington, D.C. Printed by the Administrative Board: NCWC, but not for Publication, 1950), p. 13.

[16]*Ibid.*, p. 14.

There were in 1949-50 still twenty countries in the world where women did not have the right to vote, or had restricted suffrage. Schaefer, as an NGO member of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, was in the forefront of those who supported proposals to the Commission on Human Rights for an international convention on political rights for women, and for an international convention to resolve conflicts "in various systems of law as to the nationality of married women."[17] Other matters concerning the status of women in which Schaefer and Zizzamia were profoundly involved were equal pay for equal work, political education, and equal educational opportunities for women, especially in underdeveloped and UN Trust Territories. Recognition of the professional status of nursing and legal protection of that status, and the conferring of responsible positions in UN technical assistance programs on women were also subjects of concern.[18] Schaefer and Zizzamia also made notable "Catholic" recommendations to the Commission on Human Rights about the role of women's social progress in relation to family welfare.

In hindsight, it is now evident how Schaefer and Zizzamia, through their advocacy of equal status for women at the UN, fused together most effectively their roles as NCWC Observer and IUCWL consultant. This can be seen in a 1950-51 NCWC report, in which Schaefer reviewed her staff's "Work at the UN with Regard to Particular Questions."That year she and Zizzamia had made an intervention to the Commission on the Status of Women in the name of the IUCWL. This presentation was based on Zizzamia's observations during an IUCWL inspection trip to Africa the previous summer. In this capacity, Zizzamia proposed the introduction of legal safeguards for monogamous marriage in certain African territories controlled by the UN, where polygamous marriages and analogous social and economic practices were abusive and degrading to the dignity of women. The chairwoman of the Commission on the Status of Women, who in another capacity was concerned with circumstances in French territories in Sub-Saharan Africa, expressed particular gratitude for these proposals and told the NCWC of her intention to use them in her work for Trust Territories.[19]

[17]Jean Gartlan, *The Story of the NCWC/USCC Office for United Nations Affairs, 1946-1972* (Baltimore, 1998), p. 102.

[18]*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15; ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: UN Office: *Annual Report: 1951: NCWC Office for United Nations Affairs and Bureau of Information* (Washington, D.C. Printed but not for Publication by the Administrative Board: NCWC, 1951), p. 23.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 35.

In 1951, Schaefer addressed the UN Population Commission and the Ad Hoc Committee on Slavery. She was also a member of the Advisory Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). Through her work with this committee, and the Board of UNICEF itself, she sought to prevent the recognition of this advisory committee as the sole means through which NGOs could have consultative status with UNICEF. In other words, she argued for direct access by NGO representatives to UNICEF's executive board.[20]

During this same period, Schaefer attended the White House Conference on Children as observer for the IUCWL. Correspondence and exchanges of information between the IUCWL International Secretariat in the Netherlands and NCWC headquarters in Washington, D.C., continually passed through her New York office. Memoranda on many UN subjects, questionnaires, and other bits of intelligence were exchanged between the UN Office and an IUCWL affiliate, the International Committee for the Protection of Young Girls. This flurry of correspondence focused on the drafting of the UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. All this United Nations NGO information was, of course, shared with interested departments at NCWC.[21]

In 1952, the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues was re-titled the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations (WUCWO). It also moved its headquarters from the Netherlands to Paris, so as to be in closer proximity to the cluster of UN offices in the French capital. Catherine Schaefer, however, remained its principal NGO representative. If anything, she and her staff became even more immersed in Catholic/UN women's issues. In the "Work with International Organizations" section of her 1953 report, Schaefer notes the astonishing integration of her duties as NCWC Observer and WUCWO consultant.

> Much of the time of the Office staff is devoted to representation of the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations (its American affiliate is the National Council of Catholic Women), which is one of the organizations having consultative status with the Economic and Social Council and its commissions, and to assistance to other Catholic groups having such status.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

> This Consultative status is given only to international organizations. It permits the submission of written and oral statements and other methods of direct cooperation and influence.[22]

Schaefer here is going to great lengths to clarify for NCWC bureaucrats that WUCWO had a Category B Consultative Status at the UN and had been the first Catholic organization to achieve such status. Category A Consultative Organizations were strictly economic and Category C groups had limited access to ECOSOC and its eleven commissions. The 123 Category C groups were quite specialized organizations on the UN Register, and were called into consultation infrequently, and then only in relation to their field of competence.[23] By 1953, group B was comprised of 107 international associations "of a great variety of complexions and interests." Among these were Protestant and Jewish groups, at least two Communist groups, organizations of women and youth, professional groups, such as lawyers, the press, and social service organizations, etc. The eleven Catholic groups so designated constituted proportionally by far the largest representation of any religion at the United Nations, and, as Schaefer never tired of reiterating to the NCWC, these Catholics had come to depend on, and saw their organizational focus to be, her Office for UN Affairs.[24]

In 1953, their peers selected both Schaefer and Zizzamia as delegates to the Information Conference for International Non-Governmental Organizations in Geneva. At those deliberations, a review of the entire consultative process, together with discussions on the possibilities that consultation for NGOs would be extended to UN agencies such as the Trusteeship Council, the Technical Assistance Board, and the International Law Commission, was undertaken. An impending ECOSOC reassessment of all organizations in consultative status was also on the agenda, because it had been advised by some in the ECOSOC that inactive NGOs be terminated. The sessions in Geneva, and

[22]ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: UN Office: *Annual Report: 1953: NCWC Office for United Nations Affairs and Bureau of Information* (Washington, D.C. Printed by the Administrative Board: NCWC, but not for Publication, 1953), p. 8.

[23]*Ibid.*, p. 9.

[24]Catholic NGOs designated Category B were: WUCWO, the Catholic International Union of Social Service, the International Conference of Catholic Charities, the International Catholic Migration Commission, Pax Romana, the International Federation of Catholic Young Women, the Young Christian Workers, the International Catholic Child Bureau, the International Union of the Catholic Press, la Union Fraternelle entre les Races et les Peuples, and le Mouvement Mondial des Mères.

subsequent ones in New York, were, Schaefer thought, the most important series of NGO meetings in the history of the United Nations up to that point. She and Zizzamia never missed a session, participating energetically in the drafting of working papers on proposed consultative relations with the Trusteeship Council and the UN Technical Assistance Board. These two UN agencies were particularly important to the NCWC, because they dealt extensively with matters concerning Catholic missions in Trust Territories.[25] At Geneva, Schaefer delivered a paper entitled "Minimum Criteria for Maintaining Consultative Status Relations." In it, she discussed the substance and extent of requisite inquiries for a questionnaire to NGOs intended to evaluate the quality of their consultative activities and contributions to UN agencies. Zizzamia served as Chair of the Working Party on Information to Trust Territories, and as a member of the Planning Board for the next conference. She also participated in a study committee to consider NGO activity in disseminating information in Third World UN member countries. A questionnaire on this matter was then prepared by the staff of the UN Office and sent to all WUCWO national affiliates.[26]

The staff's extensive activities concerning women's issues, however, were nowhere more apparent than at the sessions of the Commission on the Status of Women. At its seventh session in 1953-54, the Commission decided to urge all governments to ensure equality of rights and duties of husbands and wives in family matters, and to ensure that wives had full legal capacity and equal rights with regard to property and work outside the home. It also recommended that a draft convention on the nationality of married persons be circulated to governments for comment. Schaefer and Zizzamia made oral and written interventions on the subject of equality of rights and duties in family matters, equal access to education for both men and women, the nationality of married women, and the rephrasing of Article 16 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, recommending the deletion of the reference to "dissolution" of marriage. At all times, they took pains to stress the unity of the family and the indissolubility of the marriage bond.

Schaefer also assisted other Catholic NGOs in drafting papers to be delivered before the Women's Commission. In that same session, WUCWO's research and analyses were shared with a woman consult-

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

ant from the Catholic International Union for Social Service. This was done during the developmental stage of her written interventions on the topics of part-time work for women and the effects of technical assistance on their work.[27]

In July of 1955, the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, prepared by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, came into force. With this protocol in place, the UN declared that women now had equal rights in sixty-six countries, and that in no more than fifteen were they still denied the right to vote. Schaefer also saw progress in the vote by the General Assembly to work with the Trusteeship Council and its Administering Authorities for educational and legislative measures to develop the exercise of political rights by women in the "trust" and "non-self-governing" territories. These UN protectorates, located mostly in the South Pacific, Africa, and Asia, were ancestral, male-dominated societies, where the rights of women, and their place in the life of the culture outside the home and family, were not a high priority. Social custom, economics, and illiteracy were often given as reasons why women were not allowed to exercise political responsibility. Even with the most careful UN preparation and prompting, Schaefer believed that it would take extensive groundwork, and much time and effort, even to introduce, much less implement, women's rights in these cultures.[28]

Another godsend for those working for improvement of the status of women came from the Economic and Social Council itself, which approved all the resolutions submitted that year by its Commission on the Status of Women, of which Schaefer was, more than ever, an energetic and influential member. Three proposals were of greatest concern to her. The first called on non-governmental organizations, such as WUCWO, to continue developing means of "citizenship education" for women, so that they might exercise their responsibilities effectively in their own countries. The second recommendation suggested that all members of the United Nations promote and set in motion equality of access to education for women. The third proposal advanced the application of the equal pay for equal work principle and the measures

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

[28] ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: UN Office: *Annual Report: 1954: NCWC Office for United Nations Affairs and Bureau of Information* (Washington, D.C. Printed by the Administrative Board: NCWC, but not for Publication, 1954), p. 18; *Annual Report: 1956*, p. 27.

submitted by the International Labor Organization (ILO), a UN-related group, concerning that standard.[29]

Schaefer also outlined in her Annual Reports for 1954 and 1955 other projects in which she was involved as a member of the Women's Commission. She had submitted contributions to the Commission's reviews on part-time work for women and work of older women, and had, through the UN Office and the American affiliate of WUCWO, the NCCW, circulated to governments for comments a new text of the "Draft Convention on Nationality of Married Women," which enabled these women to retain their own nationality on marriage to an alien and precluded routine imposition of the husband's nationality. Schaefer noted in a memorandum attached to this text that Catholic NGOs were committed to a policy of drawing attention to the social and moral implications of the purely legal principles that were being put forth and to a full review and study by the Women's Commission, and by other relevant commissions of the ECOSOC, of the all-encompassing family and community context in which marriage existed.[30]

The final area of specific interest to the UN Office and WUCWO dealt with the Commission's "preoccupation with the status of women in private that is, family, law." Schaefer noted that while countries like the United States did not favor specific recommendations in this area, feeling that more could be gained by study and discussion, many of "the so-called underdeveloped countries" welcomed them as tools to help change conditions in their own nations. During the 1950's, several momentous, and in the long term, significant resolutions on this issue were brought before the Women's Commission. One recommended that UN member states take measures with regard to certain practices, notably prevalent in Africa, in order to ensure freedom in the choice of spouse, to abolish the custom of the "bride price," to eliminate child marriages, and to ensure rights of widows to remarry and to retain the custody of their children. In adopting this resolution, the Women's Commission had incorporated the recommendations of WUCWO, which had been presented by Schaefer and Zizzamia "both in oral interventions and in contacts with delegates.[31]

[29]*Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 19; ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: UN Office: *Annual Report: 1955: NCWC Office for United Nations Affairs and Bureau of Information* (Washington, D.C. Printed by the Administrative Board: NCWC, but not for Publication, 1955), pp. 34-35.

[31]*Annual Report: 1954*, p. 19.

As the year 1955 progressed, the two women took part in discussions on two more resolutions brought before, and eventually adopted by, the Women's Commission. The first dealt with "equality as between parents in the exercise of rights and duties with respect to their children"; the second fostered the right of a married woman "to an independent domicile." Quite apart from some degree of "feminism" among certain delegates, and Soviet propaganda that claimed to advocate women's rights, Schaefer noted there was in the Commission's promotion of these questions a great deal of genuine preoccupation with those legal systems that discriminated against the mother's guardianship or custody of her children in the case of the father's death or in cases of separation and divorce. For instance, to many "experts" the matter of domicile seemed to be chiefly a legal one, but Schaefer, Zizammia, and their Catholic allies underscored stubbornly the social and ethical ramifications of otherwise abstract legal theories and the need for a complete assessment and analysis of these principles in light of a familial and communal framework.[32]

One of Zizzamia's interventions on the details of family law pointed out that in this field it was unwise to make general recommendations. Specific proposals were made, however, to provide for "simple freedom and human dignity of women" in certain areas of Africa. This intervention, and ensuing private consultations with certain delegates, led to the adoption of her recommendations by the UN Commission on the Status of Women.[33] In addition, presentations on the education of women for civic responsibility and work for older women by the two WUCWO representatives were reiterated in important statements given by several UN delegates, and ultimately, inserted into the Commission's final resolutions. Three delegates, including one from the United States, took the opportunity in their remarks to enumerate the accomplishments of WUCWO. Schaefer also was credited with the withdrawal by one delegate of "a resolution of doubtful implications" on equal pay concerning principal breadwinners, an action taken by him after he had consulted with her. Her written intervention on this issue was reprinted in the United States in a journal entitled "The Equal Pay Bulletin."[34]

The NCWC UN Office closely monitored developments at the UN regarding women's civic responsibility. Working in tandem with Mary

[32] *Annual Report: 1955*, p. 35.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Lord, the United States delegate to the UN Human Rights Commission, Schaefer had been one of several women NGO consultants to sponsor and attend "small conferences" at the US Mission to discuss the ramifications of the political franchise for women, principally in the Third World.[35]

Finally, Schaefer regularly scheduled WUCWO consultations with national delegations, individual UN delegates, and members of the staff of the United Nations Secretariat, and since the Office for UN Affairs was recognized as an international Catholic research center, assistance was routinely sought by Catholic NGOs preparing statements to be delivered before UN commissions and boards. This was true especially with regard to women's issues, because the library of the NCWC Office had extensive holdings on subjects such as family law and stability, women's political rights in the UN Trust Territories, and state-enforced discrimination against mothers.

In the midst of all their WUCWO activities, Schaefer and Zizzamia did not shirk their tactical social obligations. To cite only two examples from the year 1954, briefing, consultation, and entertainment services were furnished to Dr. Helene Weber, a member of the German Bundestag and the Council of Europe, who attended the sessions of the UN Commission on the Status of Women as an extraordinary representative of WUCWO. The UN Office also provided assistance in the same year to the Vice-President of WUCWO in entertaining delegates, NGO representatives, and other officials of the United Nations.[36]

Seen *in toto*, the years from 1954 to 1956 were among the busiest ever for Schaefer and Zizzamia. As a matter of course, as WUCWO consultants they would do their preliminary informational work at UN headquarters and its various agencies. WUCWO would then use the intelligence it received from them to develop and conduct surveys among its national affiliates. Lastly, it would make recommendations, and even policy, based on its appraisal of these studies. At this time, for instance, WUCWO was primarily interested in education of women for civic responsibility, work for older women, and the development of UN family law, with particular reference to fundamental rights of women in Africa. Toward the last goal, status-of-women survey questionnaires were sent to WUCWO contacts in Africa, and deliberations

[35] *Annual Report: 1956*, p. 29.
[36] *Ibid.*

and responses from African women were encouraged.[37] This extensive process, one of many carried out during the period, was launched from the UN Office in New York, and would most likely have been impossible for WUCWO without the link between it and the NCWC.

By the year 1959-60, Catholic NGOs, now referring to themselves as a conference of International Catholic Organizations (ICOs), had turned their attention, more than ever, to the role of women in the Third World, thanks in large part to the efforts of Schaefer and Zizzamia. The ICOs held their annual meeting in Munich, Germany, that year; its theme was Technical Assistance to Underdeveloped Nations. Because of this topic, and because the Roman Catholic International Eucharist Congress was likewise convening in that city, many visitors from Asia, Africa, and Latin America attended. The UN Office provided authoritative materials regarding technical assistance to the ICO preparatory commission. Catholic NGO consultants who attended this conference, and who were also involved in New York with the UN Commission on the Status of Women, maintained that they were able to cultivate an even keener regard for the rights of women in the Third World because of the work of the UN Office.[38]

The Commission on the Status of Women often concentrated its efforts on the "underdeveloped areas" of the world, because it was in these nations where women had not yet begun to be a factor in civic life. In Africa, its work had been directed largely to family law, in large part because Schaefer and Zizzamia were interested in this issue. In 1959, the UN Office made arrangements for an African Missionary Sister, Soeur Marie Andre, W.S., to attend the Commission sessions as a representative of WUCWO, and further assisted her in preparations for her written and oral interventions. One of her presentations was on free consent, abolition of child betrothal, the age of marriage without parental consent, and the right of widows to the custody of their children; another centered on the access of African women and girls to education.[39]

For those at the UN involved in issues related to the status of women, the two most significant events of 1959-60 were the 1960

[37] *Annual Report: 1954*, p. 19.

[38] ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: UN Office: *Annual Report: 1959: NCWC Office for United Nations Affairs and Bureau of Information* (Washington, D.C. Printed by the Administrative Board: NCWC, but not for Publication, 1959), p. 21.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Women's Commission meeting hosted by the government of Argentina and the UN-sponsored Western Hemisphere Seminar on "Participation of Women in Public Life," held in Bogotá, Colombia, from May 18 to May 29, 1959. Prior to the latter, detailed information on arrangements and general trends was supplied by the UN Office to WUCWO headquarters in Paris. This enabled it to alert its affiliates about the Bogotá Seminar itself, and the process whereby a country's delegates were to be named. Alba Zizzamia represented the WUCWO at the Bogotá conference. Because the majority of delegates were from the overwhelmingly Catholic countries of Latin America, the sessions at Bogotá reflected, in general, traditional Catholic values with respect to the role of women in the family and society, and the interrelationship of community and family, values that WUCWO consultants in New York had been championing for many years. The seminar's recommendations aimed at promoting the civic education of women at all levels, and equal rights and opportunities with respect to education, employment, public government service, and "legal personality." Participation in women's organizations was stressed, especially in the national affiliates of international organizations. The theme was summed up by Zizzamia as "an appeal to women to make the personal sacrifices necessary to participate in community and public life and to bring to their betterment a specific contribution as women."[40]

The most controversial issue considered at Bogotá, and at the numerous subsequent discussions held in Latin American capitals, had been female prostitution, a social evil that figured prominently in that region and in other Third World nations. Once Zizzamia returned to New York, she collected material from affiliates of the International Catholic Association of Works for the Protection of the Young Girl and from WUCWO itself. On the basis of this information, Schaefer made an intervention to the Social Action Commission of ECOSOC. She advocated ratification of the International Convention on the Suppression of the Exploitation of Prostitution of Others, inclusion of this subject in the agenda of the World Congress on Prevention of Crime that was to be held in London in 1960, and governmental co-operation with, and assistance to, NGOs working in the field of "protection."[41] The last involved matters such as travel-aid services, vocational training, youth hostels, and employment services for women. Because of her extensive work in this matter, and by all accounts, her highly effective presenta-

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

tion before the Social Action Commission, the Vice-President of the International Catholic Association of Works for the Protection of the Young Girl extended to Schaefer an invitation to serve as a delegate at something called the London Conference on Crime.[42]

By 1960, the Commission on the Status of Women, like other UN agencies, was coming under growing pressure from member states, primarily the nations of the Third World, to take not only its work, but also more of its working sessions, out of New York and other First World capitals. This theory contended that it was better for UN commissions that administered the activities of the world body to meet in different areas of the world, such as South America, so as to come into more substantive contact with the peoples they were proposing to serve. The meeting in Bogotá had been a direct result of this controversy, as was the last session of the Women's Commission for the 1959-60 UN Year held in Buenos Aires; the latter, like Bogotá, naturally drew a disproportionate representation from women's organizations from all over Latin America. This assembly also spawned other women's conferences in South America: Buenos Aires was preceded by a Communist women's meeting in Chile, and followed up by an assembly for Catholic women in Venezuela.[43]

The most important work of the Buenos Aires meeting, which Schaefer attended, was the completion of a draft convention to be submitted to the ECOSOC. It assigned fifteen as the minimum age for marriage for both men and women, declared marriages invalid without the full and free consent of both parties, and required governmental marital registration. The protocol was geared particularly to meet conditions in areas where absence of free consent, polygamy, child betrothal, and abuses such as bride-price customs acknowledged no fundamental rights for women. Schaefer made several formidable oral and written interventions, in which she presented analyses based on information that WUCWO had gleaned from ninety-two of its local affiliates and from its correspondents in nineteen territories around the world. Another "important recommendation" made by several Catholic NGOs under Schaefer's leadership was that "out-of-school" education for women should be vigorously developed. This recommendation had broad appeal at Buenos Aires, because, although WUCWO and the NCWC Office first advanced it, it was also based on

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.
[43] *Annual Report: 1960*, p. 16.

a report furnished by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The NCWC UN Office provided all Catholic representatives, both in person and through correspondence, briefings on these two subjects well in advance of Buenos Aires.[44]

At conferences such as Bogotá and Buenos Aires, and at UN sessions in New York, Schaefer and Zizzamia continued to couple the status of women scrupulously to Catholic principles on marriage, children, and the family. An excellent example of this can be seen in the discussions on Article 22 of the UN Draft Covenant on Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1962. The article reads as follows:

> 1. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State. 2. The right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and to found a family shall be recognized. 3. No marriage shall be entered into without the free and full consent of the intending spouse. 4. States Parties to this Covenant shall take appropriate steps to ensure equality of rights and responsibilities of spouses as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. In the case of dissolution, provision shall be made for the necessary protection of the children.[45]

Schaefer reported that the debate on the last sentence included some discussion of the rights of the illegitimate child. The government of Communist Poland submitted a text for a new article on the special protection due to the child by society and the "State" without distinction as to birth, in or out of wedlock. Although the representatives of WUCWO were forceful in their defense of the welfare of all children, whether legitimate or illegitimate, they expressed their apprehensions about the emphasis of the Polish revision, because it highlighted the statist point of view that government alone, and not voluntary organizations such as the Catholic Church, was responsible for the children in a state.[46]

In that same year, the Third Committee of the General Assembly completed a Draft Convention on Free Consent, Minimum Age, and Registration of Marriage. This convention had first been suggested by a UN conference that convened in 1956 to draw up a supplementary con-

[44]*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

[45]ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: UN Office: *Annual Report: 1962: NCWC Office for United Nations Affairs and Bureau of Information* (Washington, D.C. Printed by the Administrative Board: NCWC, but not for Publication, 1962), pp. 11-12.

[46]*Ibid.*, p. 12; Mary Ann Glendon, *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (New York: Random House, 2001), pp. 92-93.

vention on the abolition of slavery. After a nearly two-year study on marriage laws and customs in all parts of the world, the Commission on the Status of Women prepared a draft, for which information was supplied both by sympathetic governments and NGOs. WUCWO, through the UN Office, had been able to provide the Commission with extensive studies, surveys, reports, and evaluations from its many affiliates throughout the world. Thanks to this wealth of information, Schaefer and Zizzamia were able to make effective interventions before several sessions of the Commission as it was preparing its draft for the Assembly.[47] The Commission at first contended that the three areas of the world in which the convention would have greatest impact were Africa, Asia, and the Islamic world, but Schaefer interjected that it would also affect particular customs among some Indian tribes in Latin America, especially in Brazil, because its aim was the abolition of the abuses of child betrothal, child marriage, polygamy, and the bride price. Furthermore, while polygamy did not figure in the text of the Assembly's Draft Convention, African women delegates, including several Catholic women associated with WUCWO, counseled by Alba Zizammia, mentioned its indignities. These interventions were so persuasive that they prompted a defense of the custom by the Prime Minister of Nigeria, "attended by the respectful interest of all Muslim delegates."[48]

In one particular instance, a Catholic woman delegate from Togo played an important part in these deliberations. A corresponding member of WUCWO's Executive Board, she spoke out against polygamy in Africa at the sessions of the UN General Assembly devoted to the Draft Convention on Free Consent, Minimum Age, and Registration of Marriage. She would later play a conspicuous role in the debates on the floor of the Assembly, and later wrote an article on the family as it was envisioned in the UN Draft Covenant on Human Rights. Schaefer and Zizzamia maintained close contact with her and with other friendly delegates as well. For its part, WUCWO furnished her with information on marriage customs and laws from many areas in Africa, and this information proved vital both to this Catholic delegate and to other opponents of family and marriage abuses.[49]

[47]ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: UN Office: *Annual Report: 1956: NCWC Office for United Nations Affairs and Bureau of Information* (Washington, D.C. Printed by the Administrative Board: NCWC, but not for Publication, 1956), p. 28; *Annual Report: 1957*, pp. 20, 27.

[48]*Annual Report: 1962*, p. 12.

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 13.

The linking of the three subjects of the Convention, namely, child betrothal, child marriage, and the abuses of the bride price, to the *general* status of women was once again raised in the 1962 UN General Assembly discussions on the Draft Convention. This gender position was the point of departure for an important segment of the subsequent work of the UN Commission on the Status of Women pertaining directly to the family. Up to this time, the Commission had held two seminars on Family Law, one in Bucharest and the other in Tokyo. Problems such as parental authority, inheritance laws, and matrimonial systems were addressed at these meetings.[50] A final regional seminar on this topic, this one for Latin America, was scheduled for Colombia in 1963.

The relationship between child betrothal, child marriage, polygamy, and the bride price—all abuses generally attributed to the Third World—and the status of the rights of women everywhere, was WUCWO's chosen domain, and it approached these regional commission sessions with its customary thoroughness. Over the years 1962-63, consequently, the UN Office would supply documents and materials on all these matters to Catholic NGOs and "competent authorities and interested organizations," the latter being Schaefer's pat phrase for UN officials and non-Catholic NGOs. To cite only one instance, special briefings by Schaefer and Zizzamia were provided to the representative of the Catholic International Union of Social Service at the Tokyo Seminar, who later expressed her indebtedness also for introductions to key members of the UN Women's Commission.[51]

In the introduction to her annual report for that year, therefore, Schaefer had every reason to be confident in her hope for the future success of the United Nations, especially in the area of women's rights.[52] The year 1962 had been, after all, the year in which that extraordinary African woman from Togo had played such a singular part in the floor debates of the UN General Assembly on the Draft Covenant on Human Rights. Schaefer and Zizzamia's liaison with her, and with other key participants, had proved remarkably productive.

[50]*Ibid.*; *Annual Report: 1963*, p. 13.

[51]ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: UN Office: *Annual Report: 1963: NCWC Office for United Nations Affairs and Bureau of Information* (Washington, D.C. Printed by the Administrative Board: NCWC, but not for Publication, 1963), pp. 1, 13-14; *Annual Report: 1962*, p. 13.

[52]ANCWC: International Affairs: United Nations: UN Office: *Annual Report: 1964: NCWC Office for United Nations Affairs and Bureau of Information* (Washington, D.C. Printed by the Administrative Board: NCWC, but not for Publication, 1964), p. 4.

WUCWO had contributed data and other particulars on fundamental topics that had proved indispensable to this eloquent Catholic reformer. It most probably appeared to Schaefer that 1962 had furnished once and for all incontrovertible proof that if the NCWC worked in tandem with an international Catholic organization like WUCWO, it would redound to the benefit of an estimable cause such as the rights of women, which Schaefer believed to be a hallmark of Catholic social thought and a boon to the welfare of humankind.[53]

Besides its efforts on behalf of women's rights in the drafting of the UN Covenant, the NCWC UN Office was also engaged at this time in another fractious women's debate at the UN: the question of the desirability of work outside the home by mothers. The subject of "crèches" or day nurseries, first considered by the UN Commission on the Status of Women in 1962, had been originally proposed by some of its Communist members. Schaefer reported that the matter had been continually postponed at various sessions, because many delegates thought that it was more properly the province of the ECOSOC Social Action Commission, and because it was evident that discussions on the topic had been routed not only to day care, but also to the justification of the state's prerogative to constrain mothers to work outside the home. The Commission's deliberations, however, bolstered by Schaefer's research and her numerous interjections during the debates, supported by "scientific background documents," ultimately championed

> the duty of mothers to care for their children, the inadequacy of day care centers as substitute care where the child had to be deprived of its own family home environment, the absolute inadvisability of crèches for children under three and the necessity of preserving freedom of choice as to whether mothers would or would not work.[54]

The resolution adopted by the Social Council of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, and supported by Schaefer, authorized, as both a way to checkmate the Communist delegates and as a means of further clarification on the subject, more information from the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labor Organization, and the International Children's Center. The basis for this policy, which necessitated input from these international and UN agencies, was that it would be necessary to deal in the future with the prob-

[53] *Annual Report: 1962*, pp. 13-14.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

lem of providing home aid services, visiting nurses, day nurseries, and family allowances, particularly for children of working women.[55]

The Social Council also was mandated primarily to take account of the needs of working mothers in its consideration of family and child welfare, and, subsequently, inform the Status of Women Commission of the various studies and recommendations in this field. Schaefer had been at pains to note for the benefit of the members of the Council that WUCWO had developed many such studies on women's and family matters, studies she hoped would be of use in the development of its final report to the full UN Commission.[56]

In reviewing 1962-63, Schaefer could report that from the viewpoint of economic, social, and cultural development, and from the general perspective of political maturity, which she deemed the main concerns of the developing countries, all UN bodies had expanded their emphasis on the pivotal role of women. The improvement of the status of women and the development of women's rights, along with the defense and preservation of existing family values and the elimination of the most deplorable customs and abuses, had been some of the most daunting moral challenges for these countries. These goals had unique significance not only for Catholic women in the Third World, but also at the UN, where people like herself hoped for the continued promotion of the Christian family.[57]

Since its inception, the primary mission of the UN Commission on the Status of Women had been to work for equality of rights for both men and women. Schaefer was pleased to report that the initial "rather doctrinaire" approach of the Commission, when its membership had consisted largely of delegates from Western nations, had softened in the face of the practical problems faced by women and their families in the developing world. The members of the Commission from the Third World, and the representatives of international organizations from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, many of whom were Catholics who had testified before the panel, had contributed mightily to that alteration.[58] Members of the Women's Commission had the opportunity to be exposed to Latin American Catholic thought through the interjections of certain women

[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
[58] *Ibid.*

delegates and representatives from that continent in joint discussions with the Human Rights Commission, and through the workings of its own Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination. The Women's Commission also maintained formal relations with the Catholic-dominated Inter-American Commission of Women, a component part of the Organization of American States (OAS), which reported, as a matter of course, to the UN panel on an annual basis.[59]

By 1962, the Women's Commission was being regularly, if unofficially, briefed on Catholic thought concerning the rights of women and the role of the family in modern life through its ongoing association with Catholic NGOs such as Schaefer and Zizammia. Consultant groups such as WUCWO, to name only the most significant of these organizations, were to be found throughout the UN structure, and especially in the ECOSOC, of which the Commission on the Status of Women was an integral part. Schaefer often remarked that to a much greater degree than any other bureau of the United Nations, the Commission on the Status of Women relied on interaction with accredited NGO representatives, especially in the procuring of reliable data about the conditions of women in specific areas of the world. In many cases, this intelligence came from eyewitnesses associated with NGO regional branches. The Commission also counted on NGOs to provide news and intelligence for its reports and studies, and in the promotion and implementation of its recommendations.[60]

In that same year, Schaefer reported that relations between the Women's Commission and NGO representatives were proceeding on the national level through reciprocal participation in seminars sponsored both by the Commission and by different women's organizations. Largely because of this co-operation, the impact of the Commission's work was more widespread at the grass-roots level than that of most United Nations programs. She cited as an example the fact that twenty-six international organizations had participated in its spring 1962 sessions, including five Catholic groups. Many of the delegates on the Commission were also officers or influential members of international women's organizations that sponsored programs worldwide. Both Schaefer and Zizzamia were active in several Commission subcommittees,[61] while maintaining a productive and highly professional consul-

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

tative relationship with its Steering Committee, particular members of that Commission, and with "related sections of the United Nations Secretariat." Therefore, these women were able to keep abreast of the UN-related programs and activities of many different international women's organizations; in turn, they kept the Women's Commission and its associated women's consultants apprised of the plans, studies, and operations of WUCWO, as well as other Catholic NGOs. Conversely, these WUCWO representatives disseminated through the UN Office a constant stream of information on UN policies on women and specifics about its international women's programs to both religious and lay groups in developing countries, potential recipients of aid from these projects. To cite but one instance from 1962, a member of the UN Office staff was invited to give a seminar to a large gathering of Maryknoll Mission Sisters on sabbatical at their Mother House in upstate New York after ten years of service in the foreign missions.[62]

With all these NCWC and WUCWO triumphs to build on, Schaefer and Zizammia must have believed at the beginning of 1963 that the brightest prospects for the status of women lay ahead. Within a year, however, something changed unaccountably. In the Human Rights section of her 1963-64 Annual Report, Schaefer, breaking with tradition, inserted only a brief summary, little more than a sketch really, of UN activities relating to the Commission on the Status of Women. Even more puzzling, she failed to catalogue the activities of the UN Office, or of WUCWO, concerning women's rights. She noted only that "legal assurance of political rights for women throughout the world is now almost complete," an incongruous assertion, considering that the Commission had in no way satisfactorily discharged its mandate. On the contrary, its membership was girding itself for the next round of the ongoing struggle, namely, "the promotion of the exercise of these rights through civic and political education, with emphasis on the social context of civic responsibilities," issues dear to Schaefer's heart. The Commission was likewise immersed in preparing a handbook on the subject, a manual aimed especially at the persistent challenges to women's rights in the developing world, a project that the NCWC/WUCWO team, notably Zizzamia, would tackle with fervor.[63] Yet, even in this peculiarly terse report, speaking with the authority of an UN insider, Schaefer was never less than eloquent when laying out the specifics of a women's rights strategy.

[62]*Ibid.*, 19.
[63]*Annual Report: 1963*, pp. 13-14.

> The importance of the advancement of women in developing countries to the human, social and economic goals of the Development Decade [the 1960s as proclaimed by the UN], is a new element in the work of the Commission, which has recommended a comprehensive campaign through intensified action of UN agencies and governments and closer cooperation from international non-governmental organizations. Education, vocational training, community development, increased opportunities for employment—by technical assistance, national planning, public opinion—are among means that will be used.[64]

Up to 1962, WUCWO's clout as an NGO dedicated to the rights of women everywhere, and to the championing of the Catholic perspective, had never been more pronounced within the Women's Commission, and Schaefer's and Zizammia's roles as NGO consultants and liaisons between the NCWC and WUCWO had never been of greater consequence; yet the puzzling silence continued in the annual reports for 1964 and 1965: they contained not a word about the "status of women" or UN Office's function in that enterprise.

The answer to this baffling quiet was to be found in Washington, D.C., not in New York. The National Catholic Welfare Conference was in financial difficulties, "tight finances," and was about to begin the initial stage of a transformation, a bureaucratic and fiscal metamorphosis, into the joint organization that would come to be called the National Conference of Catholic Bishops/United States Catholic Conference. The reforms and innovations advanced by Vatican Council II would bring about many changes in the Catholic Church in the United States and its executive offices. Ironically, even as the American bishops were being lauded by the Ecumenical Council for their "venerable" experiment in collegiality, an example held up to the universal Church for emulation, the NCWC was preparing, as was America itself during the Vietnam era, to turn inward, electing to concentrate on the profound internal issues that consumed American Catholicism.

On June 30, 1972, in a controversial decision, the NCCB/USCC closed its UN Office, believing incorrectly that the Holy See's Permanent Observer Mission now rendered an official American Catholic presence at the UN diplomatically unnecessary, and prohibitively expensive. With this, Catherine Schaefer retired to her home in Washington, D.C., after five decades of service to the Catholic Church.

[64] *Ibid.*, p.14.

She died in 1995 after a long illness. Alba Zizzamia would go on to work for the Archdiocese of New York as its Director of Justice and Peace, retiring from that post in 1996.

In that early summer of 1972, Schaefer and Zizammia could look back with humble satisfaction on a quarter-century of extraordinary service as UN observers/consultants. They had been among the first NGOs to put forth women's rights as a topic for UN discussion, even before formal deliberations began on the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. During three crucial decades of UN history, they had been the earliest and foremost spokespersons for the "Catholic circle" on the matters of divorce, prostitution, polygamy, child betrothal and marriage, venereal disease, the rights of parents in the education of their children, and equal pay, political education, and equal educational opportunities for women, especially in the developing nations. In these matters, they had many notable successes, such as women's education, and more than a few failures, particularly divorce, but soaring over all these efforts was one undoubted achievement, their creation and cultivation of the group of Catholic NGOs, many of them women's organizations, that worked so cohesively to present the Catholic voice on human rights, social affairs, and the status of women in the UN. The journal *Commonweal* said it best: they had "conscientiously sought to fashion a Christian response to the problems and decisions of the UN itself."[65]

The struggle for the Christian response to international women's rights would now be taken up by these other Catholic NGOs, many of whom Schaefer and Zizzamia had tutored over the years. In 1977, this group would constitute itself officially as the Conference of International Catholic Organizations.[66]

[65]*Commonweal*, November 5, 1971, pp. 123-124.

[66]Joseph Rossi, *Uncharted Territory: The American Catholic Church at the United Nations, 1946-1972* (Washington, D.C., 2006), pp. 226-242.

REVIEW ARTICLE

OF MISSIONS AND MODELS: THE JESUIT ENTERPRISE (1540-1773) REASSESSED IN RECENT LITERATURE

BY

SIMON DITCHFIELD*

Titles in order of consideration:

The Society of Jesus, 1548-1773. A catalogue of books by Jesuit authors and works relating to the Society of Jesus published between 1548, with the firstprinting of Ignatius of Loyola's Spiritual Exercises, and the suppression of the Society in 1773. By Detlev Auvermann and Anthony Payne, with an introduction by Alastair Hamilton. (London: Bernard Quaritch Ltd. 2006. n.p. £50.00.)

The Jesuits and the Arts 1540-1773. Edited by John W. O'Malley, S.J., and Gauvin Alexander Bailey. (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 496; 476 color illus. $50.00.)

The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773. Edited by John O'Malley, S.J, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. xxxvi, 905, 91 halftones, 8 tables, and one DVD. $95.00/£55.00.)

The Wily Jesuits and the Monita Secreta: The Forged "Secret instructions" of the Jesuits. A History and a Translation of the "Monita." By Sabina Pavone. Translated by John P. Murphy, S.J. [Studies on Jesuit Topics, No. 28 in Series IV.] (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 250. $24.95 paperback.)

The Spiritual Writings of Pierre Favre. Translated and edited by Edmond C. Murphy, S.J., and Martin E. Palmer, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 1996. Pp. xii, 437. $41.95 paperback.)

Year by Year with the Early Jesuits (1537-1556). Selections from the "Chronicon" of Juan de Polanco S J. Translated and edited by John Patrick Donnelly, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2004. Pp. xix, 480. $37.45 paperback.)

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The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education. Translated and annotated by Claude Pavur, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 294. $29.95 paperback.)

Preaching Wisdom to the Wise: Three Treatises by Roberto De Nobili, S. J., Missionary and Scholar in 17th Century India. Translated with an introduction by Anand Amaladass, S.J., and Francis X. Clooney, S.J. [Jesuit Primary Sources in English Translation.] (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2000. Pp. xxi, 345. $ 31.95 paperback.)

Evangelizzare il mondo: le missioni della Compagnia di Gesù tra Europa e America (secoli XVI-XVII). By Paolo Broggio. (Rome: Carocci editore. 2005. Pp. 364. €21.50.)

I gesuiti dalle origini alla soppressione, 1540-1773. By Sabina Pavone. (Rome, Bari: Editori Laterza. 2004. Pp. ix, 168. €10.)

Jesuitische Missionierung, priesterliche Liebe, sakramentale Magie: Volkskulturen in Luzern, 1563-1614. By Dominik Sieber. [Luzerner Historische Veröffentlichungen, Band 40.] Pp. 298, 19 illus. Sw. fr. 48; €33.50.)

"The world is our house," wrote Jerónimo Nadal, one of Ignatius's companions. Such an all-encompassing vision lay at the heart of the Society's success and goes far in explaining the astonishingly consistent willingness of its members to adapt themselves creatively to local circumstances from Milan to Macau, Paris to Potosì, Vienna to Vietnam. It also represents a particular challenge, not only to this reviewer but also to the various authors and editors of the works under review as they seek to impose a purposeful pattern and attempt a balanced assessment of a contribution that was as various as the individuals involved. Alastair Hamilton goes as far as stating:

> [It was] precisely because of the vast area of Jesuit interests, [that] it is no more possible to talk of a specifically Jesuit culture than it is to define a specifically Jesuit style of art or architecture. The Jesuits made their contribution as individuals rather than as members of a group, and they were absorbed by the various movements of the time. We thus find them on all sides of the great scholarly debates, opposing and supporting Descartes, Galileo and Newton, attacking or espousing the ideas of the Enlightenment, traditionalist and progressive, but nearly always remarkably adaptable.[1]

[1]Auvermann and Payne, *The Society of Jesus*, last page of the introduction. This volume was first published in 1996 as Catalogue 1226 but has now been reissued in an edition of 200 copies. Its succinct descriptions of the contents of 237 titles presented in alphabetical order make it an invaluable resource for interested scholars. It may usefully be consulted in conjunction with Quaritch's Catalogue 1309: *Jesuit Books: Books by Jesuit Authors and Books Relating to the Society of Jesus from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century Including Science and Travel*, (2003). This contains descriptions of

In support of this contention, the pages of the antiquarian bookseller's catalogue which follow his introduction eloquently testify to the versatility and individuality shown by members of the Society as authors of works on subjects as diverse as optics (cat. 3), the use of plane mirrors in surveying (cat. 11), geometry (cat. 16 and 210), atomic theory (cat. 17), the ruins of Troy (cat. 19), conchology (cat. 26), the art of laquer (27), hydrostatics and mechanics (cat. 34 and 35), the Gregorian calendar (cat. 42), emblems (cat. 61), perspective (cat. 65), horticulture (cat. 70 and 71), bookkeeping (cat. 73), astronomy (cat. 78 and 208), magnetism (cat. 106 and 111), dance (cat. 141), the law of contracts (cat. 153), art criticism (cat. 154 and 195), mathematics (cat. 15, 16, 40, 43, and 216), political theory cat. 200), and hydraulics (cat. 206). These topics are, of course, over and above the more mainstream works of hagiography, martyrology, theology, history, catechesis, spirituality, and geographical description, which make up the bulk of the catalogue. Whether or not such variety and versatility outweighed the corporate, collective identity felt by individual Jesuits is an issue which, I believe, may be usefully kept in mind as a theme to link the studies under review.

Turning to *The Jesuits and the Arts*, one's very senses are at first overwhelmed by variety and abundance. This is a direct consequence of the volume's handsome size and format together with the sheer number of fabulously reproduced color illustrations. (The very reasonable pricing of the volume is entirely due to the financial generosity of several Jesuit bodies, who are fulsomely acknowledged in the preface.) As authors of standard works on, respectively, the early history of the Jesuits and the global artistic patronage of the Order before its suppression, O'Malley and Bailey are very well placed to give coherence to the volume (this is demonstrated with particular force by the latter, whose three authored chapters account for no fewer than 175 pages out of the 426-page total). Although this volume has its origins as an Italian book: *Ignazio e l'arte dei Gesuiti* (2003), edited by Giovanni Sale, the changes and additions to this translation make it effectively a new one. Many of the chapters have been updated, with a pioneering one added by Bailey on North America. In addition, there are 184 new images in respect of the Italian original and both the captions and the bibliography have been expanded and revised. The result represents, without any shadow of doubt, a triumphantly successful *tour d'horizon* of both the world-wide scope and protean nature of the Jesuit artistic enterprise, which deserves to become a fundamental point of reference not only for interested scholars but also for the general reader

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a further ninety-one titles, the majority of which are not to be found in the previous catalogue. Both catalogues testify to the particular richness of Jesuit intellectual endeavor in the eighteenth century, a phenomenon which cannot simply be explained by reference to the accidents of survival. On the contrary, the rarity of Ruggero Boschovich's landmark study marking the birth of atomic theory: his *Philosophiae naturalis* (1755) makes it the most expensive item by far in either catalogue (Catalogue 1309, item 7).

(footnotes have been eschewed and references kept to impressively up-to-date chapter-by-chapter bibliographies at the end of the volume).

O'Malley sets the pace and standard of the volume with a lucid and suggestive account of how the Order quickly responded to the challenges of worldwide mission by recourse to the arts, notwithstanding the fact that: "Nothing in the Formula or in the behaviour of the Jesuits at the time of the founding suggested any particular engagement with culture and the arts" (p. 4). For "practice almost immediately began to modify theory" (p. 6). Francis Xavier, for example, fully recognized the pastoral potential of images. He took with him to India in 1542 engravings, paintings, and statuettes, and in 1583 a seminary of indigenous painters was founded in Japan (just five years after the Accademia di S. Luca was established in Rome). Almost thirty years before that, in 1556, a printing press had been installed in Goa in the very same year that one was set up in the Collegio Romano, where just a decade later, Arabic as well as Greek type were available. The powerful combination of print and image was already in evidence by the century's close with the publication of Jerome Nadal's beautifully illustrated and globally influential *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (1593) followed by his *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (1595). Designed to help young Jesuit seminarians to meditate on the Gospels they had heard read at Mass, the second work combined engravings portraying episodes from the Gospels executed by the renowned Flemish Wierix brothers with Nadal's explanatory notes and interpretative meditations.[2] All of this was, of course, fully in line with the notably visual nature of meditation required by those taking Loyola's Spiritual Exercises.

Nor were music and song ignored. For instance, Jesuits in Spain were quick to set the catechism to popular tunes, thereby adopting the practice promoted by Juan of Avila. Almost a third of the thirty-three chapters of Diego Ledesma, S.J.'s *Modo per insegnar* (1573) is, for example, devoted to music. This was despite the fact that Ignatius had famously insisted that members of the Society must not be restricted by what he saw as the distractive burden of having to sing the Daily Office in choir. Two years after the Jesuits took over management of the Roman seminary in 1564, Palestrina was hired to teach. This precedent continued to be honored with the appointment of Marc-Antoine Charpentier to teach at the Collège Louis-le-Grand in Paris in the seventeenth century and of Domenico Zipoli to teach both mestizo and indigenous students at Córdoba in present-day Argentina in the eighteenth. Finally, nor was the Order blind to the didactic and propagandistic possibilities

[2]There is now a fully illustrated English translation of three key sections of the *Adnotationes* underway. To date, two of the three volumes have been published: Jerome Nadal, S.J. (trans. Frederick A. Homann, S.J. with an introductory study by Walter Melion), *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, Vol. I: *The Infancy Narratives*, Philadelphia: St Joseph's Press, 2003. Vol. III: *The Resurrection Narratives* was published in 2005. *Vol II: The Passion Narratives*, is due imminently.

offered by theater and dance for the students who attended the Jesuit-run colleges in both the Old and New worlds. Lope de Vega, Calderón, Andreas Gryphius, Jacob Bidermann, Corneille, and Molière all received their first training in theater in Jesuit schools.[3]

Given the volume's length, geographical scope, and overall quality, it is perhaps churlish to note that the rest of *The Jesuits and the Arts* does not quite live up to the promise of O'Malley's agenda-setting introduction with its exciting vision of Jesuit culture as multi-media performance. With the exception of a single chapter each on theater and music, the book focuses overwhelmingly on art and architecture, with a pronounced emphasis on the latter. In this respect it reflects the particular interests of the original, Italian editor, Giovanni Sale, whose own two chapters describe a Jesuit aesthetic that, to borrow the words of Claudio Acquaviva (Father General, 1581-1615), should be above all "simple, hygienic and functional . . . [and] designed for practical living and not for pomp and ornamentation" (p. 33).[4] In this respect, the size and magnificence of the Collegio Romano—a direct expression of the munificence of its papal patron, Gregory XIII—was the exception that proved the rule. Concomitant with Sale's emphasis on austerity is his contention that we cannot talk of an architectural colonization by means of paradigmatic models carried out by the Jesuits from the Order's Roman center. Sale adduces in support the failure of Giovanni de Rosis, who took over as the Society's chief architect in 1575, to gain acceptance for his ideal designs for Jesuit churches as templates for use throughout the provinces of the Order (p. 38, fig. 2.11).

It is against such a backdrop that we should judge the exceptional nature, in every sense, of the special relationship between Gianlorenzo Bernini and Gian Paolo Oliva (Father General, 1664-1681), as symbolized above all in the baroque exuberance of the Jesuit novitiate of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale. Sale's chapter on the Gesù complements this picture by emphasising how the construction of the mother church of the Order was the product of a debate between the donor (Cardinal Alessandro Farnese) and Francisco de Borja (Father General, 1565-1572). While Farnese won with his insistence on an east-west orientation and on the stone vault, he lost to Jesuit preference for a single nave, while his death ensured that the plan to decorate the apse with mosaic (in deference to paleochristian prototype) came to nothing. Although I think that Sale overdoes the contrast between the "humanist" Farnese and the "Counter-Reformation" Borja, he is right to draw attention to process as well as product. Sale is also spot on when he reminds readers: "Saying that the Gesù

[3]A recent catalogue of theatrical productions put on at the Collegio Romano in the seventeenth century lists no fewer than 94 for the period 1616-1698. See Bruna Filippi, *Il Teatro degli Argomenti: gli scenari seicenteschi del teatro gesuitico romano*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.J., Vol. LIV (Rome, 2001), pp. 467-468.

[4]See Giovanni Sale, *Pauperismo architettonico e architettura gesuitica* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2001).

was the 'prototype' for the architecture of the Catholic reformation does not mean that its design was mechanically reproduced in different parts of the world without consideration given to particular local conditions. . ." (p. 59). Citing Richard Bösel, he notes that of the 160 churches constructed by the Jesuits in Italy, only thirty were influenced by the typology of the Gesù in Rome. Also to be taken into account as alternative models were S. Fedele in Milan as well as the Gesù in Naples and Genoa. Nevertheless, as Bösel's own substantial chapter on Jesuit architecture in Europe demonstrates, one can talk meaningfully of a Jesuit "corporate consciousness," which was built upon the mobility of a great number of North Italian Jesuits who travelled throughout central and eastern Europe and made their influence felt not just in Prague but, earlier, in the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth, which in this period extended to territories that today may be found in Ukraine and Belarus. From the impressive, fortress-like Jesuit complex in Pinsk (Belarus) to the church of St. John in Vilnius, one sees at work a willingness to adopt and adapt local architectural forms (which here included the three bell towers and onion domes from the Eastern Orthodox tradition).

Bailey's chapter on the Jesuit artistic legacy in Europe 1565-1773 successfully focuses the insight and knowledge that he has brought to bear in his monographic study of Jesuit art in Rome.[5] He notes how the early proponents of devotional imagery amongst the Jesuits included not only Loyola himself, in the pictorial imagination of his Exercises, but also Borja, who compared images to spices at a meal, capable of piquing the spiritual appetite and whose eager endorsement and dissemination of the cult of the Salus Populi Romani icon of the Madonna and Child launched what perhaps may be considered the first truly global logo. For Bailey, the Jesuits "changed the way people used devotional art, by emphasising its affective and didactic potential in a more systematic, sequential and experiential way than had been attempted before" (p. 125). There was a no more striking display of this strategy than the several, gruesome martyrdom cycles which decorated the interior of the several Jesuit seminaries for missionary priests, most famously at S. Stefano Rotondo, which Bailey analyzes in some detail, observing rightly that any links contemporaries made between such cycles and the Counter-Reformation struggle against Protestant heresy were arguably of lesser significance "than the link to be made between present-day [i.e., sixteenth-century] Catholicism and the Early Church to celebrate the legitimacy of the papacy and of Rome" (p. 133). Bailey concludes his continent-wide survey with the observation:

> The Jesuits did not invent the Baroque, nor did they have a distinct style, yet they were among the greatest patrons of art in early modern Europe. Their most important contribution to church decoration was their treatment of the programmatic, meditative painting cycle. Using the Spiritual

[5] *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

> Exercises and other devotions as a model, the Jesuits created a highly integrated network of imagery that extended throughout the interiors of their churches and residences and addressed those in all walks of life. (p. 198)

Although as Evonne Levy has observed, we must be careful not to reduce the complex and dynamic relationship between patron, artist, audience and programme to a simplistic translation of a text, in this case the Spiritual Exercises, into image. Of particular value in Heinrich Pfeiffer's well-structured chapter on the iconography of the Society are the two sections devoted, respectively, to cycles of Ignatius' life produced in Europe and Latin America 1590-1720 and to angels as favored themes in Jesuit commissioned art.[6] As we shall see, Pierre Favre was one of the first Jesuits to promote the belief that each person in life was accompanied and protected by a special, guardian angel. The third chapel on the right in the Gesù is, for example, entirely devoted to angels and features biblical scenes in which they appear.

The role of the Jesuits as midwives of Western and non-European artistic syncretism is most strikingly evident in the two chapters devoted to Spanish America and Asia. In the former, Ramón Gutiérrez and Graciela María Viñuales remind us of the diversity in origin of the Jesuits who worked in Central and South America. Prominent here were the lay brothers from Italy, Germany, Bohemia, France, Flanders, Hungary, and Holland as well as from Spain and Portugal who worked as architects, sculptors, painters, musicians, and silversmiths and brought their own styles and working practices to bear on the training of indigenous craftsmen. In Chile, for example, there was a striking concentration of German lay brothers, the most important of whom was the sculptor Johann Bitterich, who petitioned his superiors in the Society to send out artists and craftsmen. In 1724, therefore, no fewer than fifteen architects, woodcarvers, pewterers, smelters, potters, silversmiths, carpenters, lathe operators, cabinetmakers, blacksmiths, and weavers arrived, all of them Jesuits (p. 299). They helped create an important center of production in Calera de Tango. The indigenous artisans trained in such workshops undoubtedly made possible the astonishingly hybrid artistic forms visible to this day, for example, in the polychrome woodcarving carried out by Huilliche sculptors (p. 306, fig. 9.40) for the mission church of Santa Maria de Achao on the Chiloé archipelago in Chilean Patagonia. By contrast, the appearance of the wooden church itself, in what remained the southernmost Catholic mission in the world (founded in 1608) until modern times, would not have looked out of place in a Swiss Alpine valley. Elsewhere in Southern America, this cultural hybridity

[6]Cf. Trevor Johnson, "Guardian Angels and the Society of Jesus" in Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (eds.), *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 191-213. Selections from influential writings on the guardian angel by the Jesuits Francesco Albertini, Paolo Segneri, Andrea Da Pozzo, and others have now been conveniently collected together in Silvia Ciliberti and Giacomo Jori (eds.), *Gli angeli custodi: storia e figure dell'"Amico Vero"* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004).

found more exotic expression in the so-called *estilo mestizo,* which is still strikingly visibile, for example, in the façade of the Peruvian church of the Society in Arequipa, where the background mosaic-like, floral, carved decoration was influenced by traditional Andean textiles.

In his chapter on Asia, Bailey distils and develops his previously published, ground-breaking work on the topic and takes full advantage of the stunning color illustrations at his disposal to demonstrate convincingly how the Jesuit missions in China, Japan, India, and the Philippines "witnessed some of the most high-level artistic exchanges in the early modern world [including Europe]" (p. 313).[7] Here he makes the significant point that a greater number of Jesuit lay-brother and priest artists travelled to Asia between 1542 and 1773 than were sent to most other parts of the world "including many parts of Europe, where Jesuit artists were in chronically short supply" (*ibid.*). The Japanese seminary of painters, founded by Giovanni Niccolò in 1583, has already been mentioned, but Bailey shows us that church architecture of the Japanese mission was even more acculturative than the painting, making use of local post and lintel construction with a hipped gable roof. In China, the façade of St. Paul's church in Macao is shown to be "a masterpiece of accommodation in the arts" (p. 334), in which a Roman baroque framework is decorated with Chinese motifs such as carp and temple lions as well as with inscriptions in Chinese. The eighteenth-century Jesuit painter Giovanni Castiglione (1688-1768) enjoyed direct imperial patronage and developed a subtle and creative hybrid of Eastern conventions and Western realism (e.g., figs. 10.29 and 10.32). In the religiously tolerant atmosphere of the North Indian court of the Mughal Emperors Akbar and Jahangir, Jerome Xavier (1549-1617), grand-nephew of St. Francis and superior of the third Jesuit mission, wrote one (of several) Persian language catechisms with the help of the imperial court historian Abd Al-Sattar Ibn Qasim Lahori with illustrations commissioned from Mughal artists likely led by Manohar. The result was possibly "the most lavishly illustrated catechism of all time" in a style which married the Indo-Persian idiom of the day, with rich landscapes and jewel-like colors, to the deployment of stage-like architectural settings together with certain mis-en-scène that clearly show the influence of Jesuit theatre" (p. 351 figs. 10.34-42).

If *The Jesuits and the Arts* leaves the reader dizzy at the diversity on show and unsure of the existence of any coherent, collective identity for the individual members of the Order, what is one to make of the 800-plus pages of text to be found in *Jesuits II*? As with the Hollywood blockbusters its title unavoidably calls to mind, one has to get beyond the "even bigger and even better" trope the following statistics perhaps inevitably evoke. *Jesuits II* contains thirty-seven chapters selected from sixty papers given at a conference in 2002,

[7]Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

as against thirty-two chapters selected from fifty papers given back in 1997, which issued in *Jesuits I* (1999). At over one hundred pages, its index is twice the length of that for the 1999 volume. Moreover, it includes new media (in the form of a DVD) and at 905 pages is over 200 pages longer than its predecessor. But if one makes this effort, the reader is rewarded with a magisterially introduced, carefully structured, and scrupulously edited collection that complements its predecessor in several important respects. To begin with, the Jesuit contribution to science and natural philosophy is given just deserts with its own section (part three) containing seven essays, which range chronologically from William Wallace's fine study of Jesuit influences on Galileo's science to Ugo Baldini's authoritative survey of the reception of Ruggero Boscovich's works on theoretical physics (that paved the way for Faraday and post-Faraday field theory). In addition, the volume's regional coverage is extended to cover the Flemish and Iberian provinces (including a fine, thought-provoking essay by Jeffrey Muller, showing the innovative and diverse uses of the visual arts by the Jesuits in Flanders), as well as the missions to Japan and to post-suppression Russia and the United States. The performing arts are also more fully treated here, with chapters on theater (essays on gesture, word, and image in the Collegio Romano by Bruna Filippi and on eighteenth-century Milan by Giovanna Zanlonghi) as well as on music (the latter with a bonus DVD of the performance given at the conference in Boston in June 2002 of Johann Bernhard Staudt's opera *Patientis Christi memoria*).

Moreover, coverage of painting and architecture has been broadened to include the decorative arts (with a fascinating essay by Nuno Vassalo e Silva taking as its case study the woodcarving, tiles, textiles, furniture, and gold and silverware which have miraculously survived in the church of the Casa Professa of São Roque in Lisbon). Finally, more attention has been given to the eighteenth century. As was noted in passing at the start of this review essay (note 1), on the evidence of Quaritch's catalogues, a book collector might be forgiven for thinking that the 1700's, not the 1600's, constituted the true "golden age" of the Order. However, part six of *Jesuits II* is wholly devoted to a rather more downbeat account of this so-called "age of disasters" (although Larry Woolf's account of the Croatian Jesuit Einstein Ruggero Boscovich's "enlightened" othering of the poor and dirty Orthodox in the Balkans provides some upbeat relief). Here I must single out Dauril Alden's masterly narrative of the campaign against the Jesuits in eighteenth-century Brazil (which promises very well for his current work in progress, "The Destruction of an Enterprise: The Jesuits in the Portuguese world and beyond, 1750-77"), together with Ronnie Po-chia Hsia's elegant account of the closing years of the China mission (1748-1760), which he sees as having been in crisis long before 1773 (as reflected in the fact that by 1740 the number of converts had not only fallen in quantity, from 200,000 in 1700 to 120,000 in 1740, but also in quality, as fewer and fewer converts came from the social elite; all this at a time when the population of China doubled during the course of the eighteenth century).

Jesuits II therefore can be seen as not only complementing its predecessor, but also *The Jesuits and the Arts* in both its geographical scope and its emphasis on the integral role played by the arts (as understood in the broadest sense) in the Order's way of proceeding.[8] However, there are several essays in *Jesuits II* which point to important themes whose exploration will, I believe, help us take our understanding of the Society further by enabling us see it both as it was seen by others and as Jesuits saw each other—on different sides of important debates. Part One of *Jesuits II*, entitled "The Society in Society," contains two essays which are particularly promising in this regard. The first, by Olwen Hufton, invites us to consider the 'modernity' of the Jesuits from a novel angle: as the first professional fundraisers. She emphasizes members' ingenuity and initiative in the face of a succession of problems, which were both circumstantial and structural. Emblematic of this challenge was the solution happened upon for the foundation of the first Jesuit college in Messina, whereby the promise of financial support by Leonor Osorio de Vega, wife of the Spanish Viceroy of Sicily, Juan de Vega, prompted the civic government to offer to endow a residence and running costs on the implicit understanding that generous individuals (like de Vega) would also make financial contributions.

What worked for Sicily failed miserably for Modena and Ferrara, while Rome and Florence proved difficult to crack. For example, the building of the Collegio Romano, as we have seen, was saved only by direct papal patronage and the Gesù through Farnese munificence. Hufton notes how the Order had expected their major donors to be "great princes, wealthy dynasties and ecclesiastics seeking commemorative building projects" (pp. 13-14), although in fact, *pace* Gregory XIII and Alessandro Farnese in Rome, Duke Albert of Bavaria in Ingolstadt, and Henry IV at La Flèche, the Jesuits found themselves relying especially on wealthy widows, who now controlled their own dowries (and who in lands under Spanish jurisdiction controlled also 50% of the new wealth they had accumulated after their marriage by their husbands). In general, civic governments were unreliable providers. When *ancien régime* central governments needed money to service their debts, they bled the towns of their indirect tax income. Under such circumstances, the running costs of existing Jesuit colleges were especially vulnerable. Moreover, as themselves frequent investors in government or municipal debts via the form of *juros* (in Spanish territories) and *monti* (in the Papal States), Colleges found themselves in trouble when their interest rates were cut at times of crisis. Here the Society was not exempt from the structural weakness of the *ancien régime* deficit funding.

[8]There can be no longer any doubt that the fundamental contribution of the Jesuit Order to science and natural philosophy now enjoys full scholarly recognition. To limit myself to two recent English-language publications see: Mordechai Feingold (ed.), *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2003) and Katherine Park and Lorraine Daston (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, Vol. 3: *Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), *ad indicem*.

The second article is a brilliant interpretation of the circumstances surrounding the publication and reception of the *Monita privata Societatis Iesu* by Sabina Pavone, which usefully sketches in the themes elaborated in more detail in her excellent monograph *The Wily Jesuits*.[9] Published anonymously in Cracow in 1614, but known from the start to have been written by a disgruntled former Jesuit Jerome Zahorowski, who had failed to pass his comprehensive examination in theology and so could not proceed to take his fourth vow, this pamphlet claimed to be a transcription of the "secret constitution" of the Society. It comprised a set of brief instructions purportedly given to members in the Order so that they might more effectively gain political influence and reap considerable material benefits. To this end, there were initially sixteen directives of which the following are representative: "How our men ought to win close familiarity with princes and aristocrats" (no. 2); "What things should confessors of princes and magnates have at heart" (no. 4), and "How the Society is to win over rich widows" (no. 5).[10] Pavone explains the enduring success enjoyed by this work (with eighteen printed editions published in the seventeenth century and twenty-seven between 1702 and 1767), in terms of its very plausibility to non-Jesuits combined with the fact that its concerns echoed debates within the Order itself. Several features of Jesuit behavior were open to (mis)interpretation by outsiders as being ambiguous at best and dissembling and secretive at worst, a danger which preoccupied the Society at the highest levels from early on. In a letter of June 11, 1587, for example, General Acquaviva praised the superior of the German province for having refused legacies in favor of the Society from several wealthy women so as to protect the Society from possible scandal. In 1602, the same General sent to all the provinces a directive with the title *De confessariis principum* in which the limits of the confessor's sphere of action were laid down. Moroever, the missionary policy of accommodation was itself open to charges of cynical pragmatism, as can be seen subsequently by the controversies within and outside the Order over the Malabar and Chinese rites. Also, as Pavone shows in her monograph, the image of the "plotter" Jesuit was reinforced by contemporaries' awareness of the formalized system of correspondence, in which there was known to be a distinction made between "letters of edification" (to be circulated for general consumption in the form of the *litterae annuae*) and those written for internal use. Such suggestion of a vast, all-encompassing network of information—a kind of secret worldwide web before the letter—has been a key component of conspiracy theories ever since.[11]

[9]This was first published as: *Le Astuzie dei Gesuiti: le false "Istruzioni segrete" della Compagnia di Gesù e la polemica anti-gesuita nei secoli XVII e XVII* (Rome: Salerno Editore, 2000).

[10]An English translation of the 1667 Italian translation of the *Monita* in the Vatican Library (*Barb. lat. 5861*) is given on pp. 217-233 of Pavone, *The Wily Jesuits*. Editions of the *Monita* in both printed and manuscript form (1614-1996) are listed on pp. 234-242.

[11]This essay is the nearest *Jesuits II* comes to discussing politics and diplomacy which, on O'Malley's own admission, is a lacuna of the volume. However, three recent

The three final essays to be considered from *Jesuits II* all come from part five ("The Overseas missions: challenges and strategies"). Taken together with those by Hufton and Pavone, I believe that they ask us to pay more attention both to tensions within the Order and to ways in which the Society's strategies for remembering and forgetting operated. The first essay, by Aliocha Maldavsky, provides a revisionist account of how the Jesuits regarded the acquisition of indigenous languages in the province of Peru (1568-1640). Surprisingly, in the light of the considerable reputation members of the Order have justly enjoyed for their linguistic prowess (itself the topic of an essay by Peter Burke which considers Jesuit practitioners of the art of translation in the Old World), her findings highlight the reluctance and hesitation such language instruction encountered amongst some members of the Order. This was despite unambiguous pronouncements on this point made by Francisco Borja and reiterated by Claudio Acquaviva, whose requirements were also incorporated into the missionary strategy set out by José de Acosta in his authoritative missionary manual *De procuranda Indorum Salute* (1589). Maldavsky uncovers evidence that knowledge of indigenous language was considered to be merely a practical skill, not genuinely scholarly knowledge and so could be left to local *criollas* and *mestizos* who were recruited to teach the Europeans.

This reluctance to learn local languages went hand in hand with a corresponding unwillingness to undertake missionary work amongst the indigenous peoples; in the eyes of more than a minority, pastoral work amongst the Spanish settlers was to be infinitely preferred. Clearly, more work needs to be undertaken to compare the differences between European and Latin American theological and missionary training in the Order: "being a Jesuit did not have the same meaning everywhere in the world" (p. 610). This emphasisis on local difference lies at the heart of the essay by Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile on evangelizing strategies and missionary models in seventeenth-century Brazil. Here the challenge was felt to be particularly tough. In 1557, less than ten years after the Jesuits' arrival, the provincial Manoel da Nórbrega summed up a widespread opinion when he wrote: "As these pagans [the Tupí] worship nothing, and believe nothing, all that you can tell them amounts to nothing" (p. 616). She focuses her attention on a slightly later figure, Francisco Pinto, who was killed by Indians in northeastern Brazil in 1608 after many years of service as a missionary. Pinto's "solution" to the problem of proselytizing to the Tupí was not only to become fluent in their language but to allow himself to be regarded and used as a shaman-prophet by the indigenous peoples. Indeed,

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works ably fill the gap: Robert Bireley's *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years' War: Kings, Courts and Confessors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Harro Höpfl's *Jesuit Political Thought:The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), and Eric Nelson's *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590-1615)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2005).

after his death, the Jesuit missionary remained the property of the Indians he had served in a literal sense. When Father Manuel Gomes tried to recover Pinto's bones in 1615, the Indians refused to hand them over for the reason that Pinto's remains brought rain and sun on their demand. By contrast, in Jesuit circles Pinto's violent death was met by silence. He had evidently "gone native" in such a spectacular fashion to be beyond even rehabilitation as a missionary martyr. Selective memorialization is also a theme which shapes Haruko Nawata Ward's account of the important role played by women catechists in the Jesuit mission in Japan. She has found evidence of about a dozen well-known and numerous lesser-known female catechists. Her chosen three case-studies, all noble women, show that they ministered and acted as Jesuit coadjutors not only in women's circles but also in the wider arena.

All five of these essays suggest that rather than a single or collective identity, "Jesuit" might be more helpfully understood as a dynamic cluster of identities that were continually in the process of renegotiation and recreation at the hands both of outsiders and of the fathers themselves. Just how this worked will be suggested below in relation to the four source editions to be discussed and which together cover the more significant genres of writing that the Jesuits used to narrate and negotiate their activities to themselves (and to the world): spiritual autobiography and letters (Favre), chronicle (Polanco), rules (*Ratio studiorum*), erudite polemic and dialogue (de Nobili). I have chosen to consider them as a whole, notwithstanding the fact that in one case, Favre, the edition is now ten years old, because taken together they make available for the first time in reliable English translation with light (but nimble) scholarly apparatus significant selections from an important corpus of writings from the first century of the Order's history. (Allen Farrell's 1970 version of the *Ratio studiorum* and S. Rajamanickam's translations of De Nobili have both been long out of print.)

Although Favre's *Memoriale* was known to several key figures in the early days of the Society (Canisius, whom Favre had won over to the Order, quoted from it and Orlandini made some use of it in his history of the Jesuits of 1594 as well as in his life of Favre of 1617), it did not appear in print in anything approaching a reliable text until 1914 (when it was issued in Latin as volume 48 of the Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu). The first priest of the Order, Favre had been ordained in 1534, before either Ignatius or Xavier. His *Memoriale* took the form of a diary from June 1542 to July 1543, which he then took up again from January 1545 until the same month of the following year, seven months before his death, in August 1546. To this may be added a substantial retrospective account of his life from his birth in 1506 down to 1542, which he apparently wrote in the course of a single day (June 15, 1542). As a genre of the Christian tradition, the spiritual diary can be traced back to St. Paul's account of his conversion on the way to Damascus (Acts 22:3-21; 26:9-20). In the later Middle Ages it came to be popularized by the Netherlandish school of the Devotio moderna, whence early Jesuits including

Nadal, Canisius, Ribadaneira, and Juan de Vitoria, as well as Loyola and Favre, adopted it as an aid to religious development through discernment of signs in the world of daily experience that God had accepted the author. What was distinctive about Favre's spiritual journal was the intense, daily devotion he showed not only to the saint or saints whose particular feast day it was as well as to patrons of the places he passed through on his ceaseless journeying within and beyond the German-speaking lands (p. 80), but also to those saints and guardian spirits (Favre was an early promoter of the cult of the guardian angel) who watched over those he met (or had especial desire to meet). For example, in June 1541, wanting to make contact with the dean of Speyer, so that he could instruct the latter in the Spiritual Exercises, Favre found himself inspired to pray to the saints for whom the dean might have a special spiritual affection as well as to his guardian angel: "This practice seemed to me to be a good way of attaining a person's friendship" (p. 85). It is worth noting that despite firsthand experience of Lutheran heresy during his extensive travels in Germany (Favre had, *inter alia*, attended the Colloquy of Regensberg), his *Memoriale* displays little to no interest in doctrinal definition or theological dogma. Rather, he consistently strove to consecrate his life to a daily round of prayer, structured by his private recital of the breviary which, as has been seen, he also grounded thoroughly in the local cultic landscape.

The *Chronicon* of Juan de Polanco, who was secretary ("memoria y manos") to successive Jesuit Generals for twenty-six years from 1547, covers the history of the Society, year by year from 1537 down to 1556. As befitting the first archivist of the Society, it was conceived on a monumental scale; the six volumes of the standard 1894-1898 Madrid edition run to 4,500 pages. Although Polanco had been an eye-witness to many of the personalities and events he described, the *Chronicon* was a retrospective composition (dictated 1573-1574) and designed not for publication but as a source book for later (Jesuit) historians of the Order. Although Donnelly's edition makes available only 8% of the total, such is the clarity of his editorial principles and the cogency of his rationale set out in the concise introduction, that I have no hesitation in recommending this volume as a vital vade mecum for anyone wishing to follow up issues raised or interests sparked by O'Malley's classic, *The First Jesuits* (1993). It constitutes essential reading for those seeking to understand the priorities of the Society in its first decades. Furthermore, its two indexes—one of persons and places and the other of topics and ministries—render it yet more useful. Representative of his conception of "our way of proceeding" is Polanco's treatment of Favre in his narrative, where he noted how the Frenchman:

> did no preaching, but accomplished so much by the ministry of the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist, by holding private conversations and, most importantly, by giving the Spiritual Exercises that Germans as well as Italians and Spaniards, even men outstanding for their authority, dignity, nobility and learning, exerted themselves to change their lives. (p. 9)

Again and again, Polanco placed emphasis not on preaching but on confession and penance. In addition, he lost no opportunity to defend the Order from attacks on the practice of frequent communion. As he did so, he took several swipes at rival orders, particularly the Dominicans in the form of Melchior Cano. Ultimately, for Polanco, "the arms of our militia" were the Word of God and the sacraments (p. 37). Nevertheless, he was not insensitive to the need for the Jesuits not to alienate such powerful bodies as the Inquisition, in both its Roman and Spanish variants. In particular, Polanco emphasized the care with which the Jesuits exercised their right to absolve in cases of heresy for fear of offending the Spanish inquisition. In the case of its Roman cousin, writing from the standpoint of the 1570's, by which time the party of the *zelanti*, led by Carafa and his faithful lieutenant Ghislieri (later elected, respectively, as Popes Paul IV and Pius V) had won and, to quote Massimo Firpo, the Holy Office had become "the true motor of the Roman curia," Polanco went out of his way to identify Ignatius as the direct cause of its foundation (p. 26).

By contrast, the *Ratio studiorum*, presented here by Pavur in its more or less definitive 1599 version (it was slightly modified again in 1616) has been traditionally presented in Jesuit historiography as a model of consensus, of a piece with the Spiritual Exercises and the Constitutions; all three an artful balance of structure and freedom. In the case of the official plan for Jesuit education, over half a century of collaborative academic effort had gone into its making. In addition, there had been twenty years of committee work and two major trial versions (in 1586 and 1591). The end result was a document that successfully combined reverence for such medieval mainstays of the *modus parisiensis* as St. Thomas Aquinas ("only those well disposed to St. Thomas should be promoted to theological studies," p. 10), with a humanist sensitivity for the need to combine erudition with eloquence, with Cicero as the model to imitate par excellence. Central to its rationale was the belief, "Nothing preserves the entire effort of well-ordered learning as effectively as the observance of rules" (p. 151) and the latter was only to be achieved by means of competition underpinned by hope of honor and fear of shame. Of course, it was the colleges that provided the Jesuits with perhaps their most important arena for demonstrating their intellectual prestige and garnering financial support among members of the élite who sent their children to receive education as befitting a Christian gentleman. Of particular value in this very useful edition is not only the decision to provide the reader with parallel columns of the original Latin with an English translation but also to offer in a series of appendices material which allows the reader to go further than perhaps ever before in reconstituting what actually took place in the classroom.

Turning to the three texts by the seventeenth-century missionary to India and famed Sanskrit scholar Roberto De Nobili, one needs straightaway to draw a distinction between the Latin "Report concerning certain customs of the Indian nation" and the Tamil "Dialogue on Eternal Life" and "Inquiry into the

meaning of God." In the case of the former we need to appreciate the context that gave rise to its composition, the fierce dispute with his former fellow missionary Gonçalo Fernandez, who believed that de Nobili had "gone native" in his adoption of local dress and Brahmin customs. (This was effectively the first round in the Malabar rites controversy.) De Nobili's treatise, in the first instance, was a direct appeal to General Aquaviva to let him continue in his mission despite the representation made in his turn by Fernandez. Unfortunately, nowhere in this edition are we given either Fernandez's identity or the full polemical context that gave rise to the "Report." This makes it very difficult for the reader to understand quite why it was so important to De Nobili that he demonstrate in such laborious detail that the Brahmin customs he described were purely social and non-religious, thereby non-superstitious and thus candidates for adoption by accommodating missionaries such as himself. For to De Nobili, as to Matteo Ricci in China, failure to win over the intellectual élite would spell disaster to the success of the Christian mission. The Tamil dialogues, by contrast, reveal a far lesser degree of engagement with local circumstances. Instead, the indigenous audience was treated to a decidedly stilted, Thomist dialogue between a teacher and his disciple confidently founded on the mistaken assumption that Indian and European epistemological and metaphysical categories were fundamentally the same and that it was merely irrational ignorance on the part of the Indians that prevented them from appreciating this obvious and natural (Christian) truth.

In the light of the foregoing literature, it is a brave scholar who attempts to write a single-authored treatment of the pre-suppression Order as a whole. Nonetheless, two recent Italian candidates have put forward their own individual interpretations which both deserve to be read and reflected upon. The first, by Paolo Broggio, offers what, to the best of my knowledge, is the first thoroughgoing comparative study of the Jesuit missionary enterprise in the Old and New Worlds.[12] As he reminds us, already, in 1551 the Jesuit Silvestro Landini declared that Corsica would be "my own Indies" (p. 20). In this respect, Broggio sees himself as having picked up the gauntlet thrown down by Louis Chatellier in a letter to Marc Venard of 1980 in which the former argued for the necessity of breaking with custom by comparing Jesuit missionary activity on a global scale (p. 19). But Broggio has gone further, by drawing also on the confessionalization paradigm as adapted for Italy in clearly Gramscian terms by Adriano Prosperi and his pupils. For Prosperi, it was not enough for the post-Tridentine Church to win by repressive force; it had to convince hearts and minds (*non basta vincere, bisogna convincere*). The internal missions to the Italian rural hinterland ("the other Indies") were simply one dimension of a triple strategy—the other elements being confession and the Inquisition—artfully

[12]Although there is now an account of the Jesuits in Spain and the Spanish empire, the first two parts of which cover the period 1540-1773: Teófanes Egido, Javier Burrieza Sánchez, and Manuel Revuelta González, *Los Jesuitas en España y en el mundo hispánico* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2004), pp. 13-278.

deployed by the Roman Catholic Church after Trent whose result, according to the Italian scholar, was nothing less than the colonization of the conscience of the Italian people.[13] For all its problems, this interpretative model has the considerable advantage of integrating the activities of the Order into the wider currents of early modern religious history by foregrounding the direct links between Jesuit missionary activity with their special role as confessors (including their power to absolve penitents in cases of heresy) and the implications this had for their relationship with the Inquisition, as well as with the secular hierarchy. In the light of the links between these areas of activity, it is therefore surprising to discover that there was in fact little exchange of personnel between European and extra-European missions. An interesting exception here was Juan de la Plaza, rector of the Society's college in Granada (1556-1562) and missionary among the moriscos, whom General Mercurian appointed visitor of the province of Peru in 1573 and then provincial of New Spain, where he died, without having ever returned to Europe, in 1602. One of the particular strengths of Broggio's book is, indeed, his focus on the internal missions to the Spanish "other Indies"; it takes advantage, for example, of the survival of the "catálogos de missiones" for the Jesuit province of Castile for the period 1650-1695. This enables Broggio to detect significant changes in the conduct of missions (pp. 254-255). For example, between 1650 and 1660 of the 202 missions undertaken only thirteen Jesuits conducted more than three missions each and so between them were responsible for about 50% of the total. However, by the 1680's, of the 288 missions listed for the decade, just twenty fathers led 40% of the missionary enterprise (out of a total of 212 Jesuits involved). By locating such details in the wider comparative context of both the external and internal Jesuit mission enterprise, Broggio is to be thanked. He also deserves our gratitude for the very full endnotes and impressive bibliography, although the prospective reader should be made aware of the author's habit of quoting in extenso from his sources, so that more than a passing acquaintance with early modern Castilian, in particular, would be very helpful.

By contrast, Sabina Pavone's slim volume is more conventionally structured according to a chronological framework. However, it is none the worse for that since it offers what is easily the most up-to-date and coherently argued account of its subject matter currently available in any language. As one might expect from the author of *The Wily Jesuits*, Pavone is particularly alive to the fact that right from its origins, the Order was very conscious of the importance of nurturing its self-image for public (and internal) consumption. In this respect the Jesuits' spectacular volume to celebrate their first centenary, the *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (1640), issued from a pre-existing tradition that we have seen at work, for example, in Polanco's *Chronicon*. Such motivation was also behind Acquaviva's hagiographical remodeling of Loyola

[13]This thesis is clearly stated in the title of Prosperi's *Tribunali della coscienza: inquisitori, confessari, missionari* (Turin: Einaudi, 1996).

achieved through the promotion of Maffei's vita over that by Ribadeneira, in order to emphasize the founder's institutional prowess (over his miraculous powers). Another feature which Pavone emphasizes throughout is the flexibility of the Order, which was ever sensitive to the need to adapt regulations and practices to local circumstances and, wherever possible, to an individual's capabilities as reflected in that trinity of handbooks: the Spiritual Exercises, the Constitutions, and the *Ratio studiorum* (as well, it might be added, in the casuistry of their moral theology as lampooned so mercilessly by Pascal in the latter's Provincial Letters). Pavone's work on the *Monita secreta* has made her particularly sensitive to tensions within the Order; not only those which manifested themselves after Loyola's death concerning whether or not to accept New Christians as candidates to join the Society, but also the more intractable and long-term resentments that arose between those who were fully professed and those, like Zahorowski, who remained spiritual coadjutors and perceived themselves (and were indeed perceived by some of their confrères) as second-class citizens. As a pupil of Prosperi, she is also thorough on Jesuit confession practices, whose overall mildness suited them to believers rather than heretics (as happened for example in Naples, where Jesuits almost never appear in the records as confessors of those who denounced themselves to the local tribunal of the Holy Office). Nonetheless, when required, members of the Order could work closely with the Inquisition as happened in Seville (1556-1564) or during the trial against several Jesuit fathers in Valladolid (1586-1588), who had been accused of *alumbradismo* (a form of quietism) and of unbecoming behavior with penitents in the confessional. In the end, however, not even the truly remarkable capacity of the Jesuits to adapt to local circumstances could save them from the political maelstrom which led to the Order's suppression in 1773. Here Pavone makes two telling observations: firstly, in contrast to Bailey, she emphasizes that the Order kept its best members for service in the Old World, since the task of winning back souls from Protestant heresies appeared to be more difficult, and that some evidence is to be found where embarrassing members, including descendants of New Christians, were sent overseas. Here she draws, *inter alia*, on the work of Castelnau-L'Estoile on the Jesuit mission to Brazil, where it can be shown that a high proportion of its members were of difficult character ("*collericus*" is the adjective which appears frequently in the relevant records).[14] Secondly, and more convincingly, she argues for the vital role played by the printed work in helping create the conditions for the Society's abolition, (e.g., the *Monita secreta* was reprinted no fewer than a dozen times between 1740 and 1767), with the suggestive implication perhaps that those that live by the pen shall die by the pen?

On the evidence of the works under review, the state of Jesuit historiography has never been healthier. A good mix of Jesuit and non-Jesuit scholars

[14]Charlotte De Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne sterile: les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brasil, 1580-1620* (Lisbon and Paris: Fundaçao Gulbenkian, 2000).

have carried out original research on the Order's activity in almost all the areas covered by the Quaritch catalogue referred to at the start of this review article. Whither next? As my passing comments have perhaps already made clear, the time is now ripe to undertake further research in two particular directions. On the one hand, we need more studies along the lines of those by Maldavsky, Castelnau-L'Estoile, and Pavone, which explore creatively the tensions and disagreements within the Order in ways that make us more aware of the strategies whereby the Society sustained its remarkable enterprise in such different locales. On the other, we require more work in the spirit of Hufton, Broggio, and Prosperi, who have been trying to integrate their understanding of the Jesuits' distinctive contribution into the wider picture of early modern religious and cultural history. As the thematic richness of the books under review clearly suggests, there will be space aplenty for interdisciplinary works of synthesis on the history of the Order before its suppression for some time to come; yet this very richness implies, for me at least, the imperative to integrate the history of the Jesuits more fully into the wider picture. It no longer makes sense (if it ever really did), when writing an account of the Counter/Catholic Reformation, to consider the Society, in symbolic fashion, as an essentialized expression of the movements' militancy/modernity. In this spirit, Dominik Sieber's carefully contextualized, regional study of the Jesuit mission in the diocese of Luzern for the period 1563-1614 is to be welcomed. Of particular strategic significance, as part of a frontier zone between contesting faiths, a fact duly recognized by the location of a permanent papal nunciature in the town in 1586, Luzern has provided Sieber with rich archival pickings—in particular the writings of the civic chronicler and apothecary, Renward Cysat (1545?-1614), who tried to make sense of local happenings in relation to accounts of missionary daring-do in Japan and elsewhere, which he laboriously copied and collected. Sieber's achievement is not only to have located the Jesuit mission and its reception in relation to magic and religion viewed as points of a single, unified spectrum, in the spirit of David Gentilcore's thoughtful 1992 study of Southern Italy, *From Bishop to Witch* (which has clearly been an influence), but also to have looked at the activity of the Society in relation to that of the other main Order undertaking missionary work in the province, the Capuchins. This fully and richly contextualized study is therefore to be welcomed as an example of how such an integrative approach to the history of the Jesuit Order can reap rich dividends.

THE EIGHTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Program

The Committee on Program consisted of Constance Berman, University of Iowa; Frank Coppa, St. John's University, New York; Nicholas Creary, Ohio University; William Hudon, Bloomsburg State University; Asunción Lavrin, Arizona State University; Mark Massa, S.J., Fordham University; and James M. Powell, *chairman,* Syracuse University (Emeritus).

The Association met in Atlanta between Thursday and Sunday, January 4 and 7, 2007 at the Hilton Hotel together with the American Historical Association. The registration desk was conveniently located off the main lobby; fifty persons registered their attendance. All sessions save one were held in the headquarters hotel.

The opening session, on Thursday afternoon, sponsored jointly with the Conference on Latin American History and entitled "*Justitia et Misericordia*: Recent Research Advances in Inquisition Studies," consisted of three papers with Sonya Lipsett-Rivera of Carleton University in the chair. Javier Villa-Flores, University of Illinois at Chicago, spoke on "God's Name as Pharmakon: False Witnessing before the Mexican Inquisition," followed by "Confession and Popular Culture in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth Century Mexico," delivered by Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, University of Nevada at Reno. The final paper, "By all Arts and Magic: Sexual Magic and the Manipulation of Gender and Sexuality in Colonial Yucatan, 1550-1790," was by John F. Chuchiak IV, Missouri State University. Alejandro Caneque served as commentator.

In the second session at this time William Hudon, Bloomsburg State University, chaired "Galileo, the Medici, and the Inquisition." About thirty persons attended the three papers. Brendan Dooley of the International University of Bremen examined "Narrative and Truth: Don Giovanni de Medici and Galileo," on the 1611 dispute on floating bodies. Stefania Tutino of University of California at Santa Barbara analyzed Robert Bellarmine's role in attempting to find a compromise in "Robert Bellarmine between Theology and Natural Science." Thomas Mayer, Augustana College, argued that Galileo did harm to his own cause in a paper entitled, "Galileo's Precept." Dr. Hudon provided a comment.

On Friday morning, January 5, Jeffrey M. Burns, Academy of American Franciscan History, chaired an interdisciplinary session on "Art and Evangelization in the Franciscan Missions," which explored the role of art and imagery in the evangelization of the indigenous peoples in New Spain. Andrea LePage, Brown University, spoke on the arts of the Franciscan Colegio de San Andrés in Quito. Cristina Cruz Gonzalez, University of Chicago, gave a paper

on "The Propagation of Faith and Image: Art, Mission, and the Holy Body in Spanish America," and Nuno Senos, New York University, presented a paper on "The cult of a Black Saint in Franciscan Brazil." Jaime Lara, Yale University, provided a valuable comment, along with enticing references to the image of the "Flying St. Francis."

Duane Osheim, University of Virginia, chaired the second morning session on "Religion in the Communes: Augustine Thompson's *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125-1325,*" which was jointly sponsored by the Society for Italian Historical Studies. Brenda Bolton, MBE, University of London, discussed early evaluations of the book and emphasized the description of the lived religion of the laity in the book. After a response by Father Thompson, O.P., University of Virginia, George Dameron, St. Michael's College, raised a number of points, noting the role of religion in the rise of the *popolo* and Christianity in the countryside. A lively discussion followed.

In the afternoon, Margery Ganz, Spelman College, chaired a popular session "The Papacy and the Jews: From Pius XII through John Paul II." Peter Kent, University of New Brunswick, dealt with "Pius XII and Israel in the 1950s." Richard Wolff of the Global Consulting Group spoke on Vatican II as the beginning of a new relationship between the Church and the Jews. Dr. Ganz read the paper by Roy Domenico, University of Scranton, on John Paul II and the Jews. Frank Coppa, St. John's University, commented on the papers and was followed by a very lively discussion, with lots of questions and comments.

"Political Catholicism in the Interwar Period" was the topic of the second afternoon session, chaired by Beth A. Griech-Polelle, Bowling Green State University. Rae Bielakowski, Loyola University Chicago, discussed "Student 'Catholic Action' and Middle-Class Aspirations in Chicago, 1927-41." Samuel Pearce, University of Florida, delivered a paper on "Catholic Women in Spain's Second Republic, 1931-36: Female Participation in the Confederación española de derechas autónomas." Michael O'Sullivan, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, dealt with tensions in the role of women during the Weimar period and under the Nazis. Women became leaders in preserving Catholic traditions in the homes, despite the traditionalist role assigned by Catholic Action. Dr. Griech-Polelle commented, and this was followed by very active audience participation.

Late on Friday afternoon the business meeting and the social hour were held. The latter was well attended.

On Saturday morning, Constance Berman, University of Iowa, chaired the session on "Upholding Ideals in Clerical/Religious Lives across the Centuries." Daniel LaCorte, Saint Ambrose University, presented an interesting paper on "Smaragdus of St. Mihiel's Advice to a Prince on Salvation and Reform." He argued the case for a critical edition of his works. Michelle Armstrong-Partida, University of Iowa, was unable to attend, but her paper was read by Dr. Chris Africa, University of Iowa. Her topic was the interaction between clergy and

their parishioners in fourteenth-century Catalunya. Kathy Wilson, University of Iowa, discussed female education in the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary in York between 1760 and 1870. There was considerable interest in the papers. Professor Berman commented.

Ann Twinam, University of Texas, presided at the session on "Saints, Bishops, and Inquisitors in Spanish America," since Dr. Lavrin was unable to attend due to a family health emergency. The session was jointly sponsored by the Conference on Latin American History. Emily Berquist, University of Texas at Austin, presented "Indians as Enlightened Plebe: The Improvement Projects of Bishop Martínez Compañón in Trujillo, Peru," viewed as an aspect of the Spanish Enlightenment. Cornelius Conover, University of Texas at Austin, showed how the liturgy of seventeenth-century Mexico City reflected Spanish imperialism by increasingly including Spanish saints and the Spanish king. The cult of St. Philip of Jesus, a native of Mexico City martyred in Nagasaki, provided a basis for local identity and reinforced ties to Madrid and Rome. Martin Nesvig, University of Miami, discussed the trial of the Spanish settler, Pedro de Trejo, by the inquisition in Mexico. He hoped that his colonial status would help him to escape the surveillance of the inquisition. Dr. Twinam read Dr. Lavrin's comment, which brought out the importance of the "margins" in a geographical and cultural sense.

At the presidential luncheon the Archbishop of Atlanta, the Most Reverend Wilton D. Gregory, addressed the thirty persons present with words of welcome, appreciation, and encouragement. The John Gilmary Shea Prize and the Howard R. Marraro Prize were awarded. Then Professor Powell delivered the presidential address on "Church and Crusade: Frederick II and Louis IX."

There were two Saturday afternoon sessions. At the invitation of the chair, Mark Massa, S.J., Fordham University, Steven Ozment, Harvard University, opened the joint session with the American Society of Church History on "Is the Reformation Over? An Evangelical Assessment of Contemporary Roman Catholicism—-Roundtable with Co-author Mark A. Noll." Discussants were Jan Shipps, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis; Daryl Charles, Union University; Jill Raitt, University of Missouri, Columbia; and Kirsi Stjerna, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg. Mark A. Noll, University of Notre Dame, served as commentator. A standing-room crowd heard Professor Raitt discuss her own conversion to Catholicism while an undergraduate at Radcliffe. Daryl Charles spoke about the way in which he, an evangelical Christian teaching in a Baptist University, used the Catechism of the Catholic Church, wishing that evangelicals could undertake a similar corporate witness. Kirsi Stjerna spoke of the value of Catholic spirituality in her work with Lutheran seminarians. Mark Noll responded to the panel and joined Steven Ozment in giving a yes and no answer to the question raised by his book.

The second session, "Religious Women in Medieval Europe," was chaired by Daniel LaCorte, Saint Ambrose University, in place of Raymond Mentzer,

University of Iowa. There were four papers. Janet Sorrentino, Washington College, Maryland, delivered a paper on music and the Gilbertine nuns, dealing with the issue of women singing the office in the presence of men. Erin Jordan, University of Northern Colorado, compared Cistercian nunneries and monastic houses in thirteenth-century Europe. Erika Lindgren, Wartburg College, focused on the origins of Dominican nuns. Finally, Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, University of Helsinki, asked why we know so much about Dominican lay women and so little about Dominican nuns in Italy and found an answer in the ambiguous status of the latter. Dr. LaCorte led a spirited discussion.

Early Sunday morning the Reverend Joseph M. Chinnici, O.F.M., of the Franciscan School of Theology, Berkeley, California, first vice-president of the Association, celebrated a Mass for the living and deceased members. More than fifty persons participated.

The Sunday morning sessions opened with "Priests under Pressure: Historical Moments of Crisis and Transformation in the American Priesthood." It was chaired by Amy Koelinger, Florida State University. The first paper, delivered by Michael Pasquier of Florida State University, was "Les Confrères et les Pères: French Missionaries and the Religious Authority of Priests in Early Nineteenth-century America," which discussed French émigré priests on the Western frontier. Justin Poché, University of Notre Dame, spoke about Southern-born and Northern "carpet-bagger" priests under Jim Crow. Leslie Woodcock Tentler, The Catholic University of America, addressed the question "'How Am I Valuable to People?' The Crisis of the Catholic Priesthood in the 1960s." She examined priests on the cutting edge of ecclesial change. Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., Franciscan School of Theology, Berkeley, California, delivered a detailed commentary.

Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., St. Meinrad School of Theology, chaired the session on "The Catholic Church and Slavery." He noted the role of the Holy See in abolition in the early nineteenth century. Anthony M. Bonta, Marquette University, presented a paper on the debate between Edward Purcell and James McMaster, editor of the *New York Freeman's Journal*, on the morality of slavery in the United States. Nicholas M. Creary, Ohio University, presented a paper on the failed Catholic mission to expatriate slaves in Liberia (1842-1844). Paul V. Kollman, C.S.C., University of Notre Dame, examined the different strategies of evangelization pursued by various religious congregations in East Africa (1860-1884). Cyprian Davis led the discussion, which brought out the need for more comparative studies in the field.

JAMES M. POWELL, *Chairman*

Luncheon Address of the Most Reverend Wilton D. Gregory, Archbishop of Atlanta

It is a genuine honor to be with you today, and I want to thank my dear and longtime friend Monsignor Robert Trisco, and the present secretary and treas-

urer of the Association, Tim Meagher, for inviting me; also I wish to thank the outgoing president, Professor Powell, and his successor, Father Chinnici, and all the officers of the Association, for honoring the Archdiocese and the City of Atlanta by holding your conference here; I welcome all the leaders and members of the American Catholic Historical Association, the American Historical Association, and all other guests and friends; I hope that you will continue to find in our midst all the hospitality for which this city is so well known.

The Catholic Church in America has experienced over the past ten years, since you last met in Atlanta, more than her share of turmoil and disappointments, but also many fortunate opportunities for concentrating her inner strength and renewing before American society, the unchanging foundation upon which Catholic leadership rests—the Good News of Jesus Christ. During my years of leadership for the Conference of Bishops, I observed, and continue to realize, that the renewal of strength within the Church, and her ongoing reclamation of the American people's esteem, is not the work of one body, or the result of the influence of any particular school of Catholic theology or practice. Rather, as with all true renewal in the Church, her enduring authority arises through the Holy Spirit, and the efforts of those who seek to do His work—individuals, associations, religious orders, schools and universities, and any company of the Faithful assembled to labor for Christ and for His Church. During this time, I have had many opportunities to praise the work of the American Catholic Historical Association, and it is that work for which I wish to express today the thanks of the bishops, the clergy, and the people of the Catholic Church in the United States.

The first goal of the Association has always been to reveal, with *claritas*, the history, development, and present state of the Church's life—for the sake of her own members, but also to show those ways by which the Church exists in and opens herself to society, where she finds the fundamental challenge of the Gospel—the need for evangelization. Your work in this area has been significant—in helping people to understand and then to contribute to the healing of our own internal problems—especially the terrible ways in which the people's faith in the clergy has been so severely compromised, and then, as you have worked to rebuild the status of the Church before the critical gaze of society in general. By asserting what is good and unchanging in the Church, while assisting to make clear how the Church is going about and will continue to go about healing her inner illnesses and failings, the American Catholic Historical Association has generously come to the aid of the Catholic family, adding immeasurably to the recovery process, and to our hopes for a future free of past sins and sorrows. That is the first, and most immediately perceived measure of goodness for which I want to thank you.

The second goal of the Association is one which adds to the intellectual life in general of the Church and society, but is, I suspect, more deeply appreciated by the membership, than by those who observe the work of the Association from without. And that is the broad contribution of the membership to the

scholarly exploration of history itself, applied to all fields of human endeavor. By maintaining a high profile and high-quality presence in the work of colleges, universities, and other institutes of higher learning throughout the world, and by embracing within the membership, persons of many faiths and many cultures, you are fulfilling superbly the mandate of the Second Vatican Council for true ecumenism—the welcome opening of the wealth of the Church's thought and work in friendship to mankind, and the fair exchange of ideas, events, and accomplishments, across the boundaries of our differences. This is the broader, and perhaps in the long run, the more deeply significant work of the American Catholic Historical Association—its lasting legacy—and in expressing to you our gratitude for these initiatives, the sentiment comes not just from the people I represent, or my brothers in the Episcopacy of the United States, but truly, from the heart of the Universal Church—and I have no hesitation in representing our thanks to you with all esteem and with heartfelt sincerity.

Honored guests, as we learn from the central Sacrament of the Christian Church, from the rites of our forerunners in the Faith, and indeed, from all peoples who proceed with good will, there is no better way to find God, and to find peace with one another, than to sit and share a meal. And although I have wanted to speak these few words of appreciation and thanks, it is to the meal of our fellowship, the more important event of this afternoon, that we now turn. This meal will serve as a preamble to the highlights of the annual meeting, the presentation of the book prizes, followed by the message of the outgoing President, Professor Powell.

And since the Holy Spirit of God serves as the preamble to all our activities, let us open our hearts to prayer, taking care of first duties first, and ask God, in the historical words of our Faith, to bless us, and to bless those things He gives, which make our hearts to overflow, and our lives full and worth living.

Report on the Committee on Nominations

In this election (220) ballots were cast. The results are as follows:

For First Vice-President (and President in the following year):

Robert Bireley, S.J., Loyola University Chicago 172
William V. Hudon, Bloomsburg University 48

For Second Vice-President:

Constance B. Bouchard, University of Akron 95
Sabine MacCormack, University of Notre Dame 120

For the Executive Council (three-year term, 2007, 2008, and 2009)

Section I:
Noel D. Cary, College of the Holy Cross 122
Brad S. Gregory, University of Notre Dame 96

Section II: 5984
TERENCE FAY, S.J., University of Toronto 113
CECILIA MOORE, University of Dayton 103

For the Committee on Nominations (three-year term, 2007, 2008, and 2009)
JOANNA H. DRELL, University of Richmond 107
JAMES D. RYAN, Bronx Community College 104

WIETSE DE BOER, *Chairman*
Miami University (Ohio)
JAY P. CORRIN
Boston University
MARGARET MCGUINNESS
LaSalle University

Report of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize

The John Gilmary Shea Prize for 2006 is awarded to J. Michael Hayden, professor emeritus of history, University of Saskatchewan, and to Malcolm R. Greenshields, professor of history, University of Lethbridge, for their book *600 Years of Reform: Bishops and the French Church, 1190-1789*, which was published by McGill-Queen's University Press in 2005. The committee of judges received more than forty books published between July 1, 2005, and June 30, 2006, ranging in time from the early Church to the present.

600 Years of Reform is a sweeping study of synodal and episcopal reform legislation in the French Church from the reign of Innocent III to the French Revolution. The authors distinguish four major periods of episcopal reform activity, each period beginning with a burst of episcopal activity followed by a slow or dramatic tapering off. The first period, dating from 1190 to 1489, began with vigorous local activity implementing the decrees of the Lateran Councils, but was cut short by the Black Death and other disasters after 1340. During the second period, the "First Catholic Reformation" of 1490 to 1589, the French monarchy patronized the reform efforts of Gerson, Briçonnet, and Lefèvre d'Etaples, whose work led to new models for diocesan statutes. This work placed the French church at an advantage to that in Germany going into the Reformation.

Perhaps the single most important result of this study comes for the period after 1560, where the analysis reveals a division of this period into two periods of reform rather than the common model of a single "Counter Reformation" extending to about 1730. The authors demonstrate that the Tridentine reforms in France, which had a powerful local effect, stalled in the 1680s due mostly to the Gallican controversies, which left many sees vacant. A new, albeit less aggressive, reform period began by 1770 and was extinguished only by the Revolution.

Using computerized and statistical analysis of a highly sophisticated kind, the authors have, for the first time, given us a comprehensive description of the

four waves of institutional reform undergone by the Church in France and a detailed picture of the legislation in each period. The result is a panorama that is both nuanced and comprehensive, not only chronologically but also geographically. This work provides a framework for further study of the bishops as reformers, as well the linkages between reform and royal and papal authority. In addition, it lays the ground work for a suggestive reframing of traditional questions of continuity and discontinuity in the history of Catholic reform.

The prize is named in memory of the famous historian of American Catholicism John Gilmary Shea (1824-1892) and is partially funded by a bequest of the late Reverend Dr. John Whitney Evans of the College of Saint Scholastica, Duluth, Minnesota. It is given each year to the American or Canadian author who, in the opinion of the committee, has made the most original and significant contribution to the historiography of the Catholic Church in the form of a book published during the previous twelve-month period ending June 30.

The Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize is composed of Father Augustine Thompson, O.P., of the University of Virginia, for medieval history; Professor Thomas C. Reeves of the University of Wisconsin, Parkside, for American history, and Father Charles J. T. Talar of the University of Saint Thomas, Saint Mary's Seminary, Houston, for modern European history.

AUGUSTINE THOMPSON, O.P., *Chairman*

Report of the Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize

The ACHA's Howard R. Marraro Prize for 2006 is awarded to Lance Gabriel Lazar, an associate professor of history at Assumption College, Worcester, Massachusetts, for his book *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy*, which was published by the University of Toronto Press in 2005.

This careful and learned monograph makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the motivations, goals, and accomplishments of Jesuit confraternities in the initial decades of the Order. Previous scholarship on Jesuit confraternal activity has centered on the Marian congregations, the first of which (the Prima Primaria) was founded by Jan Leunis in the Roman College in 1563. Professor Lazar focuses instead upon three confraternities that Ignatius Loyola himself established in Rome in the early 1540s: (1) the *Compagnia della Grazia*, which established and managed a halfway house for women seeking refuge, a group including reformed prostitutes; (2) the *Compagnia delle Vergini Miserabili di Santa Caterina*, which provided long-term cloistered care for poverty-stricken girls (including daughters of prostitutes) who were perceived to be in moral danger; and (3) the Archconfraternity of St. Joseph, which established and governed a "Casa dei Catecumeni" for newly converted Jews and Muslims.

Professor Lazar convincingly demonstrates the vitality of these sometimes makeshift charitable institutions, and he shows how St. Ignatius himself played a critical role in shaping them. Each of the three confraternity-run houses sought to intervene to help the marginalized, and each did so with the goal of preparing its charges for reintegration into society. For each confraternity, the Jesuits enlisted the participation and financial support of elite lay people, especially of noblewomen, and respected traditional class divisions rather than trying to eradicate them. Each of the three charitable institutions provided a model of outreach that would be highly influential.

Working in the Vineyard of the Lord is most impressive for how it situates its panoptic view of early Jesuit confraternities in the larger context of sixteenth-century European cultures of reform. Professor Lazar has read both widely and deeply in the scholarly literature, not only about institutions of poor relief in both Protestant and Catholic regions, but also about how Christians historically had dealt with prostitutes, Jews, and Muslims, respectively. Equipped with this formidable range of knowledge, he is able to distinguish authoritatively between the traditional and the innovative, and between the generic and the unique. The result is a measured, richly documented contribution that promises to be of lasting significance.

The committee is composed of Kenneth Gouwens of the University of Connecticut, representing the American Catholic Historical Association, Joanne Ferraro of San Diego State University, representing the American Historical Association, and David Roberts of the University of Georgia, representing the Society for Italian Historical Studies.

KENNETH GOUWENS, *Chairman*

Report on the Committee on the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award

On behalf of the Committee for the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award, I am pleased to announce that we had an unusually large number of applicants this year, eleven, all with excellent records and with dissertations on a very broad range of topics, ranging chronologically from the eighth century to the 1950's, and geographically from the British Isles, the Carolingian Empire, and Spain, to Cuba, Mexico, New Mexico, and Chicago. Given the overall distinction of the proposals and the diversity in themes, locations, and periods, we found it very difficult to choose among the top candidates and have decided to split the award between our two excellent front-runners.

Kathleen Holscher (Princeton University): "The Conflict over Nuns in U.S. Public Schools."

Kathleen Holscher's research on the controversy surrounding the presence of Catholic sisters as teachers in American public schools, producing legal confrontation in the New Mexico case *Zellers v. Huff* (1951), superbly reveals the complexity of American attitudes toward religion. Because

American optimism has focused historically on the rearing of children, the classroom as a physical space and an intellectual site stirs recurring conflict. During the Cold War, a time when religious practice gained importance in the nation's public culture as an icon of freedom, the issue was less whether children should be exposed to religion than what kind of faith they would encounter. Expediency that had once led localities to employ nuns, inevitably dressed in habits, as public school teachers now predictably evoked ideological resistance. Holscher offers scholars a rich case study informed by the methods of material, social, and legal history. Her subject highlights the enduring American attachment to religious activity that places the diverging values of the nation's religious communities at the center of public debate.

Steven Turley (University of Wisconsin-Madison): "The Development of Franciscan Missionary Spirituality in Granada and New Spain, 1492-1572."

If historians are finally to transcend the boundaries imposed by nationalism and the nation state they must produce works that cross linguistic and political borders. Steven Turley's project exemplifies the kind of historiography that represents the future of our discipline. Combining formidable language skills that are essential for a less parochial history, together with a broad transatlantic vision, Turley examines the Franciscan order's struggle to convert the indigenous peoples of the New World while maintaining its traditional role of fostering reform in the Old. The thrust of his work has been to uncover the attitudes and the spirituality (mystical and humanist, with heterodox strains) of the Franciscans who left their known world to confront the strangeness of one across the ocean and to investigate how that confrontation "converted the missionaries to new understanding of their faith." Enriched by his broad cultural approach, his project will be a major contribution to the literature of the Christianization of the New World and the mentalities of the Old.

The members of the committee were Margaret Lavinia Anderson of the University of California at Berkeley, Kenneth Pennington of The Catholic University of America, and Anne C. Rose of Pennsylvania State University.

MARGARET LAVINIA ANDERSON, *Chairman*

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer

The Association met for its annual meeting in Atlanta this year. The last meeting in Atlanta was in 1996 (remembered by many for among other things, a freakish brutal ice and snow storm). We had twelve sessions at this meeting. Two sessions were co-sponsored with the Conference on Latin American History and one with the American Society of Church History. We thank Professor James Powell and his program committee for putting together an

intriguing array of sessions and Ms. Sharon Tune of the American Historical Association for her help in scheduling them.

Membership declined again last year, though the losses were not quite as great as in some recent years.

The high point in the Association's membership came in 1961 at 1,333 members.

We began the year 2006 with 890 members.

We gained forty-five (45) new members. They included twenty seven (27) new ordinary, fifteen (15) new student and three (3) new retired, members. Twelve (12) members, whose affiliation had lapsed, renewed this year. We thus gained fifty-seven (57) members over last year.

On the other side of the ledger, four (4) members died, four (4) resigned and seventy-three (73) let their memberships lapse. We thus lost eighty-one (81) members from last year.

Our total loss from last year, then, is twenty-four (24) members, and thus as the Association begins the year 2007 its membership stands at 876.

Our net loss in 2006 was not quite as great as in 2005. The difference between 2005 and 2006 lies largely in the disparity in the number of new members. In 2005 we added twenty two (22) new members, twelve (12) ordinary and ten (10) student members, compared to this year's forty five (45) new members.

It is difficult to determine why the number of new members rose this year over last. Though there has been a long-term decline over several years in the Association's membership, the numbers are sufficiently volatile from one year to the next to caution against reading too much into year-by-year comparisons. In 2004, for example, the Association enrolled forty (40) new members, thirty three (33) new ordinary members, and seven (7) new students.

We can point to efforts to increase membership this year that may have had some effect in prompting new memberships. Perhaps the one that had the greatest impact was Dr. Minnich's practice of asking scholars, who were not members of the Association but reviewed books for the *Review*, to join the ACHA. This had regularly been done in the past but less successfully.

We also took some steps to increase membership in the future. We began to create a database of recent PhDs in Catholic history by identifying them from *Dissertation Abstracts* and searching for their current addresses. We looked at dissertations in Catholic history from the last three years. We were not able to contact these scholars this last year but hope to do so in the future and expect to add to the database as well. This should provide a useful resource for targeting our potential market among young scholars.

We mourn the following four members who were in good standing when they died last year:

The Reverend Scott J. Buchanan, Saint Ann Catholic Church, Holly Hill, South Carolina, a member since 1999

Dr. Charles J. Fleener, Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, a life member since 1980

The Reverend Harold F. Vieages, V.F., New Orleans, Louisiana, a member since 1980.

The Rev. Francis J. Murphy, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, a member since 1972 and a member of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize in 2002.

Two members whose deaths in 2005 we only learned about in 2006 were:

The Reverend Donald J. Grimes, C.S.C., King's College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, a member since 1976

Dr. John A. Schulz, Los Angeles, California, a member since 1961

In addition to these departed members let us recall also the memory of a former member of long standing though not active at the time of his death:

The Reverend John F. Broderick, S.J., Campion Center, Weston, Massachusetts, a member from 1953 to 2003.

The Association's Spring Meeting took place at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, a small city, but beloved by its natives (including this one). The meeting was organized by Professor Virginia Raguin and took place on April 7th and 8th 2006. This spring the Association will meet at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin from March 29 to March 31, 2007. We thank Father Steven Avella for organizing this meeting.

As Treasurer, while the slower decline in membership and the surge in the value of our endowment are more gratifying, still the Association faces some important decisions about how it will conduct its business over the long term. First, the Association will have to address some rising costs. The office secretary's salary has risen slightly but annual meeting costs are rising significantly. In particular, convention audiovisual costs have become exorbitant. The American Historical Association no longer acts as a go-between in contracting such services from the convention hotel for its affiliates and this may have contributed to the increase.

While costs rise or remain high, income has fallen. Annual meeting income has not met the costs of the meetings since at least the year 2000. This year annual meeting costs were $3,824.69 but income was but $2,309.60. It is hard to compare membership income year by year because the largest number of renewals comes either in early December or after Christmas depending on when the reminders are sent out, which are, in turn, dependent on when the

Review is mailed. Since our fiscal year ends on December 16, this can lead to a wide variation in the income from membership from year to year. Keeping that in mind, it is nonetheless still useful to note what membership fees have provided us in income over recent years. As recently as 2003 and 2004 they exceeded forty thousand dollars ($43,235 and $41,945 respectively), but have been only $31,560, $37,795 and $31,009.08 respectively in the last three years.

The endowment thus has been a vital source of income for the Association in meeting its costs. Between 2000 and 2005, the Association drew an annual average of $17,670.49 from either the income generated by the endowment or the sale of investments in the endowment to pay its bills. This last year, the Association sold off $9,000 of investments (still much less than the $20,728.16 in dividends that the Association's investments produced in income) but even that amount was too little to meet our obligations. Since I knew that I would be stepping down from the Treasurer's post and returning it to Monsignor Trisco, I left it to him, far more experienced than I, to determine what further sales of investments the Association should make to meet these obligations.

Though the Association does have issues to address, it is important to keep in mind that unless the membership decline becomes precipitous, or the stock market suffers a catastrophic crash, the Association remains financially sound. The endowment, the product of Monsignor Trisco's lifelong hard work and sharp financial acumen, provides sufficient cushion to meet the Association's obligations into the foreseeable future.

The value of our investments has increased considerably over the past year. The net equity of our portfolio held by Deutsche Bank Alex Brown on November 30, 2005 was $867,333.52; on December 31, 2006 it was $1,018,847.90. This represents an increase of $151,514.38 or 17.46%. The value of our other holdings also increased, though less dramatically, by 4.8%. The current value of our investments is as follows:

Wachovia Certificate of Deposit (October 12, 2006)	3,241.00
T. Rowe Price GNMA funds	44,441.54
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio	83,700.00
Vanguard High Yield Corporate Fund	5,273.16
	136,656.20
Adding the net value of the portfolio held by Deutsche Bank Alex Brown	1,018,847.90
Total 2006	1,155,504.07
Total 2005, November 30	997,730.03
Increase December 31, 2006 over November 30 2005	157,774.07

The percentage increase was a healthy 15.8% from 2005 to 2006.

Financial Statement

Fund Statement (as of December 15, 2006)

Cash:	
Balance as of December 15, 2005	21,569.08
Increase (Decrease)	(5,537.34)
Sale of Stock	9,000.00
Balance as of December 15, 2006	25,031.74
Investments (See Exhibit B)	409,935.90
Total	434,967.64

Statement of Revenue and Expenses (Exhibit A)
(for the period December 15, 2005 through December 15, 2006)

Revenue		
Membership Fees		
Annual		31,009.08
Annual Meeting		2,309.60
Endowment Fund		241.88
Dividends		370.08
Total		33,930.64
Expenses		
Office Expenses		
Secretary		14,505.27
Telephone		26.88
Supplies and Printing		2,287.00
Postage		998.60
Catholic Historical Review		17,040.00
Annual Meeting		3,824.69
John Gilmary Shea Prize		
Award	750.00	
Luncheon	90.00	
Less Endowment Income	(400.86)	
		439.14
Bank Service Charges		57.00
Miscellaneous		290.00
Total		39,467.98
Operational surplus—Net Gain (loss)		(5,537.34)

Investments (Exhibit B)

General Fund	
Balance as of December 15, 2005	282,800.59
Income from Investments (dividends and interest)	
Abbot Laboratories	1,950.54

Deutsche Bank Alex. Brown		
Cash Fund	1,110.45	
General Electric Company	2,785.47	
Johnson and Johnson	2,842.55	
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund	1,182.16	
T. Rowe Price Equity Index	1,853.60	
T. Rowe Price Emerging Europe	1,118.06	
Vanguard GNMA Fund	2,643.84	
Vanguard High Yield	370.08	
Less dividends received as revenue		(370.08)
Less Stock Sold		
T. Rowe Price Media and Technology		(9.000.00)
Total		289,063.90
Special Fund I—Howard R. Marraro Prize		
Balance as of December 15, 2005		18,572.13
Investment Income		
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund		928.61
Prize and Luncheon		795.00
Balance as of December 15, 2006		18,705.74
Special Fund II—Anne M. Wolf Fund		
Balance as of December 15, 2005		5,071.08
Investment Income		
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund		253.55
Balance as of December 15, 2006		5,324.63
Special Fund III—Expansion of the Catholic Historical Review		
Balance as of December 15, 2005		270.63
Contributions		4,592.00
Expense		(3,604.21)
Balance as of December15, 2006		1,258.42
Special Fund IV—Endowment		
Balance as of December 15, 2005		4,642.50
Investment income		
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio		241.68
Transferred to Exhibit A		(241.68)
Balance as of December 15, 2006		4,642.50
Special Fund V—John Tracy Ellis Memorial Fund		
Balance as of December 15, 2005		25,812.44
Investment Income		
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio		1,337.08
Award		(1,200.00)
Subscription to the *Catholic Historical Review*		(36.00)
Balance as of December 15, 2006		25,908.52

Special Fund VI—Harry C. Koenig Fund		
Balance as of December 15, 2005	53,100.07	
Investment income		
PIMCO GNMA Fund—Class C	1,932.99	
Balance as of December 15, 2006	55,033.06	
Special Fund VII—John Whitney Evans Fund for the John Gilmary Shea Prize		
Balance as of December 15, 2005	10,000.00	
Investment income		
PIMCO GNMA Fund Class A	400.86	
Applied to Prize	(400.86)	
Balance as of December 15, 2006	10,000.00	
Total		120,872.00

New Members

Rev. Casey Beaumier, S.J., Boston College, Saint Mary's Hall, 140 Commonwealth Avenue, Chestnut Hill, MA 02467

Ms. Emily K. Berquist, 135 Salem Drive, Ithaca, NY 14850

Mr. Ronald A. Binzley, 713 Moygara Road, Monona, WI 53716

Dr. Philip Bolger, 808 Barbara Blvd., Franklin Square, NY 11010

Professor Noel D. Cary, 61 Winter Hill Road, Holden, MA 01520

Ms. Grace C. Chan, 744 Oakwood Court, Westmont, IL 60559

Dr. Mary Katherine Cooney, Department of History, Lourdes College, Sylvania, OH 43560

Mr. Brian J. Coyne, 565 Wolcott Hill Road, Wethersfield, CT 06109

Mr. Jace T. Crouch, 603 Liberty Street, Alma, MI 48801-1230

Dr. Joanna H. Drell, 3331 W. Franklin Street, Richmond, VA 23221

Mr. Steven Ellersick, 1010 NW 175th Street, Shoreline, WA 98177

Dr. James Felak, Department of History, University of Washington, 315 Smith, Box 353560, Seattle, WA 98195-3560

Professor Alison Frazier, History B 7000—Mail Station 1, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712-0220

Dr. Laura Grimes, 1300 Adams Avenue, Apt. 12E, Costa Mesa, CA 92626

Mr. Ryan T. Gruters, 595 Wilhelm Road, Goshen, VA 24439-2306

Dr. Todd F. Hartch, Department of History, 303 Keith Building, Eastern Kentucky University, 521 Lancaster Avenue, Richmond, KY 40475-3102

Ms. Kathleen A. Holscher, 408 Green Street, Apt. A, Philadelphia, PA 19123

Professor Charlene F. Kalinoski, Department of Foreign Languages, Roanoke College, 221 College Lane, Salem, VA 24153-3794

Professor Paula M. Kane, Department of Religious Studies, 2604 CL, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Mr. James G. Kroemer, 9440 N. Bethanne Drive, Brown Deer, WI 53223

Dr. Ulrich Lehner, 1112 E. Knapp Street, Apt. 18, Milwaukee, WI 53202

Dr. Melissa Belleville Lurio, 703 Forest Avenue, Oak Park, IL 60302

Professor Sabine MacCormack, 511 Marquette Avenue, South Bend, IN 46617
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Dr. Linda McMahon, 6800 Fleetwood Road, #1123, McLean, VA 221101
Dr. David P. Miros, Midwest Jesuit Archives, 4511 West Pine Boulevard, Saint Louis, MO 63108-2191
Dr. Michael E. O'Sullivan, Box 957, Emory, VA 24327
Ms. Mary Alma Parker, 2 Riverdale Drive, Charleston, SC 29407
Mr. Michael Pasquier, Jr., 1015 Kingdom Drive, Tallahassee, FL 32311-1223
Professor Rodger Payne, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Louisiana State University, 106 Coates Hall, Baton Rouge, LA 70803
Ms. Fernanda Perrone, 20 Magnolia Street, #81, Highland Park, NJ 08057
Mr. Samuel Pierce, 4411 Black Forest Way, Gainesville, FL 32605
Mr. Arthur Plaza, 71-29 58th Road, Maspeth, NY 11378
Dr. Raymond A. Powell, 129 Fawn Valley Drive, Boerne, TX 78006
Dr. Joyce E. Salisbury, 3651 Bay Settlement Road, Green Bay, WI 54311
Mr. John A. Scofield, 51177 Lexingham Drive, Granger, IN 46530
Professor Rainulf A. Stelzmann, 18705 Lakeshore Drive, Lutz, FL 33549-3830
Ms. Carrie Lee Tallichet, 822 Azalea Court, College Station, TX 77840
Ms. Lisa Wuliang Tom, 2021 Amur Court, Milpitas, CA 95035-2516
Mr. Jonathan Truitt, 1937 W. St. Germain Street, St. Cloud, MN 56301
Dr. Richard Warren, History Department, St. Joseph's University, 5600 City Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19131
Mr. Donald C. Weigel, 7910 Michael Road, Orchard Park, NY 14127-1464
Ms. Kathy J. Wilson, Department of History, 280 Schaeffer Hall, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242
Dr. Stanley L. Wyrzykowski, Esq., 633 Palisade Avenue, 1A, Cliffside Park, NJ 07010
Ms. Anna T. Zakarija, 4100 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Apt. 610, Washington, DC 20016

TIMOTHY J. MEAGHER

Report of the Editor

Volume XCII (1906) contained 736 pages with Arabic numerals, 22 with Roman for the preliminary materials, and 16 for the index, for a total of 764 pages, 124 pages more than budgeted. We are grateful to those who generously contributed money to make these extra pages possible.* The volume con-

***Final List of Contributors—2006**

Rev. John Alexander, O.P., Ms. Charlotte Ames, Rev. Robert C. Ayers, Rev. Dr. Paul F. Bailey, Ms. Carla Bang, Prof. Lawrence Barmann, Prof. Frederic J. Baumgartner, Dr. Christopher M. Bellitto, Prof. Harry L. Bennett, Dr. Martin A. Bergin, Jr., Dr. Melinda K. Blade, Dr. Uta Renate Blumenthal, Rev. Dr. Thomas Bokenkotter, Prof. Henry W. Bowden, Prof. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Dr. Franklin W. Burch, Dr. David H. Burton, Prof. Anne M. Butler, Prof. William J. Callahan, Rev. Robert Carbonneau, C.P., Rev. Msgr. Patrick J. Carney, Rev. Daniel E. Carter, Mr. Joseph C. Castora, Rev. Peter Clarke, Rev. Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., Prof. Luca Codignola, Prof.

tained 12 articles, 3 review articles, 2 review essays, 166 book reviews, 10 brief notices, and one miscellany.

Of the articles received prior to 2006, 10 were published in 2006, 4 await publication, 7 are pending revisions, and 10 were rejected during 2006. Of the articles received in 2006, one was published, 8 were accepted and await publication, 2 are pending revisions, 8 are being evaluated, 3 were rejected, and 2 withdrawn. In an effort to increase the number and quality of the articles offered to the review, I wrote to the past presidents of the Association in October of 2005 soliciting their assistance and offerings. Four past presidents sent me articles and another two promised to do so. I also urged those whose articles had been accepted pending revisions to complete the revisions.

As to the distribution of fields, the articles break down as follows—articles accepted prior to 2006 and published in 2006 (10): Medieval (2), Early Modern

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Frank Coppa, Rev. Richard F. Costigan, S. J., Prof. Jay Corrin, Bro. Emmett Corry, O.S.F., Professor Raymond L. Cummings, Prof. George Dameron, Rev. Dr. Richard L. DeMolen, Vincent P. De Santis, Sister Susan Karina Dickey, O.P., Dr. John J. Dillon, Dr. Roy P. Domenico, Rev. Msgr. Thomas Duffy, Most Rev. Walter J. Edyvean, Dr. Keith J. Egan, Mr. Nicholas Falco, Rev. James K. Farge, C.S.B., Mr. Louis Ferrero, Rev. James Flint, O.S.B., Mr. Ryan P. Freeburn, Prof. John B. Freed, Rev. Joseph Fugolo, C.S., Sr. Ann Miriam Gallagher, Rev. James F. Garneau, Dr. Sheridan Gilley, Rev. Paul E. Gins, O.S.M., Prof. J. Phillip Gleason, Dr. Philip A. Grant, Jr., Rev. Peter N. Graziano, Prof. Paul F. Grendler, Prof. Michael J. Hayden, Sr. Mary Hayes, S.N.D., Dr. Thomas Head, Jr., Prof. Thomas J. Heffernan, Dr. Sandra Horvath-Peterson, Rev. Msgr. Richard A. Hughes, Dr. Jane C. Hutchison, Rev. Leon M. Hutton, Prof. James John, Prof. Christopher J. Kauffman, Rev. Rene Kolar, O.S.B., Rev. Msgr. Raymond J. Kupke , Dr. Henry J. Lang, Dr. Charles F. Lasher, Mrs. Joan Lenardon, Rev. Dennis M. Linehan, S.J., Most Rev. Oscar H. Lipscomb, Rev. John F. Lyons, Rev. Michael P. Lyons, Rev. Ambrose Macaulay, Dr. Ellen A. Macek, Dr. Joseph F. Mahoney, Dr. Elizabeth Makowski, Dr. Lawrence McAndrews, Sr., Rev. Floyd Mc Coy, Mr. Frederick J. McGinness, Rev. Thomas C. McGonigle, O.P., Mr. John H. McGuckin, Jr., Rev. Joseph M. McLafferty, Dr. Mary M. McLaughlin, Rev. Robert McNamara, Sr. Bridget Merriman, Rev. Wilson D. Miscamble, C.S.C., Dr. Edward J. Misch, Prof. John C. Moore, Dr. Victoria M. Morse, Dr. James M. Muldoon, Most Rev. Francis Murphy, D.D., Rev. Benedict Neenan, Ms. Caroline Newcombe, Rev. Dr. Leo A. Nicoll, S.J., Prof. Thomas F. X. Noble, Dr. William L. North, Prof. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Prof. Francis Oakley, Prof. Glenn W. Olsen, Dr. John R. Page, Prof. Fred S. Paxton, Rev. Dr. John Piper, Jr., Rev. Thaddeus Posey, O.F.M. Cap., Prof. James M. Powell, Dr. Robert E. Quigley, Dr. John F. Quinn, Dr. Marguerite Ragnow, Prof. Virginia Reinburg, Prof. John F. Roche, Dr. David M. David Rooney, Mr. John Peter Rooney, Prof. Anne C. Rose , Prof. Jane Rosenthal, Dr. Steven J. Rosswurm, Dr. James D. Ryan, Prof. José M. Sánchez, Rev. Msgr. Robert J. Sarno, Dr. Daniel L. Schlafly, Rev. Dr. David G. Schultenover, S.J., Rev. Dr. Robert Scully, S.J., Rev. Msgr. Francis Seymour, Rev. Msgr. Thomas Shelley, Mr. George T. Spera, Dr. Peter F. Steinfels, Dr. Neil Storch, Right Rev. Matthew Stark, O.S.B., Dr. Stephen J. Sweeney, Rev. Arthur I. Taborelli, Rev. Prof. Charles J. T. Talar, Rev. George H. Tavard, Mr. Daniel F. Tanzone, Prof. Samuel J. Thomas, Rev. Dr. Thomas W. Tifft, Prof. James D. Tracy, Rev. Dr. Edward R. Udovic, C. M., Rev. John Vidmar, O.P., Dr. Karen T. Wagner, Prof. Morimichi Watanabe, Rev. Msgr. Edward Wetterer, Rev. Martin N. Winters, Rev. John W. Witek, S.J., and Rev. Dr. Martin A. Zielinski

(2), Late Modern (2), American (3), Mixed (1); accepted prior to 2006 and awaiting publication (4): Late Modern (2), American (1), Far East (1); accepted prior to 2006 and pending revisions (7): Medieval (1), Early Modern (1), Late Modern (2), American (2), Latin American (1); received prior to 2006 and rejected in 2006 (10): Medieval (1), Early Modern (1), Late Modern (4), American (2), Latin American (1), Far East (1); received in 2006 and published in 2006 (1): Medieval; received in 2006 and accepted awaiting publication (8): Medieval (3), Early Modern (2), Late Modern (1), American (2); received in 2006 and accepted pending revisions (2): Early Modern (1), Late Modern (1); received in 2006 and still being evaluated (8): Medieval (2), Early Modern (2), Late Modern (2), Latin American (2); received in 2006 and rejected (3): Medieval (1), American (2); received in 2006 and withdrawn (2): Early Modern (1), Late Modern (1). The summary distribution of all articles received is: General (0), Ancient (0), Medieval (11), Early Modern (10), Late Modern (15), American (12), Latin American (4), Canadian (0), Far East (2), and Mixed (1).

For many years the John D. Lucas Printing Company, bought out by the Cenveo Publishing Company, has provided courteous and excellent services to the review, for which we are grateful. But because of a dramatic increase in production costs by Cenveo, the *Review* reluctantly searched for a new typesetter and printer. We found a new typesetter in BocaType of Boca Raton, Florida, and a new printer in Sheridan Printing Company of Hanover, Pennsylvania. With the July issue we made the switch. To bring down costs we have gone increasingly to an electronic format. The editing corrections are now done mostly in our office. In general the transition has gone smoothly, but one problem did occur with the first issue: the pagination was off—it repeated that of the April issue, a problem discovered by our indexer. We hope this does not create difficulties for future bibliographers.

Monsignor Robert Trisco has graciously continued to provide me with invaluable assistance by way of sage advice on many topics, evaluation and copyediting of manuscripts, compilation of the Periodical Literature and Other Books Received sections, and careful proofreading of the galleys. Mr. Mark Frisius, a graduate student assistant, has helped me with great skill to find potential reviewers and their addresses, send out invitations, compile bibliographical cards and transmittal slips, and send out the books once accepted for review. Mrs. Rita Bogley, who also serves as assistant to the Association's Secretary and Treasurer, also assists Msgr. Trisco in the compilation of the Periodical Literature and Other Books Received sections, types the Table of Contents and some correspondence, sees that galleys and offprints are sent to the authors and publishers, and provides numerous other services that contribute to a cheerful atmosphere in the office. She is ably assisted by the undergraduate work-study student, Mr. Sean Phillips. I am most grateful to them all for their dedicated services to the review.

NELSON H. MINNICH

BOOK REVIEWS

General

Christian Community in History. Vol. 1: *Historical Ecclesiology*. By Roger Haight. (New York: Continuum. 2004. Pp. x, 438. $34.95.)

The prior decade, but especially the last few years, has seen a short but rich shelf of books on ecclesiology from both established and emerging scholars (Joseph Komonchak, Thomas Rausch, Richard Gaillardetz, Bernard Prusak, Gerard Mannion, Christopher Ruddy, *et al.*). This research represents a natural summation, re-evaluation, and reconfiguring of the generation of scholarship sparked by Vatican II's promulgation of *Lumen gentium* and *Gaudium et spes,* now just over forty years ago. Roger Haight's *Historical Ecclesiology* joins this company as the first of his two-volume *Christian Community in History*. (Volume 2: *Comparative Ecclesiology* covering the Reformation through contemporary developments, appeared in 2005.) Haight intends *Christian Community in History* to form a sort of trilogy with his *Dynamics of Theology* (1990, 2001) and *Jesus Symbol of God* (1999).

Haight begins with a discussion of what he defines as historical ecclesiology: an exploration of a lived rather than a theoretical ecclesiology, despite the fact that the study must attend to theories of the nature and function of the Church in addition to her actual experiences. He explains that he intends the phrase "historical ecclesiology" to mean ecclesiology "from below" as opposed to "from above" or an abstract and ahistorical approach. Indeed, a "from above" approach has not been characteristic of the most recent studies in the field, although Haight's date of publication indicates that he was probably unable to engage some of the newly-published scholarship of his colleagues who have likewise been pairing ecclesiological concepts with the difficult realities and diverse contexts of church history.

Haight "intends to do more than simply lay out the various ecclesiologies that have been generated in the course of history. . . . Drawing out these principles results not in a metahistory of ecclesiologies, but a more empirically based set of guidelines for reflection on the church at any given time. . . . The goal of the work is to display a historical and developing church with multiple ecclesiologies" (pp. 2-3, 6). He pursues this goal by looking at developments in history and theology, while also applying concepts from sociology and anthropology, to form a "multidenominational and interdisciplinary analysis of the church" (p. 11). It should be noted that the author approaches this goal as a

systematic theologian and not as an ecclesiologist or a church historian; at times he is not in dialogue with the latest research on particular topics, which weakens especially the chapter on conciliarism.

Each chapter, after the first on methodology, has four similar sections—historical narrative/development, a social-theological (and sometimes anthropological) analysis, a description of the period, and a summary "principles for a Historical Ecclesiology"—treating, in turn, the Church's genesis, the Church before and after Constantine, the Gregorian reform and the medieval Church, and the late medieval Church, considering especially conciliarism. The parallel structure makes for helpful comparisons, particularly for the graduate and seminary student best suited as the book's audience. The volume's technical language and somewhat formal delivery might not work well with undergraduates or the uninformed general reader. For the dedicated reader, however, there is a great reward in learning more about a Church that should be constantly self-reflective; that should discover how she has developed and changed; and that should understand the critical difference and creative tension between continuity and discontinuity in her past and present life.

Kean University CHRISTOPHER M. BELLITTO

When Science & Christianity Meet. Edited by David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 357. $29.00.)

More than twenty years ago, David Lindberg and Ronald Numbers, both of them professors in the Department of the History of Science at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, edited an important work in which an international group of eighteen distinguished historians published essays on the relationship between Christianity and science from the time of the early church up to the twentieth century. That work, *God and Nature* (1986), explicitly rejected the commonly held thesis that science and Christianity have generally coexisted in a state of conflict or warfare. Building on the success of that earlier volume, the two men later edited the work here under review, this time offering twelve case histories covering some of what they call "the most notorious, most interesting, or most instructive instances of encounter between these two powerful cultural forces" (p. 4). Once the essays were drafted, the editors organized a conference that brought together the authors with a roughly equal number of teachers and college students for the sole purpose of ensuring that the essays had attained the desired level of accuracy and accessibility. The final product, which includes more than fifty black-and-white illustrations and eleven pages of annotated bibliography, has admirably met the editors' goals. In particular, the format of "case histories" allowed the contributors to avoid sweeping, questionable generalizations and oversimplifications and to focus instead on the uniqueness of each case, with its specific historical actors, agenda, and social and cultural context.

The issues examined in the twelve essays are arranged in chronological order, with the opening piece dealing with the ways in which Augustine of Hippo in the fourth and early fifth century and Roger Bacon in the thirteenth thought the natural sciences could serve as "handmaidens" of theology and religion. There follow studies of the Galileo affair, the rise of a mechanistic understanding of the universe in the latter half of the seventeenth century, the ways in which eighteenth-century natural philosophers understood the nature of forces such as gravity and electricity, the effect of modern geology on Christian interpretations of the biblical narratives of creation and the Noachic deluge, debates over the antiquity of the human race, the varied responses to Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection, the possibility of miracles, the response of Christians in the United States to Freudian psychoanalysis, the way in which the Scopes trial became part of the fabric of American culture, and the gradual transition from "godly natural philosophy" to "naturalistic modern science" since the time of the Scientific Revolution.

In this short review, it is not possible to discuss each of these essays; instead, I will briefly comment on three that struck me as especially noteworthy. Lindberg's "Galileo, the Church, and the Cosmos" is a masterful summary of the Galileo affair. By studying the case in its seventeenth-century European context, an era of increasing religious and political absolutism, he is able to demonstrate that Galileo's condemnation was a product "not of dogmatism or intolerance beyond the norm, but of a combination of more or less standard (for the seventeenth century) bureaucratic procedure, plausible (if ultimately flawed) political judgment, and a familiar array of human foibles and failings" (p. 60).

In "Science, Miracles, and the Prayer-Gauge Debate," Robert Bruce Mullin of the General Theological Seminary in New York City examines the way in which the Protestant Reformation affected the earlier, traditional understanding of miracles and prayer and thereby led to the kind of controversy that emerged three centuries later when the English physicist John Tyndall attacked belief not only in miracles but also in those acts of "special providence" in which God was believed to act in a hidden way in the regular course of nature. While developments in modern physics have led many scientists to question Tyndall's strictly deterministic model of the universe, Mullin notes in his conclusion that within the past four decades there has emerged a new scholarly debate over the very issues that the English physicist raised a century and a half ago.

Thirdly, in "Psychoanalysis and American Christianity, 1900-1945," Jon H. Roberts of Boston University traces the way in which many physicians in the early twentieth century stopped attributing mental illness to pathological conditions in the brain or nervous system (the "somatic" view of the mind) and adopted instead the position that such illness is rooted in psychological malfunctioning, especially in the inability of persons "to adapt effectively to their cultural or social environments" (p. 227). While the resulting "psychotherapy" was generally well-received by American religious thinkers in the first half of the twentieth century, the psychoanalytic branch of the movement was

viewed with much suspicion if not outright rejection, in part because of the assaults on religion by professed Freudians, in part because of the psychoanalysts' tendency to use the motif of "illness" rather than "sinful choices" when describing a person's capitulation to base desires.

With its concise, clearly written essays about these and similar topics, including extensive endnotes that refer the reader to primary texts and important scholarly studies, this volume is a superb introduction to some of the most fascinating episodes in the long history of the relationship between science and Christianity.

The Catholic University of America JAMES A. WISEMAN, O.S.B.

Index librorum prohibitorum: 1600-1966. Edited by J. M. De Bujanda with the assistance of Marcella Richter. [Index des livres interdits, Volume XI.] (Montreal: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, Université de Sherbrooke, Médiaspaul; Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2002. Pp. 980.)

After the publication of the ten volumes of Index of forbidden books, which record all books prohibited by secular and ecclesiastical authorities in Catholic Europe during the sixteenth century, this eleventh volume of the series *Index des livres interdits* directed by J. M. De Bujanda registers the books appearing only on the Roman Index, but it embraces a much wider span of time. It lists approximately 5200 titles and 3000 authors, whose prohibition was issued between 1600 and 1966, when the Roman Index was finally abolished by Pope Paul VI. To these impressive numbers, as De Bujanda stresses in his introduction, must be added anonymous writings, titles that, though never placed on the index, were not allowed to circulate for several reasons, and that incalculable amount of books falling under the prohibitions of the general rules, which concerned *inter alia* vernacular translations of the Bible, lascivious and obscene texts, controversial religious literature, astrological writings, etc. De Bujanda, however, points out that a few authors and titles were withdrawn from the 1900 index following the reform of Roman censorship decreed by Leo XIII. Interestingly enough, this revision was the consequence of the harsh criticisms by F. H. Reusch, whose *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* was examined in 1885 by the Congregation of the Index in view of its condemnation. Far from being prohibited, Reusch's book prompted the censors to put order in the contradictory and messy contents of Roman catalogues (see Hubert Wolf, *Storia dell'Indice. Il Vaticano e i libri proibiti* [Rome: Donzelli, 2006], pp. 199-214). Notwithstanding the inevitably concise biographical data on the authors and bibliographical data on the writings, as compared to the previous volumes, De Bujanda provides the reader with the indispensable elements of a given author or a given work, thus offering an invaluable and hitherto lacking tool to scholars of censorship and to specialists of various disciplines. The major interest of this new volume, with respect to the sixteenth-century catalogues, lies in its chronology, for it encompasses

more than 350 years of activity of the three curial institutions involved in censorship—the Inquisition, the Congregation of the Index, and the Master of the Sacred Palace. A bird's-eye view of such a long period allows a deeper and broader understanding both of the wide-ranging spectrum of topics, issues, and disciplines at the center of Roman concerns and of the most significant changes over time in the selection of targets. Having lost its battle against the Reformation, Rome seems to have increasingly focused its attention on attacks from domestic dissidents: defenders of State jurisdiction against the encroachments of the Church and the claims of the papacy, Jansenists, quietists, and modernists. Meanwhile virtually every branch of knowledge, independently from its theological implications, came under close scrutiny, and every discipline—from philosophy to history, medicine, sciences, law, biblical studies, literature, etc.—paid its toll to censorship. Condemnations, however, were accurately dispensed: the relevance attributed to the authors or to the writings concerned was evidenced by the authority emitting them. The entries include references to the official document (decree, bull, brief, encyclical, edict), to the authority emitting it (pope, Inquisition, Index, Master of the Sacred Palace, and in a few cases the Congregations of Rites and Indulgences) and to the date. Though drawn from the 1948 index (the last catalogue published by the Roman Church), these data must be handled with caution, since they do not always refer the correct date of the decisions taken by the Inquisition or the Index or of the first publication of the prohibition. On the other hand, they also reflect long-term disputes as to which institution should cloak the condemnation of a book with its authority, a problem that needs to be more carefully investigated and that may account for both the frequent delays in condemning books and authors and for the contradictory instructions given to peripheral ecclesiastical authorities (nuncios, bishops, inquisitors), with the inevitable consequences on the actual practice of censorship.

Università di Parma GIGLIOLA FRAGNITO

Hagia Sophia, 1850-1950: Holy Wisdom Modern Monument. By Robert S. Nelson. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 278, 11 color plates. $65.00.)

This fascinating investigation of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul amasses a wealth of documentation—some of it well known and some of it new—to document and assess how it became a modern icon. It focuses on the people, writings, and illustrations that illuminate this "reception history." Intelligently and beautifully written, and well produced, with 119 figures and ten color plates, the important monograph of the Byzantine art historian Robert S. Nelson should appeal to the scholar and the general reader alike.

Nelson begins his inquiry with the completion of the last major restoration of the building from 1847 to 1849 by the Swiss architects, the Fossati brothers, and concludes around 1950, a rather arbitrary date, as he admits. But the

century of his overview was crucial for the transformation of Hagia Sophia as an artifact of the past—first as the cathedral and patriarchal church of Constantinople and then as the sultan's and the caliph's principal mosque Aya Sofya, into a monument of the present—since 1934 a museum seen by virtually all visitors to the city. We learn about the critics, poets, archeologists, architects, illustrators, photographers, philanthropists, government officials, and religious congregations who are tied to the fabric of Hagia Sophia's modern reception. The monograph is selective, focusing upon the European and American reception of the building, and excluding interpretations by Turks of the late Sultanate and early Republic, modern Greeks (except for some Greek Orthodox communities who migrated to the United States and built churches), and Orthodox Christians in late Czarist and early Soviet Russia.

Nelson's narrative unfolds in eight chapters. In Chapter One he sketches the lines of the Early Byzantine church of the sixth century, its post-Iconoclastic mosaic decoration, and the liturgical processions associated with the building. Then he outlines the scornful attitudes about or neglect of the building by late eighteenth and early nineteenth century writers. A few writers of the first half of the nineteenth century, however, offered positive appraisals of Hagia Sophia. For example, in her popular illustrated travel book *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London, 1838), Miss Julia Pardoe, who gained admittance to Hagia Sophia, termed it "an architectural wonder" (p. 63).

Chapter Two analyzes how certain scholars and architects in Germany, France, and England appropriated Byzantine architecture in the service of their respective countries. The next chapter discusses the sympathetic attitude toward Byzantine architecture in the writings of John Ruskin and how Ruskin made it relevant to Victorian building. No matter that Ruskin never visited Constantinople and based his grasp of Byzantine architecture on Venice, especially on architectural sculpture and mosaics in San Marco in Venice. Yet his *The Stones of Venice* (1851-1853) launched a general reappraisal of Byzantine architecture in general and Hagia Sophia in particular.

Chapter Four is to my mind the most important in the book. In the second half of the nineteenth century both photographic images of the building and its first scholarly studies appeared. The latter are well known in academic circles, but the photographs, engravings, and other reproductions gathered by Nelson are less familiar.

The "superhero" of this period was the British artist James Robertson, who moved to Constantinople in 1841 to modernize the Ottoman mint and who within a decade had taken up photography. Robertson photographed the exterior of Hagia Sophia, and his photographs became widely known. They not only inspired other photographers working in the city but were also transformed into engravings, lithographs, and etchings in newspapers and books on Constantinople which were published in Western Europe.

In fact, Robertson's exterior views continued to influence photographers and engravers as late as the 1920's. Nelson's research for this material took full advantage of the resources of the J. Paul Getty Museum, especially the Pierre de Gigord collection of some 6,000 photographs and other images of the Ottoman Empire acquired a decade ago. Nelson provides an incisive analysis of Robertson's photography and its impact, and this represents a significant contribution to the historiography of Hagia Sophia.

Overlooked by Nelson are the Messbildanstalt photographs of Hagia Sophia. The Königliche Preussische Messbildanstalt was established in Berlin by Albrecht Meydenbauer, who also founded photogrammetry. In 1902 and 1906 this institution took 186 photographs of Hagia Sophia, the building's first systematic photographic documentation.

One also wonders why Nelson did not consider early postcards of the church and the city. Historic postcards of Istanbul began to appear in 1890, and they circulated widely and surely stimulated interest in the building among those who wanted to possess a visual souvenir of its buildings and those who could not afford to visit Constantinople. This aspect of material culture is surveyed in the useful study by Robert Ousterhout and Nezih Basgelen, *Monuments of Unaging Intellect: Historic Postcards of Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1995).

Chapter 5 offers a highly readable account of William Morris, W. R. Lethaby, and Lord Curzon. In 1894 Lethaby and Harold Swainson published the first scholarly monograph on Hagia Sophia, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople*. Here we read about "the most famous building in the world." Nelson also describes the ill-fated proposal by the diplomat Lord George Curzon to oust the "Turk" from Constantinople and to restore Hagia Sophia to Christian worship, further evidence of the status of the monument as an all-important symbol in the West.

The next chapter analyzes Yeats' well known poems "Sailing to Byzantium" (1926) and "Byzantium" (1930). Nelson proposes possible art historical sources for these poems and attitudes of the previous half-century that may have shaped Yeats' thought in general.

In Chapter Seven we read about Thomas Whittemore (1871-1950) and his Byzantine Institute of America, which began uncovering Byzantine mosaics in Hagia Sophia in the early 1930's. Nelson reconstructs what is known about Whittemore's professional life and especially the lives of his wealthy American patrons.

The last chapter discusses a number of late nineteenth-and twentieth-century churches in his country whose design was inspired to a greater or lesser degree by that of Hagia Sophia. Appearing too late to be considered by Nelson was J. B. Bullen's *Byzantium Rediscovered* (2003), which paints a much broader canvas, taking up in detail the Byzantine revival in Germany,

Austria, France, and Britain, as well as this country. Nevertheless, Nelson discusses a number of neo-Byzantine American churches not cited by Bullen.

The path that Hagia Sophia followed into the canon of art history and Byzantine studies generally is now more fully understood thanks to the careful and enthusiastic research in Nelson's monograph.

Indiana University W. Eugene Kleinbauer

Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque. By Évonne Levy. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. x, 353. $55.00.)

The word "propaganda" summons up such a negative resonance that it could well turn a reader away from this book. That would be a mistake, for it is a learned and imaginative work. The author brings critical theory, sociological insight, cultural history, a discerning eye, and the nuances that only wide and deep knowledge of actual works of art can provide.

An introduction and a concluding "postscript from Berlin" on Nazi architecture serve as the bookends of the study. Nazi architecture produces a troubling "affect," as propaganda. Jesuit architecture and art on the other hand no longer do so, since they have been neutralized as the "political heat," especially of the nineteenth century, on the Society of Jesus has vanished. But are art and propaganda two distinct and unrelated possibilities, two mutually exclusive categories? How did the "propagandistic" art and architecture of the Jesuit Baroque actually function? Five chapters deal with those questions. Levy argues that what was at stake there and then was, to use Louis Althusser's term, "interpellation," or in "subject formation" the exchange of message between two partners.

The first chapter deals with the emergence of the so-called "Jesuit Style" as a pejorative term in the anti-Jesuitism of the 1840's, especially in Germany and France. The "Jesuit Style" proved to be a tenacious idea because of its political currency. The second chapter deals with propaganda and rhetoric, both as forms of persuasion. In some way this and the fourth chapter on the message of propaganda are the most difficult ones in the book because of the way they use theoretical constructs.

The third chapter on the propagandist deals with the Jesuit corporate culture of architecture and the individuals involved therein. How the chapel of Saint Ignatius, 1695-1699, in the church of the Gesú in Rome was designed amply demonstrates their interplay.

As the fourth chapter explains, the goal of a message is more important than its specific content in defining propaganda, a definition that includes a strong emotional appeal. Propaganda is "directed communication." The aim of

the Church's message in the Baroque, to use Althusser's insights on ideology, was essentially the *forming of subjects* in their own *responding* to that message and in holding a mirror up to themselves. A series of examples makes this clear. The first ones come from the various editions of Ribadeynera's biography of Saint Ignatius where "Ignatius becomes virtually synonymous with the form of the Society of Jesus itself." Other examples of images that produce subjects and saints are cultic sites in Rome associated with Ignatius. Excellent illustrations accompany the text here as also earlier and later in the book. One could wish they had been printed in color; perhaps the publisher thought it too expensive.

Finally the last chapter considers the diffusion of propaganda. It deals with architecture and the work of subject formation and of architecture as theology. In addition, Jesuit forms and Jesuit identity, the means of their diffusion in prints, and subsequent copies and imitations, come in for detailed treatment, again illustrated by examples. The book concludes with an extensive bibliography and an excellent index.

This is not a work for easy reading, in part because one of its great strengths is also a weakness; it is almost overfilled with one original insight after another through which it marches with great rapidity. But it is surely a volume that any library concerned with art history and/or the Jesuits should have on its shelves and of which anyone interested in those subjects should take serious account.

The Institute of Jesuit Sources JOHN PADBERG, S.J.
St. Louis, Missouri

Dictionary of Basilian Biography: Lives of Members of the Congregation of Priests of Saint Basil from Its Origins in 1822 to 2002. Second edition. Revised and augmented by P. Wallace Platt. (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. xxviii, 715. $125.00.)

"Let us now sing the praises of those great men." Although the dedication begins and the dust jacket ends this immense tome with Sirach, these 649 biographies are not eulogies. This is yet another reference work to join a growing list of Canadian religious biographical dictionaries—notably the Canadian Jesuit, Oblate, and Sulpician dictionaries. The Basilian dictionary requires a review, because it has several points in its favor.

First, it is published by a university press and, while that is not an automatic guarantee of better quality than other Catholic biographical dictionaries (although it does reach university standards of research, writing, editing, and publishing), it will reach a different audience through its own distribution network, guaranteeing a wider impact.

Second, it is a dictionary that includes every deceased Basilian priest, even those who left the Congregation of Saint Basil. Only professed students who

left before ordination are omitted. Other dictionaries rarely aspire to such comprehensiveness. Either the challenge is too great for very large Congregations, forcing a selection of more noteworthy individuals, or the compilers ignored those who left religious life. Few multi-volume efforts attempted comprehensiveness, even before legal worries of confidentiality, and they include only the briefest of entries. Not this one.

Third, it is a dictionary than crosses national boundaries, and includes French, English, Canadian, American, and a few other nationalities, as well as careers that go even farther, into Mexico and the Caribbean. Researchers and historians interested in the Catholic religious history of—in chronological order—France (the Ardèche); Toronto, Windsor, and the Bruce Peninsula in Ontario; Louisville, Kentucky; Algeria; Plymouth, England; Detroit, Michigan; Waco and Houston, including Hispanic ministry in Texas; Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Rochester, New York; Gary (now Merrillville), Indiana; St. Joseph's College, Edmonton, in Alberta; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Oakland, California; Cali, Columbia; and St. Lucia in the West Indies would be well-served.

Fourth, a team of researchers, writers, and editors worked over a decade to build on the mammoth efforts of Robert Scollard's 1969 first edition and doubled its size. Although the dictionary spans the nineteenth to the beginnings of the twenty-first century, most of the entries relate to the twentieth century, the era of the Basilians' (and so many others') greatest growth and size. Since almost half of the book relates to individuals—almost all educators—who died since 1969, the value of this book to the history of Catholic education in the twentieth century is obvious.

Fifth, there is a brief introduction to the history of the Basilians, significant dates of Basilian foundations, including high schools, colleges, and parishes, a glossary of Basilian vocabulary, and—mainly of use to Basilians and their friends—a calendar of the deceased. Although there is some duplication and repetition given the restricted archival sources, a bibliography of archival and published sources as well as publications by the individual after each entry completes this massive work of painstaking scholarship. Taken together, this book stands out from ordinary filiopiety.

One quibble: there is no index. Although dictionaries of this type are already indexed alphabetically by name, and this dictionary has cross-referencing, an index of place names would make this dictionary much more valuable. Computer indexing has advanced so much that such a challenge can be easily overcome. Perhaps this volume will be made available for computer searching on the web?

Redemptorist Archives
Yorkton, Saskatchewan

PAUL LAVERDURE

Ancient

Constantine and the Christian Empire. By Charles Matson Odahl. (New York: Routledge. 2004. Pp. xviii, 400. $104.95.)

In his work *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, Charles Odahl strives to present a biographical study of Constantine in a style that will be useful for both the educated public and fellow scholars (p. ix). He begins the work with a chapter on the ancient sources, followed by ten chapters that cover the era of Constantine, with a final chapter dedicated to modern historiography. Odahl's stated aim is to incorporate the material sources of the period such as coins, buildings, and monuments in order to add depth to the large body of existing biographies of Constantine.

One highlight of this work is the detailed description of the political landscape of the late third and early fourth centuries. Chapters 2-5 provide a very thorough and useful description of the Crisis of the Third Century, the tetrarchy of Diocletian, and other events leading up to the emergence of Constantine as emperor in the west. Chapters 6-11 outline the reign of Constantine, highlighting the role that his faith played in his imperial policies, material building programs, and imperial coinage. The heavily-illustrated chapters make clear Odahl's emphasis upon the material sources and serve the work well. In the final chapter on modern interpretations, Odahl situates his work within recent studies on Constantine. In this chapter, he states that he follows T. D. Barnes' interpretation in *Constantine and Eusebius* (1981) that Constantine was a religious reformer who intended to convert the empire to Christianity (p. 283). The contribution of this book, according to the author, is to augment Barnes' work by providing a more complete biographical account of the reign of Constantine.

The intended aim to meet the needs of both the educated reader and scholar might explain some of the drawbacks of this work. For example, the discussion of modern historiography would be more useful for scholars if placed at the beginning of the work. As it stands, scholars familiar with the historiography of the period will recognize the influence of Barnes's interpretation of Constantine throughout the work. When this is revealed in the final chapter, it comes as little surprise. This organizational decision was a conscious one to make the work more "reader friendly" (p. ix), but it limits the work's usefulness for scholars in my view. An exploration of these "arcane" (p. ix) debates surrounding questions such as the relationship between Constantine's faith and his imperial policies and the reliability of Eusebius as a source would add to the value of this work. Similarly, the very detailed chronology of Constantine's reign and his military campaigns, and the many detailed illustrations that make the work a valuable introduction for scholars may be too detailed for a more general audience. In the end, the attempt to satisfy both the educated public and

scholars is an admirable one, but may prevent the work from being entirely satisfying to either audience.

University of West Georgia JUSTIN STEPHENS

Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition. By Claudia Rapp. [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 346.)

The European Enlightenment has proven remarkably successful in convincing later generations not only that religious matters can be separated from secular ones, but that such a distinction is natural. This has hampered scholarly efforts to understand societies in which that distinction is foreign. Claudia Rapp here successfully draws a systematic portrait of episcopal authority in late antiquity which consciously eschews the binary secular/religious model. Her model, based on late antique discussions of leadership, is that late antique bishops exercised leadership through three modes of authority: spiritual, ascetic, and pragmatic. Spiritual authority is a divine gift of the Spirit, of which individuals are passive recipients. Ascetic authority is achieved through the personal efforts of individuals to improve and perfect themselves. Pragmatic authority arises from the deeds individuals do on behalf of others. Whereas anyone can gain ascetic authority through proper personal conduct, only those with the material resources to undertake actions benefiting others can gain pragmatic authority.

This model is an attempt to take seriously the contemporary terminology used to discuss the ideal characteristics of bishops. Ascetic authority is the lynch-pin in this system. Rapp's most forceful point is that bishops strove to practice asceticism and were praised by their contemporaries insofar as they succeeded. They endeavored to conform to the same ideals of behavior as monks and, like monks, gained authority through their ascetic achievements. Successful practice of asceticism was considered a sign that one possessed gifts of the spirit and hence had spiritual authority. Ascetic authority was also the "motivation and legitimation" of pragmatic authority (p. 18). Rapp successfully makes the case that "pragmatic authority never seems to exist on its own but is embedded in a larger context where spiritual and ascetic authority also play their part" (p. 131). Rapp's reminder that most major bishops went through a period of ascetic practice before taking up office is an important corrective to common perceptions.

Rapp takes on an extensive chronological sweep from the third to the sixth century. By thus straddling the reign of Constantine she undermines a second persistent scholarly dichotomy between the "primitive" Church and the post-Constantinian "imperial" church. Her analysis charts gradual evolutions within the ideals of episcopal authority.

Much of the source material utilized discusses the nature of the priesthood and ideals of priestly behavior, with bishops entering the picture as an extension of that conversation. Through the theory of apostolic succession, ordination itself was seen as bestowing spiritual authority on priests. The authority which came through ordination is most often evident in absolution of penitents (p. 94). Rapp emphasizes the adoption of monastic values by priests. In part she is exposing the distinction in expected behavior between monks and priests as a medieval phenomenon. A key distinguishing feature of priestly as opposed to monastic holiness in late antiquity was the injunction of priests to preach and educate their communities. Rapp highlights the presumption that a priest was always a teacher.

Throughout, Rapp exhibits a stunning knowledge of the source material and scholarship. In addition to the finely crafted argument, Rapp provides an invaluable survey of information and sources describing the nature of episcopal authority in late antiquity. For this reason alone the book should be considered essential reading for anyone studying late antiquity or the development of Christianity. Her case that bishops were able to lead effectively through an intertwining of spiritual, ascetic, and pragmatic authority is made with sufficient force that it will likely set the agenda for scholarly discussions of late antique authority for some time to come.

The Catholic University of America LEONORA NEVILLE

Medieval

The New Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. I: *C. 500–c.700*. Edited by Paul Fouracre. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 979. $180.00.)

With the publication of Volume I, the *New Cambridge Medieval History* is now complete (seven volumes in eight), a decade after publication began with Volume II in 1995. As the editor candidly points out in his preface, there were many delays along the way. Some chapters were submitted as early as 1990 (and had to be updated), while others, for various reasons, were produced more recently. The result is a volume that is a bit uneven, dated in some areas and up to the minute in others, but that overall can be judged a worthy beginning (and conclusion) for the series.

It is instructive to compare the organization of this volume with that of its nearest Cambridge counterparts: Volume XIV of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which covers the imperial and post-imperial Mediterranean world between 425 and 600, and Volume II of the *NCMH*: *C. 700–c. 900*. The centrality of the Roman empire in *CAH* XIV and of "Carolingian Europe" in *NCMH* II gives those volumes a geographical and political unity that was not available to the planners of *NCMH* I. They instead organized their subject chronologically and regionally, with thematic chapters at the beginning and end.

Following the editor's introduction and further introductory chapters on the later Roman empire, barbarian invasions, and sources for the period (chaps. 1–3), part I (chaps. 4–10) is devoted to the sixth century; it moves from the eastern empire to Italy, Spain, and Gaul, and from there to the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Part II (chaps. 11–19) goes over the same regions in the seventh century, with the addition of a chapter on Muhammad and Islam and without a chapter that had been planned on Lombard Italy (see pp. xiii–xiv); in its final two chapters, added later (p. xiii), Scandinavia and the Slavs are treated. Part III (chaps. 20–28) surveys Jews, kingship, the economies of the Mediterranean and northern seas, and money and coinage; it then closes, as do *CAH* XIV and *NCMH* II, with chapters on the church, education and learning, and art and architecture. (Unlike these volumes, however, *NCMH* I has no conclusion by the editor.) The book ends with a list of primary sources, extensive chapter bibliographies, and a thorough index.

Much of this book contains exactly what readers will expect: engaging and balanced surveys of events, institutions, problems, ideas, and themes written by experts and furnished with riveting details and ample citations of the textual and material evidence. Some chapters go even further. An excellent example is Michael Toch's chapter, "The Jews in Europe, 500–1050," which is intended to serve the needs of the first three volumes of the *NCMH*. By a skeptical review of the evidence, it questions "the significance out of proportion" that "historians have usually accorded" to the Jews of Gaul, Spain, and Italy (p. 547). If Toch is correct, many documents will have to be re-considered, for instance, the twelfth canon of the council of Vannes (ca. 465), which, in warning clerics to avoid *Iudaeorum convivia*, had seemed to provide early evidence for the presence of Jews in the furthest reaches of Gaul. It is the inclusion of chapters like this that makes Volume I of the *NCMH* not just a reliable but also a thought-provoking guide to the beginnings of the Middle Ages.

Production errors are few and far between. There are typos on pages 146 and 679, and Handley (2003), cited on page 88, is missing from the bibliography. One suspects it should have read: Handley, M.A. (2003), *Death, Society, and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300–750*, Oxford. There is also an incorrect caption for plate 10, an illustrated page from the Vienna Dioscorides. The page shown is not fol. 20r, but rather fol. 268r, and does not depict ἀρτεμισία μονόκλωνος (*Artemesia spicata*) but rather περιστερεὼν ὀρβός (traditionally *Verbena officinalis*), a plant discussed in Dioscorides, *De materia medica* 4.59 (ed. Wellman). Despite the error, the illustration still serves the point it was meant to: at the upper left of the drawing, one can see the plant's name "translated" into miniscule (p. 783).

The Catholic University of America WILLIAM E. KLINGSHIRN

The Christian World of the Middle Ages. By Bernard Hamilton. (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishing. 2003. Pp. xxvii, 256. $29.95.)

This book attempts to fill a gap in the knowledge of students—and teachers—whose training has given them a Eurocentric view of medieval Christianity, by surveying the varieties of Christian churches throughout the world in the Middle Ages. In this sense, the book is a companion to the author's earlier *Religion in the Medieval West*, a primer in the beliefs and practices of medieval Europeans intended for students (and even teachers) who often lack a rudimentary understanding of the basic tenets and practices of the Christian faith. As with this earlier work, Hamilton's claim to originality in *The Christian World of the Middle Ages* lies not in new interpretations but in the very conception of the book, since "there is not any single general history written in English of the Church throughout the world in the medieval centuries" (p. xi).

While Hamilton is concerned to correct a Eurocentric view of Christianity in the Middle Ages, the Catholic or Western Catholic Church is nevertheless the point of reference, and so, after a discussion of institutions and doctrines in Late Antiquity, Hamilton begins his tour of the medieval Christian world with a survey of developments in western Europe during the Middle Ages. He then turns to the Byzantine Church and areas Christianized under Byzantine influence; the variety of Christian communions in the diverse and politically unstable region of the Levant and the Caucasus; the Churches of medieval Africa; and finally the Church in medieval Asia, figuring in the western imagination in the enigmatic person of Prester John.

For each region he surveys, Hamilton presents chronologically the major institutional developments and divisions, and gives some idea of the distinctive characteristics of a particular church's liturgy, monastic life, and other aspects of its religious culture. Among recurring themes is the relationship of local churches to the Roman Catholic or Byzantine Churches, the effect of large-scale political change on Christian communities, and the effect in the Byzantine Empire and Africa of the emergence of Islam and of dynastic changes within the Islamic world.

The weaknesses of this book are limitations of its form. Hamilton covers an enormous amount of terrain in just over 200 pages; so the book is by necessity and design an overview. It is strong on institutions and the major doctrinal, linguistic, and cultural divisions. Hamilton includes a sprinkling of anecdotes and quotations, but does not offer a more textured presentation of the religious cultures of the large variety of regions and peoples he surveys. There is also little sense of the historical debates and questions of interpretation in the fields he surveys, which makes Hamilton's summary judgments on a few occasions jarring. For instance, he states as a simple fact that the Cathars "were a western branch of the Byzantine Bogomils," a judgment that reflects Hamilton's own considerable expertise on the subject, but with which not all scholars would

agree. That this might be a point of scholarly contention will not be noticed by readers who are not already familiar with the scholarly terrain.

Such matters aside, *The Christian World of the Middle Ages* is a lucid, gracefully written introduction to its subject. It accomplishes its goal of providing a basic guide to the Christian world beyond western Europe, and is thus a useful starting point for correcting some of the parochialism in the standard presentation of the religious history of the Middle Ages. It is a book I will recommend to students, and I am sure I will turn to again myself for orientation in the relative *terra incognita* of Christianity in the larger world of the Middle Ages.

Tulane University F. Thomas Luongo

A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of *the True Cross in Text and Image.* By Barbara Baert. Translated from the Dutch by Lee Preedy. (Leiden: Brill. 2004. Pp. xxxiv, 527; 30 pages of color plates. $260.00.)

Byzanz, der Westen, und das "wahre" Kreuz. By Holger Alexander Klein. (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag. 2004. Pp. xii, 402. €58,00.)

Within the last two years two scholars, one Belgian, the other German-American, have published books on the True Cross, apparently without being aware of each other's work. Each views his or her subject from a different perspective. A joint, comparative review seems appropriate.

Barbara Baert is professor of art history at the Catholic University of Leuven in Belgium. She comes to her subject exceedingly well prepared. The rich documentation provided throughout her book and the lengthy bibliography (pp. 455-503) indicate her familiarity with a vast body of both primary source material and secondary literature. Jan Willem Drijvers, himself author of *Helena Augusta* (Leiden, 1992), has given this book his enthusiastic endorsement in a foreword.

The introduction provides a digest of the body of the book: "The legend of the Cross . . . comprises three distinct traditions, each of which originated at a different time, which were fused into one in the high Middle Ages" (p. 1), and again: "*A Heritage of Holy Wood* presents the synthesis of one of the most important apocryphal beliefs of the Middle Ages" (p. 13). Upon having finished the book, readers might do well to return to this introduction for a second reading.

In Chapter One the author is concerned not with the *inventio* of the Cross itself, but rather with the hagiographic and iconographic tradition thereof (pp. 15, 23, and 37). In Chapter Two readers will find a detailed description and masterly interpretation of three illuminations found in three separate manuscripts of the eighth and early ninth century and of several pieces of art dating from the twelfth century and originating in the region of the Meuse and in the Rhineland: the famous Stavelot triptych in New York's Pierpont Morgan Library

is one of them (pp. 80-97). Chapter Three describes the earliest depiction of the *restitutio* or *exaltatio crucis* in Western iconography, namely, in the *Sacramentary of Mont Saint-Michel* which dates from 1066 and is also in the Pierpont Morgan Library (pp. 144-149) and of two cycles of pictures, both dating from the middle of the thirteenth century.

In Chapter Four Baert observes that "in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the iconography of the Legend the Cross reached its quantitative peak." The chapter begins with an excellent account of three texts which facilitated this spread of the legend of the Cross in the late Middle Ages: the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, the anonymous legendary titled *Der Heiligen Leben,* and a miracle play known as the *Augsburger Heiligkreuzspiel.* The same chapter describes somewhat more summarily a number of fifteenth-century German works of art which further demonstrate the point.

In Chapter Five Baert gives an account of the "complex literary history" (p. 348) of the wood of the Cross. The legend of the wood of the Cross, we learn, evolves through different guises (p. 289) and occurs in many variants (p. 306), while the paths of transmission are unclear (p. 307). The subject of Chapter Six is the "iconographic assembly" of the legends of the Cross (the wood, the *inventio,* and the *restitutio*) in fifteenth-century painted cycles in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland.

Baert has set specific geographic and chronological limits to her study. She realizes that "the start of the sixteenth century did not see an end to the iconographic interest in the figures of Constantine, Helena and Heraclius" (p. 449). Her final word to her readers: "How many Legends of the Cross are still waiting to be discovered?"

The strength of this book lies in its topical, chronological, and geographical scope and in its broadly interdisciplinary approach. Baert addresses questions of history, theology, liturgy, literature, and iconography; she links the traditions of the East with those of the West and the legend of the wood of the Cross with the legends of the *inventio* and the *restitutio.* She explores more new ground, cites more sources, and discovers more links than Borgehammar or Drijvers or this reviewer have done before her. She makes use of many Dutch and Belgian sources which hitherto have received little attention from others. As one might expect from an art historian, she is at her best in matters of iconography; here no detail seems to escape her, and nothing of theological or liturgical significance is overlooked.

The numerous illustrations are carefully chosen and carefully captioned; all of those in color and most of those in black and white are of good quality. The nine diagrams, three accompanying Chapter Three and six accompanying Chapter Six, are particularly helpful. There is an index of works, and also an index of names. There are, unfortunately, many errors of detail. There was, for instance, no such thing as a "translation of the relics of Justinian II from

Radegund to Poitiers" (p. 59); rather Radegund received a relic of the True Cross from Justin II. In Trier there was a monastery of St. Maximin(us), not St. Maximus (pp. 108 and 109). Prudentius was of the fourth century, not the ninth (p. 340). Pausanias was not a Byzantine author, and he did not die in 470 (p. 348). The meaning of some of the numerous Latin titles and quotations is obscured by textual errors. Surely Athanasius did not write *Interpretatione ex vetus testamentus* (p. 455).

The bibliography is admirable in its range but often faulty in form. The bibliographical information given in the footnotes is at times incomplete; at other times readers are referred to secondary literature when a reference to a primary source would be more helpful. I have counted more than 250 typographical or minor grammatical errors, in the text, the footnotes, the bibliography, and the indices. More attention should have been given, especially, to citing German titles in their correct form. The translator has, in general, done admirable work, but on not a few occasions allows herself unidiomatic expressions.

It is much to be regretted that author, translator, and editor have committed or overlooked too many errors of both substance and form to allow this book to make fully the contribution to scholarship which it could have made. A second, corrected edition would be welcomed by many.

Holger A. Klein is a native of Limburg/Lahn, earned his Ph.D. degree at the University of Bonn in 2000, and is associate professor of art history and archaeology at Columbia University. He writes both in German and in English. In addition to the book here under review he has published *Restoring Byzantium: The Kariye Camii in Istanbul,* also in 2004, and a dozen of substantial articles. He is currently engaged in archaeological work at Vize, Marmara region of Turkey.

The present book is a slightly revised and expanded version of Klein's doctoral dissertation. It differs from Baert's book in scope and purpose. There is little or no concern here with the "prehistory" of the Cross, with the depiction of the *inventio, verificatio,* or *exaltatio* of the Cross in manuscript illuminations, altar paintings, or frescoes, or with the various legends of the Cross in literature. Klein's work is thus less interdisciplinary and more exclusively art-historical in nature. He intends to examine the "Rezeption" (acceptance) of Byzantine reliquaries of the Cross in the West. There is a multitude of studies which examine individual reliquaries, but no comprehensive study of them, he points out. (Even Anatole Frolow's two books although valuable, do not qualify.) It is not his intent to meet that desideratum, he modestly says (p. 16), but it is clear that he does just that.

Klein begins with a consideration of the "Byzantine Question," i.e., the question of the relative value of Byzantine civilization and the role played by Byzantium in the development of Western art. Next he relates the history, and the legend, of the True Cross from the *inventio* to the conquest of Jerusalem by the Arabs. In Constantinople, he goes on, a relic or relics of the True Cross

existed from the fourth century on, and a cult of the cross certainly was practiced by the end of the seventh century. During the century of iconoclasm the sign of the cross was recognized by both iconoclasts and iconodules as the central symbol of the Christian faith (p. 48) and the veneration of the relic of the Cross was not put into question. The relic of the Cross, indeed, saved the city from being taken by enemies of Byzantium in 822, as it had once before, in 717. In the tenth century the proper use of the relics of the Cross in the liturgy of the church in Constantinople was prescribed by the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959) in his *On Ceremonies.*

The first relic of the True Cross to reach Rome was, supposedly, deposited by Constantine in the Church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, according to an untrustworthy report in the *Liber Pontificalis.* Other relics followed, and we know of several occasions when they were carried in papal petitionary processions. Of the relics which reached other places in the West that sent by Paulinus of Nola to Sulpicius Severus at Primulacium/Prémiliac (southwest Gaul) in 402/403 and that sent by Emperor Justin II to Queen Radegund at Poitiers in 569 receive special mention (pp. 22, 77, and 178-180).

Having provided the necessary historical background, Klein devotes Chapter III to a study of cross reliquaries from late antiquity to the high Middle Ages. He distinguishes between the usually large and sumptuously decorated reliquaries used in churches and monasteries and the smaller, humbler reliquaries meant for personal use. Cross reliquaries can take the form of a chest or a cross, and there are even reliquary crowns. The earliest cross reliquaries are no longer extant, and we depend for their description on literary sources. Among Byzantine reliquaries Klein gives special attention to the tenth-century Constantinopolitan staurotheke which was carried off, along with other valuable objects, by the German knight Heinrich von Ulmen in 1207 ("Beutekunst" in a more modern context) and is now in the Dom - und Diözesanmuseum in Limburg/Lahn (Klein's native place; passim). An examination of Western cross reliquaries produced during the same time period leads Klein to the conclusion that in the West the relic of the True Cross never assumed the central role which it played in Byzantium (p. 171).

Chapter IV explores the "Rezeption" of Byzantine cross reliquaries in the West, first from late antiquity to the Latin conquest of Constantinople and then from that conquest to the end of Byzantine rule. Byzantine emperors sometimes sent relics of the Cross in precious reliquaries as gifts to the West; the oldest extant such reliquary is the Crux Vaticana in the treasury of St. Peter's, sent by Justin II to Rome.

New impetus was given to the cult of the cross by the discovery of another particle of the True Cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1099, shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem by the crusaders. In this context we must place the Stavelot triptych, a triptych in the Church of Notre Dame in Tongres (Belgium), and another cross reliquary in the Church of Saint Sernin in Toulouse.

Yet another milestone in the history of the cult of the cross is the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, which brought a large number of relics of every kind to the West. Churches or monasteries in Trier, Mettlach (Saar valley), Cologne, and Florennes (Belgium) were among those which benefited.

The annotation is ample and thorough. A detailed table of contents and a generous index facilitate the use of the book as a reference source. A concise final résumé, a lengthy list of sources, and a lengthy bibliography further enhance its value. The photographs, 213 in number, are of uniformly high quality. The book is beautifully produced, a pleasure to consult. Professor Klein is to be congratulated on having written a work of impeccable scholarship.

State University of New York at Albany HANS POHLSANDER

Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia, c. 650-1200. By Tim Pestell. [Anglo-Saxon Studies, 5.] (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 280. $85.00.)

This volume presents a revised version of a Ph.D. thesis begun under the supervision of the archaeologist Roberta Gilchrist and completed in 1999 under the direction of the landscape historian Tom Williamson. The author is known to archaeologists and historians from a number of articles and in particular for the excellent volume on productive sites which he co-edited with Katharina Ulmschneider (2003). The study under review shows the influence of both advisers in its conception, both the theoretical and spatial interests of Gilchrist and the strongly regional approach of Williamson, but the author treads very much his own path, aiming "to combine both documentary and material evidence without giving either primacy" (p. 17). We should think of this volume, perhaps, as a regional study along the lines of John Blair's investigations of early Surrey and Oxfordshire and Peter Sawyer's of Lincolnshire, in which the authors attempt to review the totality of extant evidence. Pestell's goal is at once more limited and more wide-ranging: not simply the region but its ecclesiastical structures, not simply the church, but monastic foundations, a focus which leads him beyond the Norman Conquest into the much better charted territory of the twelfth century.

Pestell begins with a chapter on approaches to what he calls "Monastic Studies," identifying as its prevailing trends architectural reconstruction, which he brands "antiquarian," and center-by-center studies. Even within these few brief pages one would expect to see much greater account taken of previous work on the location of monasteries in their agrarian contexts, in both institutional studies, notably that of Christopher Dyer, and regional surveys like D. H. Williams' work on the Welsh Cistercians (neither referenced in the bibliography). Such work relies on relatively rich deposits of documentary evidence, and Pestell properly draws attention to the volume of literature about the Cistercians, no doubt a reflection of just this phenomenon. Pestell's aim, and in

part his achievement, is very different: to attempt to work against the grain of the evidence and to look at the East Anglian landmass as a geological and topographical whole, investigating the place of monasteries within it. He looks in turn at the siting of monasteries before the first Viking age (chapter 2), evidence for monastic survival during it (chapter 3), new foundations in the tenth-century reform (chapter 4), before a lengthy consideration of post-Conquest foundations (chapter 5), ending with reflections on the general trends observed.

The approach brings its own problems. As the author notes, few monastic sites have been excavated in East Anglia; documentary resources are poor and even more poorly distributed, and generalization is hazardous. Nevertheless, consideration of the location of monasteries, discussion of artifactual remains, and reports on the author's own metal-detecting and field-walking lead to interesting observations about the siting of monasteries in old and new locations, their accessibility by boat, the use of island locations, and the identification of monastic sites archaeologically. The most conservative and least satisfactory chapter concerns the monastic reform movement where Pestell is deprived of artifactual and archaeological data, and regional historical evidence simply does not respond to his frame of reference. His synthesis would have been the stronger had he paid fuller attention to the diversity of ecclesiastical structures in and historical evidence from pre-Conquest England, and had he devoted more space to a discussion of his own method and how it relates to the work of others. Traditionalists might have appreciated an appendix in the form of a brief gazeteer of sites. This is a book brimming with ideas, many of which deserve to be followed up, and its unevenness is in part the inevitable consequence of its ambition.

University of Exeter JULIA CRICK

Guidance for Women in Twelfth-Century Convents. Translated by Vera Morton with an interpretive essay by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne. [Library of Medieval Women.] (Rochester, New York: D. S. Brewer. 2003. Pp. x, 203. $70.00.)

This aptly titled volume introduces and translates writings of four men—Goscelin of St. Bertin, Peter Abelard, Peter the Venerable, and Osbert of Clare—addressed to nuns and their communities. There are six chapters: four letters, a sermon, and excerpts from Goscelin's sketches of the abbesses of Barking. Little of the material has been translated into English before and all of it is packed with fascinating glimpses into the lives of medieval religious women and the men who acted as their mentors and advisers. Morton offers good guidance herself in introducing the material with care and even humor, as when she remarks, "Life for the young women of [the convent of] Marcigny must have been rather like life in a strict and well-run, but rather snobbish, life-long boarding school" (p. 97). The sheer variety of materials and subject

matter makes this book (which I hope will emerge in a more affordable paperback version) an excellent choice for advanced undergraduate and even graduate students and their teachers.

The writers talk about virginity, history, heroism, miracles, the body, education, martyrdom, marriage; they teach, they preach, they warn, they sympathize, and they remember—and they do not speak with one monolithic voice. The book opens with Osbert of Clare's letter to Abbess Adelidis of Barking, where an expression of gratitude for recent hospitality turns into a long, complex tract on exemplary women of the past, including Judith and the Vestal Virgin Silvia. (This must be the longest thank-you note in history.) Peter the Venerable scolds his nieces for a letter containing medicine, which smacks not of Christ's pupils but the schools of Hippocrates, while Abelard, in the traces of St. Jerome, offers guidance on the education of women and stresses its great importance. Osbert writes about mystical marriage of nuns with Christ in strikingly vivid and physical terms, and Abelard makes the case that the model of monasticism is the early church in Jerusalem in which women were such active participants—after women were, of course, the first to see the resurrected Jesus. Goscelin and Osbert assume their readers know their Bede; Osbert presents complex, even crabbed interpretive arguments, and Abelard does not simplify his prose style; all the authors assume their readers' mastery of the Bible and early Christian literature and casually quote Horace, Ovid, and Virgil without explaining the references. As Morton cannily remarks, that men would write nuns dense letters on elevated subjects shows that although Heloise, with her knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was extraordinarily accomplished, she represents one end of a spectrum rather than a special case. This is a salutary reminder that despite persistent assumptions to the contrary, many women participated fully in the spiritual, political, and literary life of the twelfth-century church.

An excellent subject index facilitates comparative examination of the themes named above and encourages an approach to that most complicated of questions: what did these men think about women and gender anyway? Osbert urges women to be manly in spirit, despite their sex, and then in the next breath says that in the "downfall of the human race the woman more easily sinks to ruin (p. 40)." Abelard also praises female heroism and simply assumes that Heloise can guide her nuns to the same kind of mastery of ancient languages she has achieved, while also flatly stating that women are weaker than men. There is much to ponder here, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne provides a model for reading the texts as a group in an essay called "Dead to the World? Death and the Maiden Revisited in Medieval Women's Convent Culture," which touches on practical and spiritual aspects of death and remembrance in the Middle Ages with careful attention to gender.

With regret, I must sound a note of caution. Morton has done a great service to make these materials available to those with little or no Latin, offering

a lucid version of Osbert's head-cracking letter to Abbess Adelidis and chopping Abelard's vast periodic sentences into manageable pieces. But scholars cannot rely on this translation for their own work. To take the example of Peter the Venerable's letter: translating the salutation *quicquid est salutis et gratiae* as "all greetings and thanks" (p. 98) fails to express the predominantly spiritual overtones of the formula, which is more like "all salvation and grace"; there is no reason to translate *sanctis sororibus* as "lay sisters" (p. 107); and the system of punctuation and reference (in which there are some errors, e.g., note 27 on p. 102 incorrectly ascribes a phrase to Augustine's treatise on virginity) does not make it sufficiently clear that well over half the letter is comprised of direct quotations from the writings of Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and others. Those engaged in close textual analysis will need to consult the originals.

University of Pittsburgh BRUCE L. VENARDE

Leadership in Medieval English Nunneries. By Valerie G. Spear. [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, Vol. 24.] (Rochester, New York: Boydell and Brewer. 2005. Pp. xix, 245. $90.00.)

Spear identifies more than two hundred abbesses and prioresses who oversaw the sixteen nunneries that she uses—without clearly explaining why—as the "core group" for her study of the period from 1280 to 1540. None of the women are household names, not even in the households of medievalists. Yet, as Spear rightly states, these religious superiors had an unusual degree of "independent authority" in "an era noted for its subjugation of females" (p. xiii). How much independence and what kind of authority is the focus of Spear's study.

Spear assembles and assesses with diligence, competence, and lucidity all the known surviving references to these women. She concludes that few were from aristocratic families: their authority came from their office, not their background. To evaluate their relations with their bishops, Spear primarily has to rely on documents dealing with exceptions, the crises that required special attention; she finds that some bishops gave financial aid, others adjudicated controversies, but most, even during their mandated episcopal visits, did not object to the women's "leadership." Similarly, though Spear identifies a few kings and popes who aided nunneries—and expected benefits in return—she concludes that the abbesses and prioresses typically acted independently from their overlords until the Dissolution, a period she treats with particular sensitivity.

The surviving records detail financial matters more often than spiritual ones. Still, finding very little criticism of the superiors' piety, Spear sensibly concludes that, for the most part, they capably offered spiritual guidance. Spear locates "only one confirmed case and one possible case of sexual immorality among more than two hundred nunnery superiors in the core group" (p. 153). Repeatedly Spear points out how her findings contrast with Eileen Power's

classic 1922 study of English nunneries during this same time period. Spear's book puts another nail in the coffin of that now dated picture of worldly and incompetent nuns.

Spear also considers literary references to religious superiors, contrasting in detail Chaucer's portrayal of the fictional Prioress Eglentyne and the eulogy in Wherwell Cartulary for its Abbess Euphemia (d. 1257). The eulogy, reprinted in full, praised Euphemia for increasing the number of nuns from forty to eighty, aiding their "sanctification and honour," adorning "the church with crosses, reliquaries, precious stones, vestments, and books," and being "zealous in works of charity." In addition to renovating the abbey manor courtyard, rebuilding the bell tower, and constructing a farmery, watercourse, mill, and chapel, Euphemia is said to have ordered the leveling of the presbytery of the church, which was in "imminent danger" of "complete collapse," specifying that "the damp soil" be "dug out to a depth of twelve feet till firm and dry ground was found" (pp. 217-218). Treating this eulogy as hagiography intent on describing a model abbess, not an actual one, Spear uses the ideal to challenge Chaucer's portrayal of his Canterbury pilgrim.

When a religious superior is named in an economic charter, it's often unclear whether she was the active negotiator or simply the official whose approval was mandated. For the most part, Spear assumes the former, repeatedly presenting the abbess as a "leader" and a "power broker." Spear is aware that she is anachronistically applying these modern terms to superiors following the Benedictine Rule—the rule used in almost all her core nunneries—who had to be both authoritative and humble, withdrawn from secular society and engaged with it, able to assume control, and willing to submit to correction. Spear's exploration of these inherent tensions in the notion of the nuns' "leadership" gives additional analytical depth to her study.

Wellesley College SHARON K. ELKINS

Women of God and Arms: Female Spirituality and Political Conflict, 1380-1600. By Nancy Bradley Warren. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. x, 264. $55.00.)

I must preface my review of *Women and God and Arms* by stating that I am an historian and the author is a literary scholar. My comments therefore reflect my expectations as a historian. In this book, Warren explores the "... central roles played by 'women of God'—female saints, devout lay women, and monastic women—as 'women of arms'—rulers, fighters, diplomats and participants in propaganda" (p. 2). Using primarily literary sources, she argues that the roles were interdependent, for female spirituality was explicitly or implicitly used by women for political and sometimes military goals.

The book covers a wide range of women, from Colette of Corbie, Margaret of York, Anne d'Orléans, Margaret of Anjou, Christine de Pizan, Isabel of Castile,

Elizabeth Barton (the Nun of Kent) to Elizabeth I. These are important case studies to test Warren's hypothesis that notions of female spirituality empowered political figures, but the choice of subjects was not obvious to me as an historian. Warren emphasizes Spain, England, and Burgundy, with forays into France. Why not the Italian peninsula? By simply pushing the coverage dates back a bit, she could have added Saint Catherine of Siena. Joan of Arc, who is mentioned in a chapter title, seems to fit perfectly with the goals of the book, and yet her role is limited to serving as the "missing link" between Christine de Pizan and Margaret of Anjou. Why not explore Joan, like Isabel of Castile, as a woman who embodied spiritual, military, and political goals? I suspect the answer is that Joan of Arc does not fit Warren's classification—instead of employing symbols of female spirituality to gain power, Joan combined non-gendered religious symbols and beliefs with the emblems and accessories of knighthood and chivalry.

Warren explores at length the concept of symbolic capital, by which women could use spiritual power to serve political and even military ends. That women in power (of any sort) used such symbolic capital is not in doubt, and Warren provides excellent examples. Similarly, she demonstrates the discomfort level this could provoke in men. As an historian I would like to have seen more non-literary sources used to support what is essentially a historical argument about politics and gender.

The strongest of the case studies is Warren's Chapter 4, on Isabel of Castile and the construction of queenship, which examines in greater depth areas she explored in *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times*. The author argues that Isabel cultivated "... a persona of pious queenship ... [and that] female spirituality and sanctity served to clothe Isabel's political power in a non-threatening guise and to make it culturally acceptable" (p. 89). She analyzes the importance of Martín de Córdoba's *Jardín de nobles donzellas*, which helped Isabel present and re-present herself at critical time periods during the reign. The *Jardín* speaks of female inferiority; yet by using the list of qualities Martín de Córdoba offers as appropriate to pious women, Isabel is able to be a "shining example" who acts as a "holy warrior on a mission from God." The juxtaposition of pious feminine virtues counterbalances the potentially threatening image of the warrior queen.

In the final chapters, Warren uses sixteenth-century English examples to show that "... the medieval past persisted in animating the present into the seventeenth century, even among Protestants. "[M]anifestations of medieval female spirituality continued to shape contemporary political relations and to provide a battleground upon which conflicts to define identities were fought" (p. 167). I agree fully that medieval prototypes of holy women and warriors continued to shape gender representations at the highest levels among both Catholic and Protestant women. To some degree, however, I would suggest that Warren does not give enough credit to the actual power of some of the women she studies. While using literary exemplars to extend and legitimize

their power, many exercised real power with all its accoutrements. Focusing too much on literary legitimization seems to undermine the real power of at least some medieval and early modern women. With these qualifications, this is an important collection of case studies on how women used literary exempla to shape a pious self-image that allowed them to transgress the limitations of gender.

Colby College LARISSA JULIET TAYLOR

The Medieval Crusade. Edited by Susan J. Ridyard. (Rochester, New York: Boydell and Brewer, Inc. 2004. Pp. ix, 177.)

The Medieval Crusade comprises ten papers presented at the Sewanee Medieval Colloquium, April 2001, on the theme "Crusades and Crusading in the Middle Ages." Robert Chazan examines different modalities of Jewish response to crusading; Jay Rubenstein provides a fresh consideration of apocalypticism as a dynamic of the First Crusade; Christopher MacEvitt examines crusader-Armenian relations in Edessa; Thomas F. Madden and Alfred J. Andrea investigate the Fourth Crusade, in terms, respectively, of Venetian-Papal relations and Innocent III's apocalyptic convictions; Jonathan Riley-Smith treats the trial of the Templars; William E. Rogers finds in the C-revisions of *Piers Plowman* evidence of criticism of late medieval crusading, and Kelly De Vries explains why Philip the Good of Burgundy never fulfilled his promise to crusade.

Jonathan Phillips introduces the papers as "a thoughtful and stimulating cross-section of modern crusading research." With only ten papers from eight contributors, the cross-section is, necessarily, limited, confined mainly to the war-politics-and-religion perspective. Nonetheless, the volume contains valuable, new critical insights.

Few would suppose that anything original remains to be said about the trial of the Templar Order. Modern consensus is that the knights were railroaded through fabricated charges, and that many of the alleged confessions, extracted under torture, were not truthful. Riley-Smith is cautious about this, and he makes clear the pitfalls of supposing that the Templar case is closed. He argues that whatever the nature of the knights' guilt, the Order needed reform. Comparing its organizational structure with that of the successful Hospital, Riley-Smith details defects that would have attracted suspicion and might have served to cloak, even foster the unsavory secretive rites and abuses of which the knights were accused. Moreover, by the early fourteenth century the Temple was not only inefficient; it was also redundant with respect to the new aspirations of Christian society. Its exclusively martial raison d'être was obsolete, and after the loss of Ruad in 1302, the once glorious Order had little left to do. Without judicial suppression, the Temple, Riley-Smith concludes, was headed, anyway, toward demise. This is institutional history at its best.

Robert Chazan's studies of Jewish responses to crusading reach out to modern-day issues surrounding religious violence. Crusading was violent, and in 1096 Rhineland Jews became the crusaders' first victims. Martyrdom was the response of very many of these Jews, and Chazan and his Hebrew source, the *Mainz Anonymous,* ask why. Chazan reads his source frankly, arguing that the martyrdoms were "innovative, radical, audacious and creative," and that their singularity is rendered intelligible by reference to the equally singular phenomenon of the First Crusade. Jewish martyrdoms mirror the crusade; both, Chazan says, "were part and parcel of the spiritual ambience [of the late eleventh century] that produced the crusade and its radical tendencies." There is a sense here of violence as ennobling, and Chazan elucidates this by comparing the *Mainz Anonymous* with the Christian *Gesta Francorum*. Both sources, he finds, saw history as an unfolding drama of heroic action. God was present, and both the Jewish martyrs and the Christian crusaders were alive to the divine imperative. But the sources also reveal that what they perceived to have shaped the extraordinary events of 1096 was not so much God as man, not divine will, but human willpower: the time was somehow unique, and crusaders and martyrs were heroes in a conflict of faiths, clashing in triumphant violence upon the historical stage. Chazan amplifies this compelling interpretation by describing how the conflict, with its theological-historical dissonances and resonances, subsequently gave rise to the new genre of Jewish anti-Christian polemic.

Trinity College, Toronto PENNY J. COLE

Église et pouvoir dans la Péninsule Ibérique. Les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252-1369). By Philippe Josserand. [Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, Volume 31.] (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 2004. Pp. xxii, 912. €56.00.)

The "Great Reconquest" placed most of Islamic southern Spain under Christian rule, doubled the size of Castile-Leon in the process, and was capped with the occupation of Seville in 1248. The *Latin Chronicle* describes how it had began twenty-four years earlier, when young king Fernando III (1217-1252) unexpectedly decided to attack his southern neighbors. But first he sought the advice of the masters of Calatrava and Santiago, the Spanish Military Orders founded half a century earlier. Only then did he summon his vassal army and, together with the Orders, marched against the South (*Chronica latina regum Castellae*, ed. C. Brea [Turnhout, 1997]; §44). As the conquest progressed, the armed friars received huge territories from the Crown, rewards that climaxed when Calatrava, Santiago, Alcantara, the Hospitalers, and the Templars obtained a significant share of the Seville farmlands allotted by Fernando III before his death in 1252.

Josserand begins his study of the Castilian Military Orders at this point, when their main *raison d'être* seemed to vanish as "reconquest" seemed no

longer possible or necessary. He then traces their fortunes over the hundred plus years which span the reigns of Alfonso the Wise (1252-1284) and his last legitimate descendant, Peter the Cruel (1350-1369). From the start he adopts a justified and refreshing polemical stance. He rejects the notion of decadence often applied to the Orders at this period and shows instead how they managed to adapt to their new conditions, moving from conquest to defense, from monastic to a secular ethos, from a predatory war economy to one based on the *encomienda* system—later to be exported and adapted in the Americas.

Had they remained faithful to their origins, the Orders would have imploded. Instead, Josserand shows how they refashioned themselves after 1252, maintaining their social relevance as sentinels against Islam. And then, when a succession of dynastic conflicts weakened the Crown in 1282-1326, they attracted the younger children of noble families and were embraced by the aristocracy. Contrary to received wisdom, the book argues that the Orders' scope of action on the Castilian political stage was enhanced, rather than diminished at this time. Their own success, in turn, made them a force too powerful to be ignored by the Crown. Alfonso X, whose saintly father was not above meddling in episcopal elections, had no qualms about placing loyal servants at the heads of Orders which remained ecclesiastical in nature. The dynastic troubles of 1282-1326 partially interrupted the trend, but it regained momentum with Alfonso XI and continued unabated under his son with the enthusiastic acquiescence of the fighting friars. They had by now lost most of their original identity, but had grown richer with the *encomiendas*, worldlier with the nobility, and more powerful under the Crown's tutelage. As the Modern Era was about to dawn, they were fully awake and ready to go.

This masterful book shakes up many historiographic myths and brilliantly illuminates an area of Spanish history woefully unattended until now. *Église et pouvoir* represents an exhaustive survey and revision of earlier scholarship, with a bibliography of more than one hundred and thirty pages, and, more importantly, a fresh reappraisal of the evidence, represented by many literary texts and over six thousand documents, many previously unpublished or little used. Josserand responsibly shifts, synthesizes, and often surpasses his predecessors, who are thoughtfully challenged with original evidence when warranted. Judicious and convenient footnotes firmly anchor his arguments.

As a final gift, the author offers an edition of the Order of Santiago's earliest preserved statutes, well known to scholars, but inexplicably never printed before.

Carleton University, Ottawa FRANCISCO J. HERNÁNDEZ

Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works. Translated by Jane Patricia Freeland; edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Marsha L. Dutton. [Cistercian Fathers Series, Number 56.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2005. Pp. xii, 306. Paperback.)

This book includes translations of four texts by Aelred of Rievaulx: *Genealogia regum Anglorum* (as well as the *Lamentatio David Regis Scotie*, which appears in manuscripts in tandem with the *GRA*), *Vita sancti Edwardi*, and *De bello standardii*. Although it has always been known that Aelred, the great twelfth-century English Cistercian abbot, wrote historical works as well as spiritual treatises, scholarship on his historical writings has no doubt been impeded by the lack of translations. Prior to Freeland and Dutton's book, an English translation of Aelred's *Life of Edward the Confessor* was available (although not widely disseminated), but there were no full translations of the *Battle of the Standard* or *Genealogy of the English Kings* texts. A more or less acceptable Latin text (and modern English translation) of the *Lament* could be found embedded in the editions of both John of Fordun's Scottish history and Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* (given that Fordun incorporated Aelred's *Lament*, basically faithfully, into his own history and that Bower later relied on Fordun), but reading a text at one or two steps removed like this has hardly been ideal, particularly if one has wanted to engage in close reading analyses rather than general reading. Hence, the very fact that English translations of Aelred's histories have been so lacking means that this book will necessarily become the first port of call for many researchers, and certainly for students. The translations are in modern English, have biblical quotations and reminiscences noted, and provide biographical notes to people mentioned in the texts. The *Lament* translation is taken directly from a contemporary manuscript source—as mentioned, hitherto there has been no completely acceptable Latin edition, let alone English translation, of this work, so the *Lament* translation here is certainly a boon to scholarship. The other three translations are made from the Patrologia Latina and Rolls Series editions. Dutton's Introduction is particularly helpful on the questions of dates. For too long scholars have simply copied earlier scholars in assuming certain dates for Aelred's compositions. Dutton's earlier date for the composition of *De bello standardii* (?1153-54, not the hitherto accepted 1155-57) is important in terms of the political influences behind, and consequences of, Aelred's historical writing. As Dutton shows, all four of the texts presented here were, in their ways, "mirrors for kings," and it is clear that there is more to learn about the ways in which Aelred (for so long misread by modern commentators as an ascetic in retreat from the world, as opposed to the politically shrewd abbot he clearly was) used the written word to agitate for Christian kingship and to influence royal affairs precisely at the time when England was in transition to the Angevins. This set of translations, then, should facilitate the study of the political nature of Aelred's history writing. Finally, readers may be interested to note that the companion to this book (Freeland and Dutton's translation and notes on Aelred's remaining historical works—*The Life of Ninian*, *The Book*

of the Saints of the Church of Hexham, and the miraculous story of the nun of Watton—focusing in these instances on 'northern' history as opposed to more widely 'national' English history) was published in 2006, also by Cistercian Publications.

University of Tasmania ELIZABETH FREEMAN

Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170-1300. By Paul Binski. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 343; 80 colored and 210 black and white illustrations. $65.00.)

This is an intensely serious and ambitious book which sheds much light on English art in its European context over a period which might be characterized as the long thirteenth century. It is beautifully produced with well-chosen and apposite illustrations close to the text in which they are discussed. Binski claims with complete justification that he has consistently attempted to alert the reader to the sustained exegetical and textual density of English Gothic, its ethical sophistication, its urbanity and unconventionality, and its prizing of stylistic virtuosity. Similar epithets might be applied to the book. It is skillfully written; it glitters with brilliant aperçus; and it can be witty as well as serious. At times the writing is a trifle ornate, and the reader who encounters an obvious synechdochal train of thought about Becket's wounded head is in for an occasionally bumpy ride. But the consistent intellectual seriousness and the close engagement with the theological and liturgical context is very welcome.

The book is articulated in parts. The first concerns Becket and the architectural and ideological consequences of his brutal murder. After the new work at Canterbury the cathedrals of Lincoln and Salisbury are examined in detail. The second section scrutinizes the solutions arrived at in Ely and Wells and the pervasive impact on the English episcopate of Becket's martyrdom in all its complexity. The physical and ideological context established, Binski examines the way in which religious life and its setting was regulated, externally through the legislation of the Fourth Lateran council, and internally through synodalia and the growing genre of pastoralia. The final focus is on the expressive range of English Gothic, its ability to smile and grimace, and the centrally formative role of music in imagery and spatial organization. This impressively wide sweep allows the author to discuss such topics as the development of the three-nail crucifix, vernacular devotion, and much else. Binski is unafraid to take up the cudgels when he feels it necessary, and his reasoned disagreements with scholars such as Panofsky, Southern, Belting, and Wolfgang Kemp are invariably cogent.

Canterbury was the seminal building in its architecture, its symbolism, and its martyrial coloration. Its range of reference was huge, stretching from late antique imperial mausolea and mediaeval Roman *spolia* to Saint-Denis. The ethical charge of the new episcopal initiatives was great and markedly

Aristotelian. Of supreme importance was Archbishop Stephen Langton, like Becket exiled, and a close associate and collaborator of Pope Innocent III.

Lincoln, Ely, and Wells cathedrals are all carefully scrutinized and an impressive range of tools brought to the analysis, stylistic, liturgical, botanical, and musical. Binski draws suggestive analogies between the foliate borders of the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, the flowering Cross of the Psalter of Robert of Lindsey, and the celebrated capitals of Southwell chapterhouse, although the apse mosaic of San Clemente might also have figured in this argument. He makes penetrating comments on holy bishops and their role in the transformation of English Gothic architecture. His ascription of a highly significant influence to St. Bernard and the Cistercians might have been tempered had he read Donald Matthew's measured criticisms of Conrad Rudolph's hypotheses, and Marc Dykmans would have rounded out his arguments on the elevation of the Host, but it is difficult to fault the range and alertness of his reading. Bishops were expected after the Fourth Lateran Council to be controls, and as such were naturally concerned with *ornamenta*. Binski here makes a fundamental contribution to this discussion, rightly stressing the English contribution, for which he draws splendidly on a published documentation unrivaled elsewhere in Europe. He makes extensive and sensitive use of synodalia. Not everyone will follow him in claiming a pioneering role for Becket in the development of the Vita-retable, but the arguments are certainly suggestive. The virtually total destruction of early mendicant painting in England and France makes such arguments almost intrinsically undemonstrable. His discussion of pastoralia is important, and like much else the English evidence here should be carefully weighed by European scholars. Binski makes interesting comments on the adoption of the three-nail crucifix iconography. There are innumerable things to ponder: Henry III's jocund cherubim (*cum hyllari vultu et jocoso*) ordered in 1240, the influence of Reims, and the provocative suggestion that Villard de Honnecourt served as a spy for the designers of Cambrai. He makes illuminating comments on the collusive nature of the marginal in Gothic. *Becket's Crown* is indisputably a very important book, a landmark in the study of Gothic art in England, and essential reading for those working elsewhere in the period.

University of Warwick JULIAN GARDNER

A Short History of Thomism. By Romanus Cessario. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 106. $19.95 paperback.)

Originally published in French as *Le Thomisme et les Thomistes*, Romanus Cessario's *A Short History of Thomism* fills a gap in the history of philosophy and theology. As Cessario points out (p. 33), it is the first attempt at a complete history of the Thomistic movement since 1859. At the same time, he makes it clear that his purpose in writing is "provisional," i.e., to provide "a

sketch of the history of Thomism that will be useful until that day when some scholar with the required time and resources undertakes to research and write the multi-volume history of Thomism that this important school of thought both merits and requires" (p. 34). He even expresses the hope that his short work might prompt the undertaking of such a full-length study.

This provisional purpose may explain why forty percent of the book is devoted to the questions of whether and how one should write a history of Thomism. After a rapid biography of Thomas Aquinas himself, the first chapter considers the objection that Thomism as a movement is too fragmented to constitute a unified subject of historical inquiry. Cessario responds by following J. A. Weisheipl's definition of Thomism as well as his distinction between "wide" Thomism and "eclectic" Thomism: wide Thomism includes anyone who claims to follow the spirit and basic insights of St. Thomas and manifests an evident dependence on his texts, while eclectic Thomism shows a willingness to import large portions of other philosophical and theological systems leading to the relativization of the principles and conclusions that constitute the Thomism of Thomas Aquinas. Finally, Cessario provides a summary of the philosophical tenets that distinguish a Thomist from adherents of other schools, according to most modern authors.

After reviewing various attempts to divide the history of Thomism, Cessario concludes that it is better not to identify intervals or periods within the larger history of Thomism. Thomists have engaged too great a variety of issues and worked in too many geographical areas to allow for such simplification. Moreover, the periods of decline that might seem to mark off an era within Thomism are usually explainable in terms of outside influences such as the Black Death or the French Revolution that affected intellectual endeavor generally rather than Thomism in particular. Consequently, Cessario gives his account of the history of Thomism in the second chapter as a continuous narrative without subheadings.

However, Cessario's emphasis on continuity does not mean that he fails to structure his account in any way. The swift-paced narrative slows down to emphasize the importance of Capreolus, *Princeps Thomistarum*, and then stops altogether at the dawn of the Reformation while Cessario offers a summary of the theological tenets that distinguish Thomists from adherents of other theological traditions. Then the pace picks up again, and the reader encounters a rich variety of names and accomplishments leading up to the French Revolution. Chapter three, titled "After the French Revolution," traces the events leading up to the Church's strong endorsement of Thomism under Leo XIII and describes the major figures in the Thomistic revival from that point to the present.

Beginners in Thomistic thought will find in *A Short History of Thomism* an easily understandable guide that identifies major figures such as Capreolus and Cajetan and important resources for research, as well as minor figures like

Peter of La Palu. The index of names makes this information all the more accessible. Experienced Thomists will find Cessario's rapid summary helpful for achieving a unified view of the whole history, and may even discover here resources they had not known about. If Cessario's intention was to whet our appetites for a more thorough study, he has succeeded.

Ave Maria University JEREMY HOLMES
Naples, Florida

Theologia Deutsch—Theologia Germanica. The Book of the Perfect Life. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by David Blamires. [Sacred Literature Series of the International Sacred Literature Trust.] (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, a Division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2003. Pp. viii, 103. $69.00 clothbound, $19.95 paperback.)

The International Sacred Literature Trust provides modern English translations of "sacred texts" held in esteem in different faith traditions. The translations are geared toward a wide audience, with helpful brief introductions to the texts, their authors, and their relevant contemporary traditions.

The *Theologia Deutsch* has been a most influential and widely read, most continuously published German religious text from the Middle Ages. Dr. David Blamires introduces the reader to the work via a succinct, yet eclectic, introduction to the medieval German mystical tradition (Meister Eckhart, Mechtild of Magdeburg, Heinrich Suso, and Johann Tauler) and lifts up recurring themes in the time's mystical literature, without elaborating on connections with the *Theologia Deutsch*. In just a few pages he characterizes the book and its intent and language. The "skeletal" characterization of the book's theology does beg a question as to why this particular text has been selected for this series as a representative of the gems of Christian spirituality. That said, Blamires' brief survey of two centuries of German mystical writing lifts up the richness of that tradition and suggests (without explicit arguments on the matter) its importance to the evolving theology of its most famous editor, Martin Luther. Actually, the use of the book by Luther and his contemporaries would be a topic of further interest, in light of the fact that the Reformer chose to edit this, and most faithfully so. Blamires' brief review of the existing editions and available English translations is helpful and corrects some persistent misunderstandings—e.g., about the author (not Luther!) and the title of the text.

Luther produced two editions of the text that originates from an unknown priest and possibly a knight of the Teutonic order: first one in 1516 (partial text) without a title and another in 1518 with a title *Eyn deutsch Theologia*. Luther's input undoubtedly enhanced the book's continuing appeal and repeated publication. What makes Blamires' lucid translation timely and different from previous ones is the pool of sources he had at his disposal: since the

1843 discoveries (Reuss) of the 1494-1497 manuscripts and the resulting 1851 edition by Franz Pfeiffer and the English translation by Susanna Winkworth in 1854, the most important editions available so far have been Bengt Hoffman's 1980 English translation "misleadingly titled" the *Theologia Germanica of Martin Luther* (which uses Luther's second edition, published in the "Classics of Western Spirituality") and Wolfgang von Hinten's 1982 critical edition in German (uses eight manuscripts from 1453 to 1497, in particular the Dessau manuscript of 1477, and Luther's texts) (pp. 1-2). Blamires translates the book from von Hinten's text, decidedly not trying to modernize or "clarify" the medieval text and logic too much.

The translation shows the unsystematic and incomplete nature of the book that in plain language wishes to instruct the reader on the central spiritual issues: what is perfection; what is goodness; how is God in relation to creation; how does one/creature love and know God; what is sin and disobedience; how do obedience, humility, and detachment unite one to the source of goodness and being; how does God "draw" souls to the Godhead; what is "*das Christus leben*" about (Christ-like living); how does Christ work as the paradigm for Christian living and how can Christians come into union with God; and lastly, how does one separate truth from falsehood.

As Blamires states, the book is "not a totally original work in its ideas. It is, rather, an attractive epitome of the mystical understandings of the time, almost certainly coming towards the end of the creative period." Not a "set of sermons" or an "account of personal experience," "it is rather a loosely formulated manual or textbook of mystical theology and practice." Making the mystical insights of the period and the culmination of the teachings of the "*via mystica*" available to a wide audience, its short fifty-three chapters "provided a useful practical guide to the fundamentals of the mystical life" (p. 24).

Furthermore, in the context of flourishing mystical activity by men and women, "The aim of The Book . . . was to encounter this tendency and situate mystical experience firmly within an orderly Christian context" (p. 25). That Martin Luther chose to publish the text twice, and the direction to which his Word theology and Christology took him, indicates this book's weighty importance not only in medieval Catholic spirituality but also in the ensuing "reformed" spiritualities, Catholic and Protestant. The otherwise pleasant translation could have addressed the "gender issue" by avoiding the exclusive use of "man" and "he" for God and human beings, especially since the book is meant for modern users.

Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg KIRSI STJERNA

Truth and the Heretic: Crises of Knowledge in Medieval French Literature. By Karen Sullivan. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 281. $35.00.)

In *Truth and the Heretic*, Karen Sullivan sheds much light on the process of constructing medieval heresy as a social threat. On the basis of a wide selection of historical records and literary texts, she persuasively argues that the heterodox believer was perceived as destabilizing the status of truth, certainty, authority, law, testimony, and evidence in Christian society. She juxtaposes competitive portrayals of heresy in didactic and literary writings to suggest that literature could express the truths about religious and social dissidence that were inaccessible elsewhere.

The book draws its strength from associating heterodoxy with the epistemological anxieties of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The need to reestablish or revisit truth as a religious, social, and linguistic category lies at the heart of a large body of contemporary didactic, polemical, courtly, and popular works. As Sullivan demonstrates, the secretive and duplicitous heretics, concealing their errors with lies and ambiguities, left their imprint on much Catholic writing, troubadour lyric, Arthurian romance, and comic tale. Because the Cathars and the Waldensians defied their orthodox adversaries through secrecy and dissimulation, and while they denied and circumvented accusations of heresy, persecution of religious dissidence was hampered by a need to redefine what constituted evidence of error and what served as a basis for condemnation. Literature did not remain indifferent to the epistemological challenges posed by groups embracing heterodox interpretations of Christianity. Sullivan justly relates this negotiation of evidence in clerical writings to the celebration of ambiguity and indeterminacy as a source of pleasure in literary works.

However, while it is compelling for both historical and literary analysis to position heresy within the contemporary debate about the nature of truth, I think that the author misjudges how the two phenomena are related in suggesting that the appearance of heresy brought about the epistemological crisis recorded in didactic and fictional literature. It may be more accurate to perceive heresy (whether real or constructed) as itself produced by the crisis that underlay other large-scale intellectual and social developments we observe in the twelfth century (such as the Gregorian reforms). The heterodox Christian was without doubt a dangerous figure for Catholic authors, but orthodoxy and truth were at that time intensely tested and reshaped also within the Church.

Similarly, Sullivan's reading of marginalized and subversive characters in literary works loses its momentum when it looks too hard for encoded references to heresy. These deviant characters are multi-faceted figures, and if one sees a reflection of the heretic in them, this perhaps evinces less directly an embedded commentary on the religious persecution of the Cathars and the

Waldensians than it does an aspiration of vernacular writers to write outside of the clerical canon. By interpreting the impact of heterodoxy on literary imagination in isolation from other concerns of courtly and popular authors, the book concludes, I believe unconvincingly, that literature affirmed and celebrated heresy. Just as criticism of the Inquisition should be carefully separated from claims of heresy (and Sullivan's otherwise insightful discussion of troubadour lyric is in my view weakened by following this path), so the interest of texts in the instability of social truths should only very cautiously be read as an affirmation of deviance.

Despite this tendency to channel broader questions into the single problem of heresy, Sullivan's exploration of heresy as an interpretative challenge is a remarkable and much-needed study. It speaks to multiple audiences, and it speaks beautifully to them. Karen Sullivan has to be commended for producing not only an illuminating and provocative, but also a pleasurable, book on the difficult topic of religious persecution.

Providence College EWA SLOJKA

Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Edited by Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen, and Cary J. Nederman. [Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700.] Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xii, 205. $99.95.)

Ideas of heresy are indeed in transition, not only across the chronological span indicated in the title of this stimulating collection of essays, but also within the modern academy. Intellectual and temporal divisions once considered self-evident (such as the boundary between heresy and orthodoxy, or between medieval and early modern) are disintegrating under new approaches and analyses. Particularly irksome to scholars in recent years has been the traditional emphasis on disjuncture between the Catholic medieval and the Protestant early modern, a division which has artificially severed important continuities and unhelpfully polarized an otherwise diverse spectrum of reform, religiosity, and repression. According to the editors of this volume, the crucial transformations that unfolded between the years 1300 and 1700 demand sustained diachronic attention, challenging "the scholarly imagination to recover medieval understandings of heresy and then to chart their transformation during the early modern period." By tracking the single potent concept of heresy across hitherto divided centuries and confessions, the contributors offer an important new perspective on a vital subject.

This is not a book about heretics: its subject is instead those who thought about heresy, and how their ideas changed over time. As lively discussions continue over the ethics (or even the possibility) of "finding heretics" in the past, the essays here both sidestep and contribute to the debate by charting

the historical foundations of such scholarship itself. Imitating its object, the volume is organized to "straddle the transition" between medieval and early modern constructions of heresy. The thirteen essays proceed with disciplined regularity across the Middle Ages and sixteenth century up through the Enlightenment, in many cases overlapping in productive and provocative ways. This chronological organization allows thematic shifts and their implications to emerge gradually: first, constructions of heresy up through the fifteenth century (Paul Antony Hayward, Sabina Flanagan, Takashi Shogimen, Cary Nederman); second, the uses of heresy as an intellectual tool or productive concept (Constant Mews, Thomas Fudge, Craig D'Alton, Conal Condren); and third, reception and reconstructions of heresy in early modern historiography (Thomas Ahnert, John Christian Laursen, Ian Hunter, Gisela Schlüter, Sandra Pott). While regionally focused on Germany and England, the essays explore a fine network of interpretive contexts, ranging from post-Conquest political rhetoric to *Staatskirchenrecht* in the German Enlightenment, and from thirteenth-century notions of madness to eighteenth-century strategies of scholarly impartiality. Figures such as Otto of Freising, William of Ockham, Nicole Oresme, Aeneas Sylvius, John Colet, and Baruch Spinoza figure prominently, as do the familiar heretical constructs of Albigensian, Lollard, and Hussite. The volume concludes with Sandra Potts's study of the meaning of Albigensians in ecclesiastical texts between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, an analysis that neatly hinges medieval practice with modern cultural memory, thus providing a fitting endpoint for the study.

The picture which emerges from the thirteen individual essays is simultaneously general and detailed. The reader gains an impression of heresy's gradual transition from a technical juridical construct to a widely applicable cultural charge and historical category, but is also forced to confront the complexity of specific models and moments along the way which evade simple classification. As set forth in the volume's brief but thoughtful introduction, there *is* a difference between medieval and early modern notions of heresy, but the transition is far more subtle and complex than simple chronological or confessional frameworks might suggest. For this reason, the volume might have been strengthened by a final essay that offered some preliminary conclusions about ideas of heresy across pre-modern Europe. On the other hand, the interpretation of such changes is (as the editors note) profoundly historical and no doubt subject to further change. Perhaps it is thus too early for sweeping generalizations, and the editors have done well to give readers a starting point from which to construct their own ideas of heresy in transition.

University of Minnesota, Morris JENNIFER KOLPACOFF DEANE

Early Modern

Alejandro VI y los Reyes Católicos. Relaciones político-eclesiásticas (1492-1503). By Álvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles. [Dissertationes, Series Theologica XVI.] (Rome: Edizioni Università della Santa Croce. 2005. Pp. ii, 838; 10 maps, 2 plates. €60.00 paperback.)

One of the main virtues of this lengthy book is the broad range of issues it covers. It provides a systematic examination of diplomatic and political relations between the pope and the Spanish monarchs, of Spanish intervention in Italy, of Alexander's interest in and involvement in expansion into the New World, and the defense of the Mediterranean against Ottoman expansion, as well as of ecclesiastical relations, provisions to benefices, conflicts of jurisdiction, fiscal matters, and reform of the Church and of the clergy of the Spanish kingdoms.

Chronologically, it ranges throughout the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, so despite the title of the book, it has much material concerning the pontificates of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII as well—during which Alexander as a cardinal was vicechancellor of the Church—and something on the pontificate of Julius II. New material used by the author helps him to provide a detailed picture of the relations between Ferdinand and Isabella and Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, which seem in significant ways to have set the pattern for relations between the monarchs and the pope. Although strained at times, he concludes, ultimately the relationship benefited both parties, and they shared an interest in ecclesiastical reform and the expansion of Christianity. He examines closely the process of obtaining the bulls solicited after Columbus's first discoveries in the New World, bulls which he argues the monarchs viewed as confirming, not conferring, their rights to these territories. Alexander's interest in the evangelization of the New World is stressed. Yet Fernández de Córdova Miralles also makes it clear that most of the political and ecclesiastical benefits the monarchs obtained from the papacy were conferred during the years around the French campaign to conquer Naples in 1493-1495, when Alexander wanted Spanish diplomatic and military support. Papal bulls backing the monarchs' efforts to promote reform in the Spanish church were granted in return for concessions to the family interests of the pope. He is candid about the openly-expressed disapproval of Ferdinand and Isabella for Alexander's zeal, as cardinal and as pope, for the promotion of his family, and of the greed and corruption of the Curia.

While he makes it clear that the monarchs were as skilled and versatile in negotiation as the pope, and both were ready to mingle the secular with the sacred, little criticism is leveled at Ferdinand and Isabella, compared with that of the policies and motives of the pope. The whole book is written from a Spanish perspective, rather than a Roman one. So great is his concentration on Spanish diplomatic and military interventions in Italy, at the expense of their wider context, that it results in a distorted view of negotiations and events, and

of the relative importance and influence of Spain in Italian affairs. He attributes Alexander's election to the papacy in large part to the support of Ferdinand and Isabella, arguing that the accounts of his election being greeted with disapproval at the Spanish court were developed later in, for example, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's revision of his own letters for publication. Heavy reliance on the letters of Pietro Martire and on the Spanish chronicler Zurita may account for some at least of the errors to be found in the book (the description of Siena and Lucca as subject to Florence, for example). It is not always evident that Fernández de Córdova Miralles has read some of the many works he cites (the bibliography runs to over a hundred pages).

Nevertheless, there is much to recommend this book, which will be a valuable work of reference and a starting-point for any future consideration of the relations between the Catholic kings and the Borgia pope.

University of Cambridge CHRISTINE SHAW

Miguel Servet: Obras completas. Edited, introduction, and notes by Ángel Alcalá. Vol. I: *Vida, muerte y obra. La lucha por la libertad de consciencia. Documentos*. [Col. Larumbe: Clásicos Aragoneses 24; Historia y pensamiento] (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza. 2003. Pp. clviii, 388. Each volume: €21.00 paperback.). Vol. II-1: *Primeros escritos teológicos* (translations). (2004. Pp. cx, 490.) Vol. II-2: Latin texts. (2004. Pp. 491-878.) Vol. III: *Escritos científicos.* (2005. Pp. cxiv, 532.) Vol. IV: *Servet frente a Calvino, a Roma y al luteranismo*. (2005. Pp. c, 444.)

These are the four volumes of the projected six of a project to publish all the works of Michael Servetus which were either previously published or remain as manuscripts together with documents related to his life, death, and influence on the further development of ideas in Europe. The edition includes the works and documents in their original Latin together with translations into Spanish. A few of the Servetus works were translated into Spanish previously: *Geography of Ptolemy*, 1932; *Syrups*, 1943, 1995; *Astrology*, 1981; *The Restoration of Christianity*, 1981. Into English, there were translated only his *On the Errors of the Trinity*, 1932, and his geographical and medical works in 1953. When Servetus was burned alive in Geneva on October 27, 1553, all copies of his major work, *Christianismi restitutio,* went up in smoke together with him. Today only three surviving copies of the original publication are known: (1) one in the National Library of Austria in Vienna; (2) one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (this copy was most likely used by Germain Colladon, attorney acting on behalf of Nicolas de la Fontaine during Servetus' trial in Geneva); and (3) one copy in the library of the University of Edinburgh. The latter lacks the first sixteen pages and the title page. These were replaced by manuscript pages reproduced in the sixteenth century from another manuscript.

Restitutio was circulated after Servetus' death in the form of copied manuscripts. In 1790 the German erudite, Dr. Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, a follower of Unitarianism, made a handwritten copy of the exemplar from the National Library in Vienna and published almost an exact replica of the original book in Nürnberg. There are about fifty-three exemplars of this publication in various libraries. The Murr reprint was reproduced in 1966 by a new photographic technique and serves today as the research tool for Servetian studies. A reprint of selected fragments from *Restitutio* concerning the kingdom of Christ, the kingdom of the Antichrist, pedobaptism and circumcision, was also published by Giorgio Biandrata in Transylvania in 1569. The first translation of a small tractate attached to the *Restitutio* and titled *Sixty Signs of the Antichrist* was made by Grzegorz Paweł in Poland in 1568. The book was translated into German in three volumes by Bernhard Spiess from 1892 to 1896 and into Spanish by Ángel Alcalá in two separate volumes in 1980 and 1981. Except for a fragment of a few pages concerning the famous discovery of pulmonary circulation, the book was never translated into English. The present bilingual edition of all the works of Servetus together with pertinent documents is an ambitious and long-overdue project. The last two volumes containing a new edition of *Christianismi restitutio* are due to appear in 2006.

Servetus remains an obscure figure in history mainly due to the fact that his memory was erased from historical annals by his opponents; his works were destroyed and were never translated before the twentieth century. He is, however, a key figure for the evolution of culture and religion in Western Europe. He saw that the Reformation with all its positive sides did not go far enough in overhauling the Christianity of his epoch, corrupt morally and ideologically. Just as Anabaptists and other reformers demanded radical changes in the social structures of society and doctrines of the Church, so Servetus demanded a radical evaluation of the entire ideological religious system of assertions and dogmas imposed on Western Europe since the fourth century. He built single-handedly a new Christian religion which he claimed was closer to the Christianity of the first century. Among the doctrines which Servetus propounded there are two which stand out, especially from the perspective of our position and our hindsight. One is his antitrinitarianism based on a critical evaluation of the doctrine of the Trinity as having no biblical, historical, or rational basis, and as being a Greek religio-philosophical accretion to the Christian story; the other is his doctrine of justification, which emphasizes human natural capabilities of recognizing moral values and making moral judgments. This is the outstanding expression of Servetus' humanism in realizing that human nature is not depraved or corrupt as all Christian dogmas from the Catholic to the Calvinist claimed. This trait of Servetus' thought unites him with the ancient optimistic humanism as well as with the modern outlook on the human condition supported by modern studies in the history of ethics and its rational and natural origin.

It is hoped that this edition will provide easily accessible original sources for the scholars and the texts in Spanish for the Spanish-speaking public. It is worthwhile to mention here that the English translation of the major work of Servetus is being prepared and the first volume should appear at the end of 2006.

Texas Southern University, Houston MARIAN HILLAR

Dove non arriva la legge. Dottrine della censura nella prima età moderna. By Lucia Bianchin. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento: Monografie, 41.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2005. Pp. 389. €25.50 paperback.)

The book analyzes the ideas about censorship expressed by Jean Bodin, Pierre Grégoire, Justus Lipsius, Johannes Althusius, and Johann Angelius Werdenhagen. The views of these authors on a subject crucial to late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe were not influenced by the actual organization of the papal control system on culture and book circulation, but relied mostly on a reappraisal of ancient Roman censorship. The moral and political censorship implemented by the Roman republic was generally described, in the texts here examined, as a powerful means to enforce social discipline and to prevent conflicts and dissent fatal to the state.

Bianchin outlines first the historiographical background of her research, discussing some recent contributions concerning the processes of confessionalization and social-disciplining in both Catholic and Protestant areas, between the Peace of Augsburg and the Thirty Years' War. She then compares the Catholic censorship system—intended to prevent printing and reading of books dangerous to the faithful—and the Protestant one, instrumental in enforcing strict religious obedience through the control of moral and social behavior. The third chapter turns upon the ancient Roman magistrate called *censura*, charged with maintaining the census—a list of the citizens and of their properties compiled for fiscal and military purposes—and supervising public morality. Neglected in medieval legal tradition, the ancients' model met with a revival during the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the early-modern period, Bianchin points out, legal literature testifies to a new interest in the *iudicium censorium*, a sort of judgment founded on equity, sanctioning vices, bad habits, and moral infringements not subject to the law. But only in the first chapter of the sixth book of Bodin's *République* (*De la censure*) does the account of the establishment and development of the Roman *censura* lead to a doctrine of censorship that entrusts to the state the task of imposing moral discipline and restraining offenses like gambling, idleness, drunkenness, vagrancy, and licentiousness.

The Bodinian idea of moral control—easy to connect to the rigorous concept of state sovereignty asserted in the *République*—provided a basic reference to later writers dealing with the role of censorship in the organization of

the state. In his *Syntagma juris universi* (1582), then in the *De Republica libri sex et viginti* (1596) the French canonist Pierre Grégoire follows faithfully Bodin's argument, claiming moreover for the government a wider control over private life and marriage. He, nevertheless, warns against the excesses of *censores*, the cause, in his opinion, of the ruin and disuse of the Roman magistrate. A contemporary of Grégoire, just as dismayed by religious struggles as Grégoire, was Iustus Lipsius, also a resolute advocate of censorship, charged with keeping orthodoxy and public order. Loyal to his strictly political point of view, he urges, however, the prince to a wise and shrewd use of such a hateful and frightening means. In the *Politica methodice digesta* of Johannes Althusius, the discussion on censorship loses any scholarly mood and couples with the Calvinist model of discipline, closely connecting civil and religious power. Althusius is not only a political writer. The third edition of his main work (1614) reflects his experience as syndic and elder of Emden, the Calvinist city in Eastern Frisia known as the "Geneva of the North," where he died in 1638. In chapter XXX of the *Politica* the role of censorship as a complementary and arbitrary judgment on a number of moral and social faults reaches its fullest extent, supported by the strengthening of the inquisitorial action and by a penalty system including fines, the brand of infamy, and imprisonment in workhouses. Concerned with the unavoidable abuses of rulers, Althusius argues anyway for a *censura regum*, entrusted to the collective magistrate of the ephors. So a doctrine of censorship attains to the status of a system of constitutional limitation on royal power.

The survey of Bianchin concludes with the remarks upon Bodin's *République* by the Lutheran Johann Angelius Werdenhagen, drawn up in 1635 and revised ten years later. In the middle of the Thirty Years' War, Werdenhagen aims at restoring the distinction between civil law and moral rules, through a radical narrowing of the field of the *iudicium censorium*. According to his comments, censorship recovers the former fiscal and financial functions, while losing the role of moral direction of the subjects, now committed to education of the youth.

The detailed analysis of political and legal treatises carried on in the book by Bianchin, the reader could object, is occasionally lenghty and repetitive. Moreover, some main questions arise. Is it possible, for example, to ascertain the specific part played by secular moral censorship within the general process of social disciplining, going with the establishment of the domain of the public administration and the development of a *Polizeiwissenschaft*? The themes the author deals with are, however, crucial to the understanding of early modern history. The debate on censorship here investigated really meets with the changing relationship between the public and private sphere, among conscience, ethics and law, as well as the new perspectives unfolded by the end of the confessional era. So the work of Bianchin offers a good amount of new information and cues and will no doubt arouse further interest in these key problems.

Università di Napoli

ANTONELLA BARZAZI

The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture (1573-1580). Edited by Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. [Biblioteca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, Volume 55; The Institute of Jesuit Sources, Series III: Original Studies Composed in English, No. 18.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; St.Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2004. Pp. xxx, 992. $80.00 cloth; $60.00 paperback.)

Everard Mercurian (1514-1580) was superior general of the Society of Jesus for the last seven years of his life. While the period 1573-1580 of Jesuit history is the focus of this massive volume—a book comprising a thousand pages and some thirty essays, in English, with summaries in Spanish and in the original language of each essay—Mercurian himself sometimes remains but in the background. A wide range of issues and persons receive attention, including how Jesuits adapted to an era when direct, personal connections with their founder, Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), began to fade. By the mid-1570's, the Order was growing ever larger, and ever more international. Many were the friends and supporters of the Jesuits, but so too were the enemies and opponents. McCoog's collection of essays offers a wealth of interesting insights into what we might call the growing pains of the second generation of Jesuits.

Elected superior general at the third general congregation of the Society of Jesus, Mercurian, born in the prince-bishopric of Liège, was the first non-Spaniard to lead the Jesuits. Questions of nationality emerge in several essays in this volume, and they are set in the larger context of late sixteenth-century political and religious tensions. Protestants and some Catholics lambasted the Jesuits for their links with Spain, and, it was alleged, their links with the Habsburg monarchs. Certain Catholics favorable to the Jesuits saw a need for making clear the international nature of the Society of Jesus; for instance, Pope Gregory XIII (reign 1572-1585) advertised his desire for the election of a Jesuit superior general of a nationality other than Spanish. Mercurian's election pleased Gregory. But election of a non-Spaniard did not mean an end to all controversies. Indeed, the Iberian Peninsula was the locus of multiple problems in the 1570's. The Portuguese Jesuits were divided between those wanting a penitential model of piety, and those advocating a gentler and more world-affirming form of religious observance. José Vaz de Carvalho's essay examines the peace-making efforts of Simão Rodrigues, sent by Mercurian to pacify the Portuguese province. A. D. Wright's essay, on relations between the Society of Jesus and other religious orders in Spain, shows Mercurian's era to be one of intense rivalry between Jesuits and Dominicans (and other mendicants). Ronald Cueto's essay makes clear how Jesuits were blamed for Portugal's loss of its own royal house.

Several authors explore the successes and failures of Jesuit activity in Europe and around the world. Philippe Lécrivain's essay on Juan Maldonado shows how a brilliant Spanish Jesuit theologian met with varied responses when he taught in Paris. John Patrick Donnelly's essay on Antonio Possevino

considers an Italian Jesuit who labored as a diplomat in distant parts of Europe, Sweden among them. Dennis Flynn shows how an English Jesuit, Jasper Heywood, embarrassed the Society of Jesus in Germany. Heywood worked for a time in Bavaria, where he went to extremes in denouncing what he considered usury, even though the practices in question were not considered such by most Catholics. Brazil is the topic Alida Metcalf treats; she finds Jesuits under attack from Huguenot pirates, epidemics such as smallpox and measles, and from Portuguese colonists whose priority was financial gain, no matter the consequences for the native population of the Americas. In 1573 Mercurian appointed an Italian Jesuit, Alessandro Valignano, as visitor to Jesuits in the East Indies. Essays by John Witek and M. Antoni J. Üçerler show the extraordinary importance of Valignano in moving Jesuits in Asia toward a more respectful approach to the cultures they encountered.

This volume also illuminates both how education became an ever greater focus of Jesuit resources, and yet how the difficulties in establishing or maintaining a school, or in working in older, established educational institutions, were often daunting. Paul Grendler examines the pattern of obstacles faced by Italian Jesuits seeking to teach at a university level. For one thing, most universities in Italy paid little attention to theology—giving their attention instead to law and medicine—and the Society of Jesus was not able to change that. But Francesco Cesareo's essay sets forth Jesuit educational successes in Rome, enhanced in Mercurian's era by Gregory XIII's support of the Roman College, the German College, and the English College. Susan Mobley's essay shows how Jesuits in Bavaria depended heavily on intervention from the Duke to make a place for them at the University of Ingolstadt.

Philip Endean's excellent essay on Jesuit prayer returns the focus of this volume to the superior general of the Jesuits. Endean shows convincingly that Henri Bremond and other historians of spirituality have wrongly saddled Mercurian with an oppressive effort to stamp out mystical and contemplative prayer in favor of asceticism and authoritarianism. Rather, Mercurian promoted an "Ignatian pluralism" (p. 381) in ways of praying.

Thomas McCoog deserves praise and gratitude for his editing of this valuable work. An essay that might have been added to this fine collection is one specifically on Pope Gregory XIII. He is mentioned in several essays, and it is clear that his pontificate was critically important for the growth and success of the Jesuits in the late sixteenth century. Mercurian's generalate fell entirely within Gregory's pontificate (1572-1585). In the years just after Mercurian's death, the Jesuit Christopher Clavius would play a key role in creating the calendar that bears Gregory's name. Perhaps not only is an essay on Gregory and Mercurian called for, but also a book on Gregory XIII and the Jesuits.

College of the Holy Cross THOMAS WORCESTER, S.J.

Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries). By Ines G. Županov. [History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds.] (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 374. $75.00.)

This book addresses the uniqueness of Jesuit/Portuguese missionary activities in India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The title of the book, *Missionary Tropics,* is a bit bewildering to the reader, at the outset, but toward the middle of the introduction the author gives two explanations for this: one, "to evoke the fact that, historically, the climate was considered part of the difficulty in converting the natives because of its humoral connection with idolatry"; two, because of the linguistic vernacularization (or tropicalization) of the Christian message, church rites, and social customs associated with conversion." The first reason is not at all convincing as there is no established connection between climate and idolatry. The second reason is indeed valid as there certainly was an integration of native religious beliefs and rituals with the liturgies and devotions the missionaries introduced among the natives.

What strikes the reader as admirable is the richness of resources the author used in putting together this well written book. They include every relevant archive, collection, or published work available: the Jesuit Archives (Rome), and every other archive, library, or collection in Rome, Lisbon, Oxford, the British Museum, the State Library in Panaji (Goa), the eighteen volume *Documenta Indica* edited by Josef Wicki, S.J., and the *Epistolae S. Francisci Xavierii aliaque ejus Scripta*, edited by G. Schurhammer, S.J., and J. Wicki, and several hundred published works and manuals which either exclusively or partially deal with Jesuit/Portuguese activities in India.

The book is divided into three parts. The first entitled "Tropical Saints and Relics" has two chapters, the first, with the heading "The Sacred Body: Francis Xavier the Apostle, the Pilgrim, the Relic," deals in much detail with the apostolate of Saint Francis Xavier in India and in Japan, his death in the island of Sanciam, overlooking the Chinese coast, the arrival of the miraculously preserved body, fresh and full blooded, to Goa in 1554, ensuing public veneration of the body, the flow of pilgrims to venerate the body and the mutilation of the sacred body, starting with Isabel de Carom biting off the little toe of his right foot and other pieces of the body given away as gifts to powerful Portuguese officials and families, and finally his right arm divided and distributed to be enshrined in the Jesuit Church of the Gesu in Rome, and the shrines in Cochin, Melaka, and Japan.

Chapter II deals with Portuguese efforts to discover the burial place of Saint Thomas the Apostle, their success not only in discovering the tomb but also the bones of the Apostle, the building of a new church, enclosing the tomb of the Apostle, and the founding of Sao Thome de Meliapur as a commercial and pilgrimage center.

Part II of the book has the overall theme of "Tropical Virtues and Vices" and in three chapters it covers the following topics: "Fervors and Tropics," which deals with the career of Antonio Gomes, who served in India between 1548 and 1554 as Jesuit Superior. Gomes, who was headstrong, fervent, passionate, and ambitious, was seen as an asset and at the same time a problem for the Jesuit Mission. For this reason Francis Xavier wrote to Gomes urging him to be moderate as his Superiors in Europe moved him from place to place frequently.

The next chapter, titled "The Art of Dying in the Tropics, Jesuit Martyrs in India," deals with the ambition of young Jesuits, aspiring to be missionaries in far away places to become martyrs as well as the stories of a few Jesuit martyrs, in India, such as Antonio Criminali.

"Tropical sins and sins of Hinduism" are the themes of the next chapter. The author addresses the issues of "sex, lust and sociability," "uses and abuses of the Malabar marriage customs," and "pollution, free will, and Indian Christian Marriage," largely based on the correspondence, accounts, and historical writings left behind by two Jesuit missionaries, Jacome Fenicio (late sixteenth century) and Diogo Goncalves (early seventeenth century) critiquing the customs, manners, and religious rituals of the Hindus and native Christians of the Malabar Coast, contrasting them against prescriptions of the Council of Trent that were being widely publicized in Europe at that time.

Part III of the book deals with two Portuguese missionary enterprises: a medical mission in Goa and the gradual replacement of the Portuguese language by local vernaculars in missionary presentations and some parts of the liturgy. The author also gives a detailed analysis of the positive and negative results of vernacularization in the Portuguese efforts to Christianize the local population and their culture.

On the whole the book is well researched, well written, and well structured, and I congratulate the author for it. I must, however, point out one huge lapse in the book, that is, the author's casual treatment of the violent Latinization of the Saint Thomas Christians of Malabar by Dom Foey Aleixo de Menses, Archbishop of Goa, using military force and burning the Aramaic liturgical books from their churches and forcing on them the decrees of the Synod of Diamper (1599), which he himself wrote and which mandated the use of Latin liturgical texts, translated into Aramaic, in all liturgies, including sacraments and sacramentals, removing all vestiges of native culture. What transpired in the aftermath of the Synod were the following: nearly half of the elders of the Syromalabar community took an oath, symbolically touching on a cross (since there were several thousand of them, they tied ropes to the cross and had everyone hold on to the ropes) that they will not obey the Portuguese religious authorities. A good number of them joined with schismatic Jacobite bishops who came to Malabar from Antioch. Others continued in the old tradition. Of the Jacobites, a good number broke away and formed the Marthomite Church, with liturgies similar to that of the Anglican High Church. Of the remaining

Jacobites a good number returned to Catholicism when in 1930 their Archbishop, Mar Ivanios, gained permission from Pope Pius XI to form a new Rite, named the Syro Malankara Rite, and to continue to use the liturgies they had been using since they became Jacobites. The Malabar Church, founded by Saint Thomas the Apostle, according to tradition and the testimonies of foreign visitors from early Christian centuries, has been thus split up into four different churches, two Catholic and the other two non-Catholic, thanks to the violent incursion of Archbishop Meneses. Certainly it was a momentous event with very serious consequences, which should have been treated in some depth rather than being given a mere mention as the good Archbishop's effort to enforce the tenets of the Council of Trent. The Council of Trent did not legislate anything pertaining to the Malabar Christians. Besides, Eastern Churches had a separate code of Canon Law, as they do even now, which was revised in 1959 as was the Canon Law of the Western Church.

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CYRIAC K. PULLAPILLY

Joannes della Faille, S.J.: Mathematics, Modesty and Missed Opportunities. By Ad Meskens. [Institut Historique de Belge de Rome, Bibliothèque, LIII.] (Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome. 2005. Pp. 177. €36.00 paperback.)

This book describes the life of Joannes della Faille (1597-1652) and provides commentary on his mathematical work. Ad Meskens makes meticulous use of earlier scholarship and archival sources, including previously unstudied material held privately by the della Faille family. Meskens seeks to raise awareness of della Faille's mathematical accomplishments, published and unpublished, judging that a proper assessment would lead to recognition in the same company as more celebrated contemporaries such as Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) and Girard Desargues (1591-1661).

Meskens situates the life of della Faille within the civil and religious strife in the Low Countries during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Joannes, son of a wealthy Flemish merchant, was born and raised in Antwerp, at that time under Spanish rule and a center of the Counter-Reformation. The young della Faille attended the Antwerp Jesuit College, early exhibiting both an attraction to a religious vocation and a talent for mathematics. His initiation into the Jesuit tradition of mathematical scholarship was accomplished especially through the instruction of Gregorius a Sancto Vincentio (1584-1667), himself a student of Christopher Clavius (1537-1612), a pioneer investigator in infinitesimal calculus.

Della Faille, ordained in 1621, was dispatched to Madrid in 1629, where King Philip IV had encouraged the Jesuits to found the *Estudios Reales* of the *Colegio Imperial* in an effort to build up Spanish technical expertise. While in Madrid della Faille published his only book, a short treatise deriving the center

of mass of a sector of a circle. This was a tour de force of geometric reasoning, explicated by Meskens in one of his chapters.

Della Faille's skills were recognized at the highest level of the Spanish court. In 1646 he became mathematics tutor to Philip IV's son, Don Juan of Austria, and later accompanied the latter's military expeditions in the Mediterranean. Della Faille died in Barcelona in 1652, shortly after Don Juan had suppressed a rebellion in that city.

Gregorius a Sancto Vincentio asserted that della Faille may have written as many as thirty unpublished mathematical manuscripts. Meskens is unable to confirm such a large number, but has found several such manuscripts, of which he gives special attention to those on conic sections, composed of carefully crafted sequences of theorems without proofs. Meskens has succeeded, with considerable ingenuity, in providing anachronistic proofs by means of analytic geometry, and he expresses his confidence that della Faille was in possession of synthetic geometrical proofs. While acknowledging that della Faille was not so audacious an innovator as Desargues, Meskens is eager to credit della Faille with anticipating later developments in projective geometry, and urges that his name be attached to theorems usually associated with Pascal and William Braikenridge (ca. 1700-1762). These claims on behalf of della Faille's prowess cannot be incontrovertibly supported by the available evidence, but Meskens makes a plausible case.

Meskens concludes by musing provocatively, albeit superficially, on the conditions contributing to della Faille's obscurity in the history of mathematics. Factors mentioned include the relative weakness and isolation of Spanish mathematical activity during della Faille's time, the failure of Don Juan to memorialize properly his tutor, and (as alluded to in the subtitle of the book) della Faille's Jesuit spirituality that urged modesty.

The book is produced in a handsome paperback volume with numerous illustrations, including a cover reproducing the notable portrait of della Faille by Anthony Van Dyck. There are a few typographical errors, awkward phrasings, and missing words, but the most distracting blemish is provided by the exceedingly mechanical right justification of the text, resulting in numerous unconventional hyphenations.

Prince George's Community College DAVID LINDSAY ROBERTS

Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400-1600. By Helmut Puff. [The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 311. $24.00 paperback.)

Helmut Puff's book, part of "The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History and Society," is an extraordinary example of how a social history of language can lead to a contextual understanding of sexuality and communal identity. Tackling an

oft ignored and marginalized topic, Puff demonstrates how a careful analysis of "multifarious relationships between acts and words" (p. 11) leads to a nuanced understanding of the changing usage of the various terms, including, sodomy (*sodomia*), sinning "against nature" (*contra naturam* or *wider die nature*), heresy (*Ketzerei*), and florencing (*florenzen*), to describe male same-sex sexual acts in late medieval southern Germany and Switzerland. Combining extensive archival research with a well-grounded understanding of contemporary literary theory and historical method, Puff proposes that the discursive rhetoric surrounding sodomy played a significant role in creating a unique state, religious and social identity in German-speaking lands during the Reformation.

Part One, "Acts and Words," shows how sodomy accusations and trials had more to do with local conflicts than sustained effort by secular or ecclesiastic authorities to control same-sex sexual behavior. Puff, however, asserts that the medieval "Church's relative lack of interest in homosexual behavior" should not be equated with "tolerance" (p. 21) and that seeming inaction itself can constitute action when scrutinized closely. In Chapters One and Two, Puff argues that while those convicted of sodomy were severely punished, trials themselves were "episodic" rather than "systematic" (p. 30). He finds that class issues rather than concern about sexual behavior dominated sodomy prosecution, since most cases pursued by civic authorities dealt with upper-class men or clergy until the Reformation. Particularly fascinating is Puff's discussion in Chapter Three of "tropes of unspeakability" (p. 57) in theological tracts, confessional manuals, and printed sermons and catechisms, and of how the presentation subtly shifted according to audience. This convincing section illustrates how an absence of direct descriptive discussion of sodomy and the use of silence was intentional in confronting the "silent sin." Chapter Four traces how this rhetoric of unspeakability found its way into legal trials and public denouncement of sodomy during the early sixteenth century.

Part Two, "Acting Words," demonstrates that polemical use of sodomy, often presented as an extreme of Reformation discourse, was not a new phenomenon, but rather had historical and rhetorical precedent in fifteenth-century slander and defamation. Chapter Five traces how verbal allegations became "a popular vehicle to circulate concepts associated with sodomy" (p. 107) in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Switzerland. Defamation and slander were largely directed at foreigners and elites, thus "venting social and political dissatisfaction"(p. 116). Chapter Six outlines how German humanists used a slanderous and violent rhetoric of sodomy to differentiate themselves from their Italian counterparts and how this "rhetoric of inversion" created a "geography of perversion." Chapter Seven describes how civic authorities and Reform-minded theologians, including Martin Luther, utilized the term "sodomy" during the Reformation to contrast their reforms with "sodomite activities" of the Catholic, and Italian, Church. This brought the "unspeakable sin" fully into the rhetorical repertoire and created a powerful polemical tool. Chapter Eight suggests how this rhetorical contrast pushed Protestant reformers to advocate

marriage as the only acceptable sexual norm for all, including clergy, since "celebration of marriage as well as sodomiphobia were particularly successful as Protestant rallying points because both accorded with and could be mapped onto values held by communities before the Reformation" (p. 176). Thus, Puff proposes how the concept of sodomy, originally defined as sexual "heresy," ultimately transformed into a rhetoric of inclusion and difference creating communal identity in the German-speaking regions of Switzerland and Germany during the Reformation.

Western Kentucky University BETH PLUMMER

L'armonia contesa: identità ed educazione nell'Alsazia moderna. By Simona Negruzzo. (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2005. Pp. 396. €29.50 paperback.)

Its history makes Alsace an attractive laboratory for exploring some major themes of European history, something Simona Negruzzo is very aware of in her study of Alsatian schools during the early modern period. A point of cultural intersection, Alsace was a German principality until taken over by France in 1681 and for centuries a site of competition between Protestants and Catholics. That history has drawn a good deal of scholarly attention (attested to here by the eighty-two pages of bibliography). Still, a study of schooling might reveal a lot about the concrete effects of changes in language, culture, rulers, and religion.

Negruzzo begins with the Protestant schools of Strasbourg in the sixteenth century. The central figure is Johann Sturm, who was placed in charge of city schools in 1538 and whose humanistic curriculum remained dominant through the century. He himself embodied something of Strasbourg's liminal position between cultures, Catholic and Protestant, French and German. Educated at Louvain, in touch with leading intellectuals in Paris (where he had spent several years), he maintained close contact with important German reformers and humanists. Strasbourg's city fathers put considerable resources behind the elementary schools and gymnasium Sturm directed. Students (mainly German-speakers) came from the local elite and from much farther away, and Sturm's schools were models adopted in cities from Poland to France and especially in Switzerland and Germany. His gymnasium, having weathered the transformation from association with the ideas of Martin Bucer to a stricter Lutheranism, in 1566 won from Emperor Maximilian the title of academy and the right to grant degrees, tantamount to the university status fully granted in 1622. To this general picture, Negruzzo's research adds considerable detail, about the students (their number shrank in the seventeenth century), the organization of the faculty (quite conventional), and the subject matter (always addressed through a fairly conservative humanism that tended to ignore the latest discoveries in science or geography).

Counter-Reformation competition came from the Jesuits, who in 1580 established a school in Molsheim (given university status by emperor and pope in 1617) and rapidly established other schools in towns encircling Strasbourg. Adopting the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, these schools, too, had a humanist curriculum; and in fact the two sets of strikingly similar schools influenced each other, although the Protestant ones excelled in singing, the Jesuits in theater. On the organization of these schools and enrollment in them and on the continuing contestation through pamphlets and theater, this account is very informative. That is one of its strengths.

Another is awareness of the larger picture. Schooling suffered as religious conflict grew more violent in the seventeenth century and from the effects of the plague and the Thirty Years' War. French rule brought a certain calming as well as a greater French presence and cultural influence. While favoring Catholic institutions, including the Catholic university, the French monarchy also recognized and supported the Protestant one. Catholics and Protestants studying law and medicine continued to do so together at the still-Protestant University of Strasbourg, and foreign visitors continued to note surprising similarities in the religious practice of the two denominations. The growth of Catholicism in Alsace was primarily due rather to Jesuit and Capuchin campaigns of preaching, devotional missions, and pilgrimages—effective expressions of Counterreform piety that reached a broad public and further distanced Protestants from Catholics.

These strengths invite a certain disappointment, however. The size of schools, languages used, treatises written, literacy achieved, and much else clearly set forth were certainly related to the issues of identity, religion, social structure, and politics that make Alsace so interesting. That connection, although rhetorically asserted, is not effectively probed. The interesting information about schooling does not much modify the received picture of the larger historical trends. We learn little of the process by which they and local institutions shaped each other and almost nothing of the anguish, anger, and bloodshed that process involved. The details that documents chose to reveal are carefully culled and soberly assembled, with more information added in footnotes that crawl up the pages like ivy. But an abundance of facts can, like ivy, both embellish and obscure the structure that supports them. By the eighteenth century Alsace was very different from what it had been two hundred years earlier; and the achievement of this study is to suggest that study of education ought to reveal something more while reminding us of the factors that produced those changes, of their European scope, and of the centrality of Alsace in early modern history.

University of Michigan RAYMOND GREW

Konfessionskampf und fremde Besatzung. Stadt und Hochstift Hildesheim im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation und des Dreißigjährigen Krieges (ca. 1580-1660). By Christian Plath. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 147.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2005. Pp. xiv, 732, €89,00 paperback.)

Christian Plath has studied the Protestant city of Hildesheim and the Catholic territory around it during the period of the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years' War. Like a number of recent works, Plath compares the Catholic and Protestant communities, with an eye toward understanding their "experience" (*Erfahrung*) of both religious reform and war. The concept of "experience" comes out of the German tradition of *Alltagsgeschichte* (history of everyday life) and seeks to give a social dimension to historical events like the Thirty Years' War. This effort is commendable and, for the most part, Plath succeeds in this endeavor.

The book is divided into two main parts, the first on the "Counter-Reformation" and the second on the Thirty Years' War. The two parts are connected, since Catholic efforts to recapture institutions and populations for the Church occurred during the war itself. On the other hand, each part more of less stands on its own and each has rather different concerns. The first part reads a lot like a traditional study of Tridentine reform. Plath examines the work of bishops and their officials, the influence of the Jesuits, the use of synods and visitations. A strength of this study is that it also examines these developments from the perspective of the Protestant elite and the wider population. We read about Protestant as well as Catholic polemicists in the years leading up to the war, the efforts of the Protestant City Council of Hildesheim to resist the Edict of Restitution (1629), and the development of new forms of piety, in both confessions, in the later years of the war.

Plath's discussion of the Thirty Years' War makes several important points. The war had its particular turning points and rhythms at the local and regional level and the experience of the population was neither uniform nor continuously horrible. In the Hildesheim region, the Edict of Restitution was one turning point, the Swedish invasion (1631-32) a second one, and the Peace of Goslar in 1643 a third. Plath emphasizes that the confessional conflict of the pre-war period meant that both Catholics and Lutherans experienced the early years of the war, until the mid 1630's or so, as a *Konfessionskrieg*, or religious war. By the 1640's, survival strategies dominated everyone's day-to-day life. At the same time, the experience of the Thirty Years' War varied considerably across social classes and between the confessions. Co-operation between soldiers and civilians and between Catholics and Protestants was not unusual and increased as the war dragged on.

Plath's study is firmly rooted in extensive archival research and based on vast amounts of secondary reading, although regrettably little in non-German-language scholarship. The work is full of interesting stories about the experi-

ences of real people—peasants and artisans, students and teachers, priests and pastors, bishops and town councilors. This is its greatest strength.

Connecticut College MARC R. FORSTER

Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580-1700. By David L. Graizbord. [Jewish Culture and Contexts.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 263. $47.50.)

David Graizbord's book examines the plight of "renegade conversos" in Spain and Portugal during the long seventeenth century. Conversos, or "New Christians," were baptized Christians of Jewish descent, and while a majority of them had been assimilated into Christian society (although to what degree remains a point of contention), a small minority of "renegades" chose to return to their ancestral faith, fleeing Christian Iberia and integrating themselves into Jewish communities abroad. A still smaller minority returned to the Iberian peninsula and often found themselves at the mercy of the Holy Office, and in some cases actively collaborated with inquisitional authorities as informers. Graizbord sets out to account for these unconventional behaviors and in the process provides an investigation into the vagaries of religious identity and a study of "cultural liminality."

Graizbord situates his analysis of these geographic and spiritual border crossers in opposition to a traditional historiography that sought to reveal the "truth" of converso identity in relation to reified national and confessional categories. Rejecting this kind of essentialism, Graizbord adopts a socio-cultural approach that facilitates a more nuanced appreciation of the varied psychological and economic forces at work in shaping the religious experiences of Iberian conversos.

One of the great strengths of Graizbord's *Souls in Dispute* is its detailed description of the complex networks within which his subjects circulated. By the mid-seventeenth century numerous Spanish and Portuguese conversos had fled the Iberian peninsula and settled in southwestern France, where many of them reverted to Judaism and participated in the refugee *kehillot*. An active trading relationship between Bayonne and Madrid, however, provided both motive and opportunity for some of these renegade conversos to return to Spain for extended periods. In doing so, they aroused the suspicions of both the Jewish and Christian communities. In Spain these returnees were bound to transgress Jewish law if they wanted to remain inconspicuous among the Christian flock, and thus their commitment to Judaism was questioned by their fellow expatriates. If, on the other hand, they were apprehended by Spanish or Portuguese authorities, they faced a barrage of interlocking prejudices: fears of judaizing, a widespread resentment of "wealthy" merchants, and xenophobia in general.

How did refugee conversos negotiate this welter of competing allegiances and identities? The Inquisition cases Graizbord examines contain fascinating testimony in which returnees sought to justify their tortuous religious trajectories. In some instances the accused ended up converting back to Catholicism and helping their inquisitors ferret out other crypto-Jews. Were these defendants mere opportunists, telling the authorities what they wanted to hear? Graizbord argues that this was not necessarily the case. Instead, according to Graizbord, this kind of "renegade behavior" involved a "complex process of self-fashioning" (p. 167) in which "the movement of individual conversos from one purportedly impermeable community of faith to another and back was not a stratagem, but an earnest choice born of a specific historical context and guided by a pragmatic religious mentality firmly rooted in that context" (p. 171).

Graizbord's use of the concept of "self-fashioning" to describe the contingency of converso identities is never fully elaborated. It would be helpful to have a more explicit discussion of how self-fashioning applies to the material presented here, or even to see some engagement with recent critiques of the self-fashioning paradigm, such as John Martin's *Myths of Renaissance Individualism.* Indeed, Martin's notion of the "prudential self" bears a striking resemblance to the kinds of identity formation described in *Souls in Dispute.* To be fair, the author did not undertake to provide an analysis of early modern selfhood in general, and it is perhaps a testimony to the richness of his subject matter that one can envision many possible comparisons to be made and directions for further study. In the final analysis, Graizbord has written a superb book that will be of interest to Hispanists in general as well as specialists in Jewish History and scholars of the Inquisition.

University of Alabama at Birmingham ANDREW KEITT

Correspondance du Nonce en France: Gasparo Silingardi, Évêque de Modène (1599-1601). Edited by Bertrand Haan. [Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae, 17.] (Rome: École française de Rome and Université Pontificale Grégorienne. 2002. Pp. xxxvii, 598. Paperback.)

In the study of papal diplomacy in early Bourbon France, Gasparo Silingardi's brief tenure as papal nuncio between 1599 and 1601 has been overshadowed by that of his contemporary Cardinal Roberto Ubaldini. Nevertheless, Silingardi's presence coincided with a critical juncture for the Bourbon monarchy and the Catholic Church in France. In 1598 Henry IV's nearly decade-long campaign to secure political and military control of his kingdom paid important dividends when the last major unreconciled Leaguer noble, the duc de Mercoeur, submitted to his authority and the Peace of Vervins brought to a conclusion open hostilities with Spain. In the same year Henry also took an important step toward securing religious peace in his king-

dom through the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes. These developments, along with the absolution of Henry IV by Pope Clement VIII in 1596, stabilized the kingdom and set the stage for a more lasting religious and political peace.

Silingardi's correspondence provides critical and sustained commentary on the efforts of Henry and his ministers to build on the political successes of 1598. Silingardi is especially revealing on the evolving religious settlement that the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes inaugurated. Thus, his correspondence provides detailed coverage of the controversies, including that surrounding Du Plessis-Mornay's tract *L'Institution de l'Eucharistie* and the related conference at Fontainebleau, through which the French monarchy sought to arbitrate a more lasting peace. His correspondence also provides the best single source for the examination of papal religious policy in France during this period. In his dispatches Silingardi reveals the sustained papal effort to secure confirmation and publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent, Clement VIII's unsuccessful attempts to organize an international crusade against the Turks, and, on a more successful note, papal efforts to lay the groundwork for the rehabilitation of the Society of Jesus in France.

With Silingardi's correspondence having so much to offer scholars, Bertrand Haan's commendable annotated volume of his letters is a welcome addition to the field. Haan's edition, the seventeenth volume in the Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae series, is the most complete of Silingardi's correspondence to date. It includes 343 letters along with a number of additional memoirs and instructions. These letters are accompanied by impressive supporting materials. As someone who has read the original manuscripts of this correspondence, I appreciate Haan's careful annotations. They will save future scholars considerable time and effort both in identifying figures mentioned in letters and in verifying and offering further references to events that feature in the correspondence. But perhaps most useful is the substantial introduction of over 200 pages. It provides the most up-to-date and accessible study of Silingardi's life and career to date. In this introduction, Silingardi's whole biography is examined and through this biography a picture of Silingardi as an associate of Carlo Borromeo, committed Tridentine reformer, and experienced administrator of his diocese comes into focus. This biography ultimately shapes how one reads the letters that follow. When one considers Silingardi's earlier career, it is clear that he was more of a dedicated Catholic reformer than a papal diplomat. This may explain why, unlike his more famous successor Cardinal Ubaldini, he found himself at several crucial moments on the margins of diplomatic negotiations between the French crown and the more dedicated papal diplomatic figure, the cardinal nephew Pietro Aldobrandini.

Missouri State University ERIC NELSON

Redefining Female Religious Life: French Ursulines and English Ladies in Seventeenth-Century Catholicism. By Laurence Lux-Sterritt. [Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. viii, 236. $99.95.)

The historiography of religious women has come a long way. Shaking off the victimhood described by Diderot and passing through the status of near-invisibility accorded it in official church histories of the past, it emerged into daylight as women's history took hold. Nuns, it was discovered, were not all sad little persons of limited import; indeed, some of them, like Teresa of Avila and Mary Ward, were veritable Amazons in the faith. The fact that they opened new horizons for religious women proved that feminism could take root, even within the convent.

It is frustrating, though, that the enhancement of our empathy for these women of the past takes place at the very time when our understanding of the values inherent in their way of life has dwindled almost to zero. It means that we have difficulty in seeing where they are coming from. As Lux-Sterritt points out, "Since cloistered piety has all but disappeared from modern life, physical isolation and immobility have, on the whole, come to represent passivity and inactivity, notions the twenty-first century is quick to dismiss as useless" (p. 178). In the early seventeenth century, however, the contemplative life was still highly prized. The intense activism of the Counter-Reformation did not diminish respect for the monastic tradition; if anything, it enhanced it.

This is the point that the author is making. Various groups of women appeared on the scene, anxious to do their part in the re-Catholicization of the world. The difficulty was that the work they chose to do required them to be present in that world—and this offended all sorts of sensibilities, both ecclesiastical and societal. In short order they were forced back toward the cloister. Their reactions differed. Mary Ward, foundress of the English Ladies, refused outright—and she suffered for it, being imprisoned for some time as a condemned heretic. Yet her institute survived, and continued to operate outside the cloister. The Ursulines of Toulouse (the author's principal subjects) behaved more circumspectly, accepting *clausura* while insisting on the right to continue teaching outsiders. Militant on the one hand, modest on the other, but, as the author argues, together they were of "momentous importance," "because, despite working from within the patriarchal confines imposed upon them . . . they managed to lay the foundations of a new system of education for women; indeed, their activities enlarged the pre-existing feminine roles within the Church" (p. 27).

Despite their pioneering work, however, they were not rebels defying the established order. "In fact, sources have shown that most apostolic women demonstrated a spiritual affinity for the cloister and that they all respected the religious values it represented" (p. 8). The difficulty for them came from "the ambiguous relationship" between the values of the contemplative life and those of the apostolate. As they stepped out into their new ministry, they still had one foot planted firmly in the old monastic tradition. "[T]hey should not

be regarded as feminist 'loose cannons' within the Catholic Church but rather as women whose seventeenth-century vocation operated a rich transvaluation of medieval asceticism and inscribed a teaching apostolate within a traditional religious and penitential context" (p. 193).

This is a point worth remembering. Different people prod the Church forward; some of them are her most loyal members.

University of Ottawa ELIZABETH RAPLEY

Vincent de Paul: The Trailblazer. By Bernard Pujo. Translated by Gertrud Graubart Champe. (Notre Dame, Indiana: The University of Notre Dame Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 329. $40.00.)

For more than three centuries, most biographies of Vincent de Paul have been distorted by tenacious hagiographic myths. Untangling the Vincent of myth from the Vincent of history, and understanding the Vincent of history within the context of his faith, life, and times in seventeenth-century France has been an elusive achievement.

Bernard Pujo has written a popular biography of Monsieur Vincent that presents him as a "Trailblazer." The work's greatest strengths emerge in the author's descriptions of the political realities of seventeenth-century France. For example, his explanations of the Fronde, and France's interminable continental warfare are particularly well done.

While the author gives wonderfully vivid accounts of Vincent's trailblazing, a realistic and convincing portrait of the trailblazer as a person, priest, reformer, founder, and servant of the poor is not achieved. This failure to come to grips with the complexities of the trailblazer's personal story weakens the story of his trailblazing.

The work's other faults are the result of a non-specialist writing in an area in which he is only marginally acquainted, while uncritically relying on a relatively small number of largely French sources.

Pujo correctly portrays the young Vincent de Paul as an ambitious, intelligent, talented, ecclesiastical climber of average faith and unremarkable piety hailing from a modest farming family with modest connections. Pujo's story of how this unremarkable Vincent de Paul became the great Monsieur Vincent is in the end an entirely unconvincing rehashing of the myths dating from the saint's first biographer, Louis Abelly. These myths have been largely discredited by contemporary Vincentian historians.

One example is the saint's famous "Tunisian Captivity" based on Vincent's autograph accounts of his capture by the Barbary pirates and his being held as a slave in North Africa for two years, before a miraculous escape in a skiff

across the Mediterranean. Pujo comments, "At first, one may be tempted to call Vincent's story unlikely, but a more attentive re-reading gradually overcomes the reflex of incredulity. . . ."

However, a "reflex of incredulity" would have been an appropriate response if only in light of scholarship on Christian slavery in North Africa during this period. Indeed, Pujo's entire analysis of the traditional stories surrounding Vincent de Paul's conversion would have benefited from a "reflex of incredulity."

Also absent is a basic analysis of the spiritual and material conditions of the un-reformed French Church, or the dynamic and successful Tridentine reforms emerging from the fabled French school of spirituality and the *Devots*. If Vincent de Paul was a trailblazer, he was surely a Tridentine one, not only in terms of his charity but also in his theology, spirituality, priesthood, reform of the clergy, and systematic re-evangelization of the countryside.

Pujo does make excellent and moving use of Vincent's letters to illustrate the attractive personalism that characterized his relationships. The author also rightly acknowledges, if only in passing, the pioneering roles of Louise de Marillac, the Ladies of Charity, and the Daughters of Charity as indispensable collaborators in Vincent's trailblazing activities

Before a modern critical biography of Vincent de Paul can be written an author must have deep understanding of seventeenth-century France, especially from a religious perspective. Another indispensable element will be a non-hagiographic approach to Vincent de Paul's life story. Using both these approaches will finally produce a compelling portrait of this trailblazing saint.

DePaul University EDWARD R. UDOVIC, C.M.

John Baptist de la Salle: The Spirituality of Christian Education. Edited by Carl Koch, Jeffrey Calligan, FSC, and Jeffrey Gros, FSC. [The Classics Western Spirituality.] (New York and Mahway, New Jersey: Paulist Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 266. $26.95 paperback.)

This slim paperback volume on the writings of John Baptist de la Salle, the founder of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, is part of a larger series on the "Classics of Western Spirituality." It contains an elegantly-written preface by Thomas H. Groome, a pithy biographical sketch, and an introduction to his spirituality, but it is devoted mostly to de la Salle's "foundational" writings and letters. The most important of them is a collection of meditations he wrote for his Brothers during the time of annual retreat. They express best of all his advanced thoughts on the vocation of lay religious to announce the Gospel to the poor, comparing their role to that of the early apostles and to their descendants the bishops. Other documents such as Rules, memoranda, and personal notes and letters are of considerable historical value and interest,

but do not pertain directly to matters of theology and spirituality. The translations of the documents reprinted in this book are scrupulously faithful to the original texts, which is both their strength and their weakness, if only because de la Salle's own prose style was lawyer-like, sometimes convoluted, and only rarely poetic. His personal letters to his confreres, as the editors rightly note, were "brisk" and even "curt," in contrast to his longer treatises. Readers will have to transport themselves back to the spirituality of seventeenth-century France to fully appreciate both the theology and vocabulary of the selections included in this volume. Although de la Salle made an original contribution to the life and ministry of the Church by founding a religious order composed exclusively of consecrated lay religious, the bulk of his of his writings were directed to grammar school teachers who are warned against "teaching truths with scholarly words"; and urged to serve as "substitutes" for the mothers and fathers of their students. Today in the United States, the Christian Brothers teach mainly in college preparatory high schools and in liberal arts colleges and universities. Indeed, the editors, two of whom are Christian Brothers and one a former Brother, all hold numerous advanced degrees, including doctorates, a development that would have shocked de la Salle, who explicitly forbade his followers to learn Latin and Greek, which in his day meant studying the classics or the liberal arts. Although essential components of de la Salle's theology of teaching may still apply to men and women even at the highest levels of education, they will need to be restated and adapted to an academic environment that stresses critical thinking, freedom of thought, and advanced scholarship. This is the challenge facing the present-day followers of an educational reformer whose revolutionary ideas got him constantly in trouble with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of his time and place.

Saint Mary's College of California RONALD EUGENE ISETTI

Treatise on Monastic Studies, 1691. By Dom Jean Mabillon. Translated with an introduction by John Paul McDonald. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc. 2004. Pp. xxii, 340. $45.00 paperback.)

Into the arena of large personalities that populated the French Church during the reign of Louis XIV stepped Dom Jean Mabillon, the father of the field of palaeography. Unlike some of his contemporaries, this Benedictine of the Congregation of Saint-Maur did not make his mark upon the Church and the era with firebrand sermons or a puritanical rejection of the worldly. Rather, his humble dedication to the fulfillment of the command *labora* through scholarship, especially the critical assessment of ancient texts and sources, earned him renown among clergy and laity alike. Not all of his ecclesiastical peers approved of cenobitic erudition though. While Mabillon meticulously annotated the works of St. Bernard and composed his treatise on diplomatics, Armand Jean le Bouthillier de Rancé advocated a back-to-basics monastic movement. Claiming that only through intense physical labor and extreme cor-

poral mortification could a monk truly satisfy his vows, Rancé denounced intellectual advancement as unsuitable for contemplative orders.

Few among the regular clergy were better qualified to respond to this invective than the middle-aged Maurist. In his *Treatise on Monastic Studies*, which John Paul McDonald has translated into English, Mabillon not only defended the appropriateness of scholastic achievement for monks. He also described how greater knowledge of religious and secular topics, of Christian and non-Christian—and sometimes heretical—authors, could foster the virtues of humility and charity, at the very core of the monastic ideal. In fact, when examined through the lenses of faith and obedience to one's superiors, these works could effect the transformation into "that new man for whom Our Savior gave us the model." Instead of a direct defense against Rancé's attacks, Mabillon chose to expound on this theme in the format of a detailed plan of study for young brothers, to whom he dedicated his *Treatise*. He did not engage directly in Rancé's debate; rather, he used this as an opportunity to reaffirm, in a positive yet "serene" (as Mc Donald describes him) way, the Maurist commitment to scholarship.

With this English translation, Dom Mabillon's rational and eloquent defense of academic pursuits within a religious context resonates once again. Although the Congregation of Saint-Maur formed a vital part of Gallican Catholicism, few works by or about the Maurists have been translated into English. As a result, their history and contributions to *academia* remain open for exploration by modern scholars. McDonald's translation provides a step toward greater treatment of this order and thus furnishes a necessary piece of the panorama of seventeenth-century church history. But this volume should appeal not only to historians and theologians. Anyone engaged in education at religious institutions would find this work enlightening and edifying. Dom Mabillon cogently justified the indispensability of scholarship within a sacred setting and enjoins such establishments to provide learning that encompasses religious and secular courses of study. As Dom Mabillon delineated in his *Treatise* and exemplified in his life, cultivating such intellectual pursuits with a faith that seeks understanding will create the Pauline "new man."

Lourdes College
Sylvania, Ohio

MARY K. COONEY

The Enlightenment and the Intellectual Foundations of Modern Culture. By Louis Dupré. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 397. $45.00.)

Reminiscent of his previous work, *Passage to Modernity: An Essay in the Hermeneutics of Nature and Culture* (1993), Louis Dupré scores highly in this, his latest analysis of the Enlightenment epoch. "To investigate what is new

in the basic concepts of this later period of modernity and to find out how it has affected our own culture has been the purpose of this study," he writes. Dupré's erudition saturates every page. There are few elements of the period he passes over—philosophy, science, history, aesthetics, social theory, religion, are all given a thorough inspection. What this yields is not simply an answer to the question, "Is the Enlightenment project still valid?" The question suggests, for Dupré, "that the problems of the Enlightenment are due not to a subsequent deviation from the original plan, but rather to an inadequate conception of that plan."

Central to these problems is the nature of the self, as both a "knowing *subject* and the *substance* to be known," a problem lifted up by Descartes and still with us today. How can we know ourselves? Locke altered the problem by asking how language related to meaning. To be sure, these are very old questions, and Dupré traces their genesis to Plato, Augustine, and Aquinas. But he also stipulates that "not before Herder and Hamann in the second half of the eighteenth century does the notion that language conditions thinking as much as thinking conditions language make its appearance." The role of symbol, not merely in language but especially in art, took on new form and the author's insight here is as penetrating as his exposition is elegant. In a poignant line describing Jean-Baptiste Chardin (1699-1779), Dupré calls the artist "the loving observer of ordinary objects and domestic intimacy," who "succeeds in directly conveying the touch of velvet, the shine of polished brass, the smell of freshly baked bread." Where Renaissance artists crafted their vision in accord with classical aspirations, the Enlightenment artist found inspiration in the familiar. Yet for thinkers like Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717-1783), the creative impulses of these artists were hardly differentiated from more "scientific" inclinations since for many the sciences were classed by faculty—memory, reason, imagination. Rationalists chose to downplay imagination, including Samuel Johnson, who called it "a licentious and vagrant faculty." Nevertheless, the process and product of the imagination can often yield that which is beautiful and true. This led Dupré to delve into the aesthetic theory of Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury (1671-1713), for the connections between genius and the sublime.

The beautiful and the true are allied with the good, and Dupré takes up Kant's question of whether feelings can ever determine the course of moral life (for Kant, they cannot). Kant idealized the fullness of human being (*Humanität*), however unattainable. We are hemmed in by the vicissitudes of competing rights and the ebb and flow of history itself. Here Providence comes under scrutiny. Decades before Kant, Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), asserted that the hand of the divine is in eternal history, an amalgamation of the cyclic histories of known civilizations. For Dupré, this arouses the suspicion that Vico was a theological determinist. "He who is not pious cannot be truly wise," Vico wrote in *The New Science* (1725). There are further echoes of this sentiment in Herder and, one might add, in the thought of the present pope.

Admittedly, this all too brief summary of this book's contents can hardly do justice to the grand sweep of Dupré's narrative, which amounts to mature reflections on the pantheon of heroes who, each in their own way, bequeath to the modern age all that gives life meaning, joy, and integrity.

St. John's University, Staten Island, New York PATRICK J. HAYES

Late Modern

Le secolarizzazioni nel Sacro Romano Impero e negli antichi stati italiani: premesse, confronti, conseguenze / Säkularisationsprozesse im Alten Reich und in Italien: Voraussetzungen, Vergleiche, Folgen. Edited by Claudio Donati and Helmut Flachenecker. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento. Contributi/Beiträge, 16.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2005. Pp. 337. €24.00.)

The secularization of Church property in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, its motives and causes, the way in which it happened, and its results and implications add up to a theme of immense importance. The year 2003 saw many conferences and exhibitions held to mark the bicentenary of one of the two largest instances, the seizure by states of all church property except that of parishes under the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* [RDHS] promulgated in 1803, bringing an end to virtually all church-states, monasteries, and other major Catholic foundations throughout Germany. This collection of papers derives from a meeting held at Bressanone on March 6-8, 2003.

As is to be expected from the list of contributors, the quality of the contributions is high, and the theme is treated broadly. Claudio Donati's introductory essay, while whetting one's appetite for the later pieces, also contains valuable remarks on defining the concept of "secularization" understood more generally, both as involving more countries and as referring to a vast process of "disenchantment" *(Entzauberung, disincantamento)* affecting other religions, Continents, and periods. These general issues are taken up again in the final essay, by Paolo Prodi, which battles with their significance today in the broadest terms, not excluding globalization. Harm Klueting's essay distinguishes with his customary clarity between the processes of taking over church property in many countries from the Reformation onwards. Six essays (Dell'Oro, chiefly on the kingdom of Sardinia; Brambilla on ecclesiastical tribunals in the center and North; Montanari and Del Torre on Venetian bishops, Mazzoni on the Legations, and Nequirito on Trent) focus on Italy. Two, Andermann's and Flachenecker's are concerned with the origins of the German secularization, in southwest Germany and southern areas respectively. Elsewhere varied themes are explored: the impact of the RDHS on the aristocracy of the Austrian Empire (Godsey), the career of Archbishop Hohenwart of Vienna (Trampus), and then more general questions, "the transformation of parishes" (Gatz) and the economic, social, and theological effects of the process (Burkard).

All of these essays deal admirably with their themes, in many cases with real originality; and the more general ones are first-rate introductions to their subjects, for example, Andermann on the merits of the German church states and Burkard on the very difficult issue of defining exactly what was different about the post-1803 Catholic Church in Germany as compared with the old Church.

Of course, there are themes that might have been treated more fully: the role of the papacy, the impact of religious toleration, and the effects on church music are three. In relation to church jurisdiction the nuncios seem to have escaped attention. But of all the many collections produced to commemorate 1803 this is one of the best structured and most thought-provoking.

Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge DEREK BEALES

Religión y sociedad en España (siglos XIX y XX). Edited by Paul Aubert. [Colección de la Casa de Velázquez, Volume 77.] (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 2002. Pp. xiv, 292. €45 paperback.)

The essays contained in this volume were first presented at a seminar held at the Casa de Velázquez in Madrid during 1994 and 1995. The contributors are for the most part well-known Spanish and French scholars who have published extensively on the role of religion and the Church in modern Spain, including Paul Aubert, Gérard Dufour, José Manuel Cuenca Toribio, Manuel Revuelta González, and Manuel Suárez Cortina The book's focus is not on the social history of Catholicism and the Church. It does not consider questions such as popular religions, clerical demography, or the resurgent organizational activities of the Church from the late nineteenth century onward. It concentrates on the broader question of the place of religion and the Church within a society affected by the political changes introduced by liberalism, the emergence of new secularizing intellectual currents, and the social tensions introduced by capitalist economic development.

Three themes predominate. Four essays concentrate on relations between Church and state from the concordat of 1753, a triumph for the strongly regalist government of the day, through the transition to democracy following the death of Franco in 1975. Taken as a whole, these essays provide a compact and well-documented survey of what was a complex and ongoing attempt to define the precise place of the Church within a state that was officially Catholic until the 1931 constitution of the Second Republic separated church and state for the first time in the nation's history.

A set of three essays discusses the second theme, the ideological struggle waged in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries over the place of religion and, by extension, of the Church within society. In the work of figures such as Donoso Cortés and Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, a new and more sophisticated Catholic conservative ideology emerged to replace, at least in

part, an older tradition based on the historic identification of Throne and Altar under absolute monarchy. The new direction taken by conservative Catholic thinkers did not go unanswered as intellectuals moved by a commitment to rationalism and progress saw religion and the Church as an obstacle to the realization of this grand design. Between these opposing views a debate began that would persist well into the twentieth century.

A third set of essays considers the development of anticlericalism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The authors note the complex and sometimes contradictory sources of modern anticlericalism in Spain. They argue persuasively that the primarily political anticlericalism of nineteenth-century liberal governments and occasional outbursts of violent popular anticlericalism, primarily between 1834 and 1843, moved in new directions after 1898 and became an essential part of reforming projects advanced by politicians, intellectuals, social reformers, and revolutionaries. Anticlericalism and the corresponding reaction to it of the Church and its supporters became central to debate over the nation's future and finally emerged in passionate discussion and violence following the proclamation of the Second Republic in 1931.

The essays in this volume set a high standard. They provide an intelligent and well-argued survey of some of the key questions involving the place of the Church within modern Spain.

University of Toronto (Emeritus) WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN

Erzbischof Johannes Dyba. "Unverschämt katholisch". Edited by Gotthard Klein and Monica Sinderhauf. [Quaestiones NON Disputatae, Band VI.] (Siegburg: Verlag Franz Schmitt. 2002. Pp. 592.)

Archbishop Johannes Dyba (1929-2000) was an "agitator" for the Catholic faith: "unabashedly Catholic." He declared that he always wanted to be a priest, not an administrator. Trained in law and having served as a Vatican diplomat for over twenty years, he was elevated to the Archbishopric of Fulda in 1983. He developed a habit of speaking with deliberate disdain for conventional "correctness." The editors' biographical sketch presents a man who chose to be a godly provocateur. A Social-Democrat politician's accusation of "publicist fanaticism" and an "aggressiveness" that was "dangerous" because Dyba accepted that he hurt his opponents is followed by Cardinal Ratzinger's acknowledgment that Dyba was never an opportunist and did not mince words, but that the frequent and vicious attacks upon him caused him to suffer, and that he did it all for his faith.

The selections from Dyba's sermons, homilies, speeches, and interviews are organized chronologically, to give the reader a realistic view of life in Church

and society during the seventeen years of Dyba's archiepiscopate (1983-2000). There is no attempt at a comprehensive listing of the Archbishop's recorded utterances or of his papers. Topics in the selections may be traced through the detailed subject index (although eighty undifferentiated entries on "Papacy" are not as helpful as the editors no doubt intended).

At his inauguration as Archbishop of Fulda in 1983, Dyba remarked upon the many unhappy, bitter, fear-distorted faces among his affluent German compatriots and challenged his hearers to reflect to the world the joyful knowledge of being God's children destined for eternal salvation. He demanded acceptance of Christian fundamentals: trust in God's gift of peace as the fruit of faith, the practice of true brotherhood as a personal contribution to peace, and faith in God's promise of eternal life. And he related Christian teaching to contemporary issues. When students opposed to defensive measures against Soviet nuclear missiles challenged him to agree that the Sermon on the Mount must surely be in force, as in "turning the other cheek," he agreed and asked them whether they practiced this in their personal lives, and whether they advocated this for management-labor relations, to both of which, of course, they could only say "no," and then he convicted them of proposing to turn the other cheek to the Soviets but not the Americans.

Dyba does not resolve the contradiction between confidence in God's mercy on the one side, and mass suffering and killing on the other. When the question was put to him, "if there was a God, why did he allow mass murder?" (the "Auschwitz Question"), he answered that God had given humans free will; but he would insist that God had not merely created humans and had then left them entirely to govern themselves in autonomy, but that He clearly instructed them in what they must do. His ultimate answer was always Faith.

Apparently Dyba never worked in theology. The bibliography lists remarkably few of his publications, the most learned ones being two dissertations on international treaties. Dyba insisted on fundamental values, but he was not a stern and inflexible theologian. He knew that there was no abstract justice, but that principles were modified by circumstance: "Thou shalt not kill" referred to illegitimate killing, not to killing in a war. The forty index entries for "sin" reveal general references. Although Dyba constantly spoke about some of the Seven Deadly Sins, he did not list them as an explanation of what was wrong with society. Although he was constantly concerned with the moral teaching of the Church, his references to the sin of abortion, for example, were flexible, not apodictic: he condemned a "holocaust" against unborn children, but allowed that women might despair and see no alternative to abortion, and he believed that God would forgive them.

McGill University PETER HOFFMANN

The Wayward Flock: Catholic Youth in Postwar West Germany, 1945-1965. By Mark Edward Ruff. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 284. $49.95.)

The Wayward Flock provides new insight into German Catholicism on the eve of Vatican Council II, and it summarizes well a large field of research. Focused primarily on the Cologne Archdiocese with solid comparative research in southern Germany and particularly Lower Franconia, it examines the decline of the Catholic milieu from the vantage point of a ministry where many placed their hopes for the future of the Church and Germany. As the author notes, the Catholic youth movement of the 1920's and 1930's claimed nearly two million members, and German Catholics could—and still do—point to their youth organizations as some of the most vital resistance cells of the Nazi period. Church leaders expected a dramatic return of Catholic youth work in the postwar era and a new age of religious revival. Monsignor Ludwig Wolker, a key figure in this book, launched a massive effort to bring all Catholic youth organizations under one impressive body, the League of German Catholic Youth (*Bund der Deutschen Katholischen Jugend*), and simultaneously to integrate Catholic sports clubs into the *Deutscher Sportbund*, an all German sports federation. Similarly, Mark Edward Ruff examines the efforts to revitalize Catholic girls' organizations, young worker associations, and rural youth initiatives. So, why did these vigorous efforts fail so profoundly by the late 1950's and 1960's?

Ruff notes that the return to practices and leaders of the prewar era created a notable generation gap in Catholic youth work. The times had become more attuned to "individualistic forms of expression," while church leaders sought to rebuild the all-encompassing, closed "integralist" community. They then watched young men and women leave in droves. Ruff is careful to note variations in the Catholic milieu's breakdown, such as the persistence of stronger Catholic organizations in rural areas and the tendency of girls and young women to stay longer in the organizations. The overall downward trend in membership was unmistakable, however, no matter what efforts were made to accommodate contemporary society. The decline, Ruff argues, is due partly to the outmoded organizational model of the German *Verein* (association). With the new culture of consumption, the *Verein* simply lost out, rooted as it was in authoritarianism, subordination, and tradition. Ruff also asserts that "consumption was a vehicle for the transformation" from authoritarianism to an individualistic democracy and the "ethos of individualism." But, as he notes, Catholic youth ministry was also a victim of postwar Catholic political success. With the rise of Christian Democracy and the welfare state, Catholic separatism lost its relevance. Finally, Ruff concludes, the in-fighting between church leaders over the direction and control of youth ministry absorbed far too much time and energy.

Ruff helps clarify some historical realities of Catholicism on the eve of Vatican II. Efforts to adapt youth and young adult ministry to new cultural and

social trends reaped few rewards. What the author does not recognize fully in this work, however, is that debates over the direction and purpose of youth ministry reflected old rifts in Catholic society as much as any new ones. The reader should also contextualize this study in decline: This is the decline of *modern* organizational structures, many that were part of the Church for less than a century. Historians need to be careful as well not to equate these institutions with the Catholic population as a whole. As Ruff points out in the beginning of his work, only about 30% of young Catholics participated in church programs of the period. What should we as Catholic historians know about the other 70%?

University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point ERIC YONKE

Der Französische Exilklerus im Fürstbistum Münster (1794-1802). By Bernward Kröger. [Veröffentwicklungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte, Band 203.] (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern. 2005. Pp. xii, 299. €39.90.)

Although a dissertation for the University of Münster, this work is worthy of a mature scholar. It is extensively researched and well written. More importantly, it fills a gap in our knowledge and understanding of the impact of the French Revolution on neighboring portions of Europe, in this instance the "kleine Vaterland" in Westpahlia, the Bishopric on Münster.

The Bishopric of Münster was, during the period in question, and for much of the preceding century, joined in personal union with the Electorate of Cologne, and held at this time by the youngest son of Empress Maria Theresa, Maximilian Franz of Austria. His chief minister in Cologne was Franz Wilhelm von Spiegel, his vicar general in Münster was Franz von Fürstenberg. Both were in clerical orders, and members of the cathedral chapter of Münster, but they differed significantly in outlook and influence. This was pertinent to the reception of the clergy who streamed across the frontiers from persecution in revolutionary France.

Kröger provides the reader with sufficient background concerning the situation in France from the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 to the intense persecution suffered by the clergy during the Reign of Terror. He then discusses the reception of those who fled into exile as a consequence of that persecution. In addition to the two individuals named above, one of the exiles himself played a role in organizing and furthering the reception of the exiled clergy in the Westphalian bishopric. This was Claude-Joseph de Sagey, vicar general of the diocese of LeMans. Sagey argued that the exiled clergy were defending universal Catholicism, and thus Catholics everywhere had a moral obligation to support and assist them. This attitude was very similar to that of Fürstenberg, who carried the cathedral chapter and local sentiment in this

direction. In addition, the Westphalian argued that Christian charity required extending help to all who suffered for the Faith. Spiegel, on the contrary, opposed an extensive presence of French clergy in the Bishopric, arguing that they were responsible for their own troubles, as the clergy had sided with the Third Estate against the nobility at the outbreak of the Revolution, and they were, further, a drain on resources needed to prosecute the war against France. The Prince, Max Franz, pursued a middle road, accepting the exiles as a matter of Christian duty, but not being very happy about it.

Once the question of acceptance was settled, many others arose. What about financial support? What about faculties for administering the sacraments? Could such exiles hold a benefice in Münster? These, and other issues are thoroughly explored. A statistical section provides interesting data, such as a total of 2,186 exiled French clergy residing in the small Bishopric (which had a total population of about a quarter million). Of these, by far the greatest number (1,283) were parish clergy, supplemented by 338 members of religious orders. Sixteen of the exiles were bishops. Another interesting piece of information concerns the age of the exiles. At the height of the Terror in 1795, when the numbers of clergy in exile were greatest, most of the exiles in Münster were in what one might consider the prime career years of the clergy (or anyone else), between 31 and 60, with a total of 1,676 individuals falling in this range. Most of these exiles came to Münster from the dioceses of northeastern France.

Our author provided his readers with chapters full of specific examples and general observations on the life and death of the French clergy in exile, and some of the reaction of the native Westphalians to their guests. He ends with the decisions facing the clergy with the Concorday of 1801 between Pope Pius VII and First Consul Bonapate, which ended the formal schism and the legal enmity between the Church and the revolutionary regime, but not the matters of conscience for a good many of the exiles.

On the whole, the example of Münster is one of solidarity among Catholics across national and political boundaries, to their mutual benefit. Ironically, only months after the proclamation of the Concordat, allowing most clergy to return to France, Prussian troops marched into Münster, bringing an end to the ecclesiastical principality.

Tennessee Technological University, Emeritus WILLIAM C. SCHRADER

Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine. By Suzanne K. Kaufman. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 255. $34.95.)

Suzanne Kaufman's *Consuming Visions* challenges two ways of looking at the history of France and French Catholicism: The first maintains that there

were "two Frances," one Catholic and antimodern, the other Republican, anticlerical and in tune with the modern world of science and commerce. The second contends that French Catholicism became "feminized" in the nineteenth century, and, as a consequence, "privatized," its practices and rituals removed from the public sphere. When historians of Lourdes complicate these dichotomies, they assert that the promoters of the shrine *used* the instruments of modernity—the railroads, the press, and "medical proofs"—to bolster an essentially reactionary political agenda and devotional practice.

Kaufman presents a brilliant, well-researched, clearly written argument that the development and practices of the Lourdes shrine *are* modern. Medieval pilgrimages, of course, had their share of buying, selling, and profit-mongering. But Lourdes had more: a proliferation of standardized commodities, modern transportation, and urban renewal, a panoply of developments that made Lourdes not only a tourist site, but a crucial regional economic asset. The shrine, Kaufman also contends, introduced the largely rural female influx to the modern wonders of consumption and spectacle. Lourdes was a *spectacle* both by design and because of the controversies it evoked. Organizers (the religious and lay orders) standardized the rituals surrounding the sick who came to the shrine hoping for a miraculous recovery: the stretchers at the train; the baths; the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, during which the multitudes chanted for a cure; and the crowds around the Bureau of Medical Verification awaiting the declaration that a miracle had been scientifically validated. This spectacle was communicated to the rest of France, and eventually the world, through the mass press (especially the Assumptionist *La Croix*), best-selling books, guidebooks, and when photography became cheaper, postcards. Finally, the cured themselves became a spectacle, in Kaufman's words, "sacred celebrities," often women who used their ephemeral fame as a means to assert their moral authority.

The mixture of commerce and religion, and the presence of women worshipers, spectators and shoppers made both supporters and detractors of Lourdes uneasy. Even Republicans wanted money separated from worship. Catholic moralists like Léon Bloy and aesthetes like J. K. Huysmans railed against the ugliness and commercialization. And both sides were willing to blame women, who, they said, were prone to various excesses, including hysteria.

Kaufman devotes two chapters ("Scientific Sensationalism and the Miracle Cure" and "Public Wager: Publicity and the Truth of the Cure") to the most fundamental controversy: whether the cures at the shrine proved divine intervention. Catholic and secular doctors alike used the mass media to take their case to the public. Fraud and slander were among the charges and countercharges played out in a sensationalist press; so was the contention, from secularists, that all cures were "mind cures." In the end secular doctors could not reach any consensus about certain famous cases, and when anti-clerical legislators tried to close Lourdes down in 1903 they were thwarted by many in

their own camp whose economic interests were too entwined in keeping the shrine open. Today, Lourdes remains the most popular pilgrimage site in Europe, about which Kaufman has written (to use a modernist term) a spectacular book.

University of Oregon BARBARA CORRADO POPE

Elisabeth Leseur: Selected Writings. Edited, translated, and introduced by Janet K. Ruffing, RSM. [The Classics of Western Spirituality.] (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 319. $27.95 paperback.)

This volume introduces Anglophone readers to the life and writings of Elisabeth Leseur (1866-1914), an upper-class, well educated French woman whose diary was warmly received in Catholic circles when it was first published in French in 1917, three years after her death from breast cancer. It was translated into English in 1919, and later into several other languages. The translation presented here, however, is a new one by Janet Ruffing, who uses more modern language. It is accompanied by material previously unavailable in English, primarily Elisabeth's correspondence during her last years of suffering with her friend and spiritual advisor, Sister Marie Goby. The texts translated are preceded by an extensive and very useful introduction by Ruffing.

One reason for the initial success of Leseur's diary was the extraordinary story behind its publication. Several years after marrying a militant atheist, Elisabeth rediscovered an ardent belief in the Catholicism of her youth. She entered into a pact with God, to live her life as a witness to the power of faith and in prayer for the salvation of her beloved husband, Félix. Her suffering became dedicated to him, gaining a purpose and justification. While she originally planned to destroy the journal, which records her dialogue with God and her reactions to the pleasures and pains of her daily life, she ultimately decided to leave it for Félix to read after her death. When he did so, he was not only converted, but became a Dominican priest and spent the rest of his life working for his wife's beatification and canonization (a process that is still ongoing). The evidence submitted included his conversion, her exemplary Christian life of heroic yet modest suffering, and the positive effects of her writings (in the form of thousands of letters) on many others.

I first came across this journal when working on a study of posthumously published diaries by French women of the nineteenth century. My initial reading of it (as a non-believer) was somewhat hostile, since the diary seemed to me to have served as a weapon of posthumous blackmail. However, Ruffing's sympathetic and knowledgeable presentation of the context in which the diary and the letters were produced has given this reader, at least, a much more positive view of the author. Ruffing undertook considerable research into Leseur's writings, including locating some of them, and her translation is both meticulous and readable. She also provides an excellent explanation of the

social, political, and religious milieu in which the Leseurs lived. Elisabeth's ideas on the communion of saints (including transferable credits toward a place in heaven) appear in a less mercenary light, when understood in more spiritual terms.

For her time and place, she was in fact very enlightened in wishing to combine faith and democracy, participation in social life and an inner mysticism. Her love of learning and desire for more education for women mark her as a rebel against a powerful patriarchal ideology as well as its defender. As the author of the preface points out, her diary is of particular interest because it portrays an attempt to live as a religious or a saint, while maintaining a "normal" family life and social engagements. To her sorrow, Elisabeth had no children, but in her writings she left a bequest to others who suffer physical pain and emotional isolation, one of courage and hope that is to be appreciated whether or not one shares her faith. This book therefore occupies an important place in representing a certain type of feminine lay spirituality in the Paulist Press's series "The Classics of Western Spirituality."

University of British Columbia VALERIE RAOUL

The Tragic Tale of Claire Ferchaud and the Great War. By Raymond Jonas. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 217. $21.95 paperback.)

In March 1917, at the height of World War I, Claire Ferchaud, a peasant girl from the pious region of western France, managed to arrange a meeting with Raymond Poincaré, the president of the French Third Republic. Based on a series of visions of Jesus she had experienced over the past several months, Claire asked that Poincaré dedicate France to the Sacred Heart and place its image on the French tricolor, long-standing Catholic requests that needed to be fulfilled if the nation were to win in its war against Germany. Ray Jonas' study provides the biographical, political, and religious contexts that explain how such an unlikely meeting could have occurred, and thereby opens up a fascinating new perspective on the war.

Jonas opens with two chapters that serve as context for Claire's story. In the first he reviews some of the different visions of war circulating in Europe before 1914, and suggests that Claire's sense of its meaning merits comparison with the ideas of the artists and statesmen who are generally more familiar to historians. After a brief overview of the early stages of the war Jonas shifts his focus to the personal story of Claire. Extremely devout, Claire claimed to have had visions and conversations with Jesus even as a child of three. Her spiritual development was encouraged by a friendly local priest, Father Audebert, whose support led her to further clerical connections. By the end of 1916 her visions of Jesus and her call for the dedication of France to the Sacred Heart had generated extensive publicity in the local press and a pilgrimage movement which was bringing thousands to her small village of Loublande. An

episcopal investigation chaired by Bishop Humbrecht of Poitiers interviewed Claire in December 1916, but produced no definitive ruling, and thereby encouraged the popular movement surrounding her campaign. With the help of a local politician, Claire finally reached Paris in February 1917, a stay which culminated in her interview with Poincaré, who listened politely, but took no action in response to her request.

In the second half of his study Jonas concentrates on a variety of initiatives coming from the French episcopacy and laity aimed at accomplishing the same goal generated by Claire's visions. As Jonas writes, Claire's campaign "was merely one manifestation of a popular movement that had pursued victory from the opening weeks of the war" (p. 86). Jonas describes the devotion of the Sacred Heart for Catholic women on the home front, but also for the many soldiers who used its image to ward off death in battle. Claire's visions thus intersected with and gained power from their connection with a deeply rooted spiritual tradition that experienced a wartime revival, as people responded to a devotion that seemed to offer both personal and collective redemption. Claire's story ends somewhat anticlimactically. Even before the official Vatican disapproval of 1920 some French clergy had expressed their reservations. Claire lived on until 1972 at the center of a small but marginalized congregation of women. In his epilogue Jonas recounts his 1998 meeting with an elderly priest in Loublande who had dedicated himself to Claire's memory, preserved in her house which also serves as a shrine, although not apparently one that draws many visitors.

Jonas tells Claire's story with sympathy and sensitivity, and through it illuminates a spiritual dimension of World War I that has not been sufficiently acknowledged, despite the work of scholars such as Annette Becker, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, and Jay Winter. In his desire to be fair to Claire, however, Jonas sometimes describes her as an almost heroic figure, driven by her vision to battle against her own shyness and public authorities. During a retreat in 1916 that served as a turning point in her career, for example, Claire is described as achieving autonomy, free for the first time "to contemplate her life on her own account and on her own terms" (p. 33). But Jonas notes as well the importance of her spiritual advisor, Father Bourget, and towards the end of his account acknowledges that her supporters "labored hard to shape her message and image" (p. 153). Claire emerges from Jonas' work as a troubled visionary, acting on the basis of divine inspiration, but also as a tool or (less pejoratively) an instrument of a long-standing and controversial spiritual and political agenda controlled by the clergy. Jonas has written an accessible and dramatic narrative that allows us to see into the troubled spiritual condition of France during World War I. He leaves open for the reader to judge how to assess the visions of Claire, which occurred at the intersection of a powerful religious sensibility with a Catholic milieu that was deeply politicized and which shared in the trauma brought on by World War I.

University of Notre Dame THOMAS KSELMAN

Jacques and Raïssa Maritain: Beggars for Heaven. By Jean-Luc Barré. Translated by Bernard E. Doering. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 496. $50.00.)

I much prefer autobiographies over biographies, and, in the case of Maritains, I never thought anything could supersede Raïssa's *We Have Been Friends Together* and her *Adventures in Grace*. But Jean-Luc Barré's *Jacques and Raïssa Maritian: Beggars for Heaven* has proven me wrong. Barré's coverage is obviously longer than Raïssa's, but it is also more in-depth on a host of points: Jacques' father and mother; the death-bed conversion of Raïssa's father; Jacques' spiritual combat with the homosexuality of so many of the French literary elite, e.g., Maurice Sachs; the personage of Vera, Raïssa's sister; Jacques' help of French and Jewish refugees in World War II; his relation with Charles de Gaulle; and the persistent Vatican doubts about *Integral Humanism* which the Second Vatican Council put to rest. The strength of Barré's narrative is that it possesses the immediacy of an autobiography because of its abundant and judicious citation of letters by all the personages mentioned.

This is not a work to read to garner an understanding of Maritain's Thomism. It is more personal. Coming through its pages is a Maritain devoted in deep love to his fellow man—especially the artists, intellectuals, and the poor. Repeatedly Barré quotes the first-time reactions of those of other persuasions to Maritain. They all mention Maritain's gentleness, his ability to listen, and his uncanny ability to perceive the essence of a discussion. In short, his friendship. One cannot read these reactions without measuring one's life to Maritain's.

Yet Barré also depicts a Maritain riddled by doubt, almost to the end, about what God wanted of him. Hence, a wanderer continually reinventing, but not compromising, himself to meet the needs of the apostolate. He apparently failed to convert the French elite to Catholicism. Also, Maritain could not dent clerical support for the Fascistic governments of Franco in Spain and Petain in wartime France. During his ambassadorship to the Holy See after World War II, Maritian failed to get from Pius XII stronger ecclesiastic condemnation of the persecution of the Jews. Finally, Maritain received no invitation to participate in the sessions of the Second Vatican Council.

Barré's account of Maritain's last years is particularly painful to read. Despite all the honors, e.g., the ambassadorship to the Vatican, the posting to Princeton, his receiving from Paul VI the Vatican Council's message to the intellectuals of the world, Maritain was like a dinosaur. Both the world and Catholicism had in fact moved beyond Maritain's Thomism. Yet if Maritain was a dinosaur, he was more like a ferocious tyrannosaurus than a mild brontosaurus. In his *The Peasant of the Garonne* (1966) Maritain looked the times in the face, took their measure, and without any second thoughts judged them fiercely in the light of his beloved faith and Thomism. An inspiring desperado to the end.

Barré's narrative is so wonderfully stirring and multifaceted that it generates its own lacunae in the minds of readers. Garrigou-Lagrange comes off quite badly (perhaps slanderously in the book's proximity between Maritain's criticism of Garrigou-Lagrange's support for Vichy and Vichy's support for the deportation of Jews, pp. 375-376). Nothing is ever said of the long and warm collaboration between Maritain and Garrigou-Lagrange with the *Cercle thomiste*. Also, I wish that the coverage of Gilson and Toronto had equaled the coverage of Hutchins and Chicago. Finally, last but not least, readers owe Bernard Doering a deep debt of gratitude for a superb translation.

University of St. Thomas
Houston, Texas

JOHN F. X. KNASAS

The Diocese of Meath Under Bishop John Cantwell, 1830-1866. By Paul Connell. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 285. $50.00.)

One of the more useful historical fruits from the extensive work done on the Irish Catholic Church in the nineteenth century in recent decades by the likes of Donal Kerr, S. J. Connolly, Patrick Corish, David Miller, and Emmet Larkin, are diocesan "case studies" such as this one, informed by our sharpened understanding of the wider cultural and ecclesiastical transformations of the era. Paul Connell's introduction, in which he conceptualizes the subject of his study, interestingly, not as the "place" of the Meath diocese, or the "person" of Cantwell, but, rather, the "process" of change in the diocese over time, does a respectable job of relating his study to this developing historiography. Connell describes how the challenges of these crucial decades in Irish history (encompassing the rise of O'Connellism, the famine and its aftermath, and the changes in the Church after the Synod of Thurles and the ascendancy of Paul Cullen as the first among equals among the Irish bishops) played out in this part of the Church (p. 7). In that sense, this book should be seen as heavily contextualized ecclesiastical history, alongside Ambrose Macauley's work on Patrick Dorian and William Crolly, Bishops of Down and Conor; Ignatius Murphy's study of the diocese of Killaloe; Thomas Magrath's studies of James Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin; and Thomas Morrissey's recent examination of the career of Thomas O'Dwyer, the Bishop of Limerick. Connell promises, and largely delivers, a rich study focused on both elite clerical culture and the political and pastoral concerns and imperatives that emerged during these years.

Connell might have made a more explicit case for the particular value of his study, however, as Cantwell's perspective from Meath was central, geographically and ideologically, to the issues of the day. Cantwell, as Connell describes, was inclined over the course of his career to play both sides of many issues, and his close friendship with Paul Cullen did not prevent him from making common cause with Cullen's frequent antagonist and ecclesiastical *beate-noire*, John McHale, the Archbishop of Tuam. Moreover, Cantwell's career was

nicely representative of the emerging "modern" generation of clergy in early nineteenth-century Ireland—professionalized, Maynooth-educated, increasingly rooted in the strong farmer class, and possessed of discipline, élan, confidence, and, along with an ultramontane sensibility, an activist patriotism.

The book is divided into eight thematic chapters, which consider Cantwell himself, an overview of pastoral issues during his episcopacy, and the developing relationship between the Irish bishops. Three central chapters treat relations between Cantwell and his priests and the evolution of church-state relations between 1830 and 1866, while two final chapters review Cantwell's relations with the swelling ranks of sisters and brothers, and, interestingly, provide an overview of the development of the laity. While this structure allows Connell to focus his historical attentions, it also leads to a great deal of repetition, as stubborn issues such as the controversy over university education or the national school system are introduced multiple times in different contexts.

In general, Connell suggests that, at least in Meath, Catholicism was a thriving enterprise from the beginning of Cantwell's episcopacy. While acknowledging that Cantwell presided over a period of tremendous growth of physical plant, in numbers of supported vocations to the priesthood and religious life, and the rapid expansion of educational and charitable enterprises, he insists that progress was gradual, rejecting the idea that the post-famine church was a qualitatively different one in relation to clerical discipline, Mass attendance, and popular devotional practice, from its pre-famine predecessor. There is some tension here, not only in regard to the historiography of the devotional revolution, but also within the work itself. Connell certainly documents Cantwell's remarkable reforming energy and his relentless and often successful attempts to improve his diocese. Meath was, however, an unusual diocese in many respects, including its relative prosperity and the notable zeal and pastoral abilities of Cantwell's predecessor, Patrick Plunkett. In the end, Connell's work is more valuable for the insight it provides into the workings of Cantwell's episcopacy in Meath than into the overall state of the pre- and post-famine Catholic Church.

University of North Carolina Wilmington PAUL TOWNEND

Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto. An Epitaph for the Unremembered. By Peter F. Dembowski. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 160. $18.00.)

In the writings about the Warsaw Ghetto, little is made of the some five thousand Christians of Jewish origin, mostly Catholics, who shared this plight. Jewish contemporary observers ignored this small group, or made disparaging comments about them. Afterwards, political factors dominated the writing of histories of these events. Archival sources were unavailable, and survivors were often too intimidated to speak out. So it has been left to Peter

Dembowski, as an eye-witness, to describe the complexity and perils of their lives and deaths in the Warsaw Ghetto.

These Jewish Christians were a minority within a minority. Most of them had no sense of belonging to the Jewish community, and were only forced to accept this designation when expelled to the ghetto in February, 1941. There they shared the fate of 300,000 full Jews in being murdered in the series of enforced deportations to Treblinka in the summer of 1942. In Dembowski's view the Jewish Christian community ceased to exist in the early stages of the Nazi *Aktion*.

Within the largely Jewish part of northern Warsaw, there already existed three Catholic parishes: St. Augustine, where the priests lived outside the ghetto, but were later forbidden to enter, and services ceased; All Saints, which was the largest church building in Warsaw, built in an imposing classical style; and the Church of the Nativity, whose courageous priest resided there throughout the ghetto period, refusing to leave and helping Jews where he could. Like many others, these priests did not consider "their" Catholics to be Jews at all, and were shocked by the Nazi decision to include them in the ruthless isolation and persecution.

Since most of the Jewish Christians were educated and assimilated to Polish society, they were often resented as "enemies of Israel" by the Yiddish-speaking majority of full Jews. But Dembowski, who knew many of them personally, takes a more favorable stance. For their part, the Jewish Christians, usually of a higher social class, sought to maintain their former contacts in Polish Catholic society, attended the church services with diligence, and avoided contact with the majority of Yiddish-speakers around them. For those who had lost any contact with their Jewish roots, or had not been aware that they had any, the shock of being thrust into the ghetto was traumatic.

Another feature of the distance between the two groups can be seen over the plans made by the Catholic clergy to rescue Jewish children by finding places for them to hide in monasteries or convents. These efforts were misinterpreted as "soul snatching," or in order to gain extra income for these institutions. Jewish observers had a long memory of such Catholic attempts to gain converts. They were rarely convinced by the priests' assurances that these children would not be subject to proselytism. In fact, even though giving assistance to Jews of any age was punishable by death according to Nazi rules, the evidence is that many children were rescued, especially in 1942. Far more was at stake for these "righteous Gentiles" than monetary gain or conversionary fervor.

One moving testimony is the memoir, as yet untranslated in English, of the prominent Jewish Christian doctor, Ludwig Hirszfeld. His career was suddenly cut short by the Germans in 1939, but he was allowed for a few more months to practice in his hospital for typhus patients until forced to relocate to the

ghetto. There he became one of the leading personalities in All Saints parish, and a great admirer of the selfless work of the priest Father Godlewski. Luckily he was able to escape just before the deportation Aktion of July-August 1942, when the remaining members of this parish were transported to their deaths in Treblinka. In her post war novel Hana Krall recalled, "When the Germans cleared the church of all the Christian Jews, there was only one Jew left in the church: the crucified Jesus above the altar."

Dembowsi is well aware that the converts held an ambiguous position, often resented by both Catholics and Jews, and unable to convince others of the genuineness of their spiritual motivations. Forty-five post war years of censorship, self-censorship, half-truths, "official" truths, lies and silences have made discussions of this difficult problem in Polish-Jewish relations highly problematic. But the fact that these Christians from the Warsaw Ghetto were murdered along with their fellow Jews undoubtedly affected the basis of the church-synagogue relationship. Today's fully altered attitude in the Christian Church towards Judaism may be said to be the most fitting epitaph for these unremembered martyrs.

University of British Columbia JOHN CONWAY

Church and State in Late Imperial Russia. Critics of the Synodal System of Church Government (1861-1914). [Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs, No. 13.] By John D. Basil. (Minneapolis: Modern Greek Studies, University of Minnesota. 2005. Pp. xii, 214. $40.00 paperback.)

This monograph examines contemporary discussion of Church-state relations from the mid-nineteenth century to the outbreak of World War I. The focus is not the actual interaction, but the discourse about these relations—primarily from the perspective of ecclesiastical, bureaucratic, and secular elites. The goal is to consider how these different groups regarded the existing system and what kind of changes they deemed essential. Behind this discourse was of course an escalation in church-state tensions, driven partly by clerical fears of dechristianization, by high officials seeking to mollify the non-Orthodox, and by the attempt of emperors (especially Nicholas II) who sought to resacralize and thereby relegitimize autocracy. This study provides a competent overview and reliable compendium of ecclesiastical, official, and intellectual views.

This monograph, while reviewing well-known territory (e.g., the views of Metropolitan Filaret and Konstantin Pobedonostsev) and making only nominal use of archival materials, does make some useful contributions. Certainly the most valuable is the exegesis of publications by canon lawyers, who confronted—and debated—the canonicity and legitimacy of the Synodal system and its subsequent evolution. Historians often cite this literature (on such issues as marriage and divorce); it is important to know how the writers' views

on specific questions—which were extremely controversial and widely discussed at the time—fit into the larger discourse on canon law and the Church. The author is also careful to disaggregate "groups," such as bishops, and to show how they in fact differed substantially in their diagnoses of crucial problems and their prescriptions for reform. The author also provides a brief overview of the decade following the 1905 revolution, focusing on two issues vitally important for the Church and fiercely contested in the State Duma: religious toleration and primary education.

While this volume is a useful introduction, much remains to be done. Above all, it is critical to analyze not only the opinion of elites (ecclesiastical or secular), but also the lesser social orders—ordinary parish clergy and believers themselves. In post-emancipation Russia power was moving downward, not only in state and society, but also in the Church; what priests and parishioners had to say was affecting not only behavior but also discourse at the top. Hence one must analyze the "Church" in the broadest sense, not merely in terms of prelates and procurators; it is essential to reflect on the ecclesiology of Orthodoxy, especially as "Church" acquired an increasingly demotic, not narrowly hieratic, meaning. Hence we need to go beyond the traditional historiography, which focuses on the intellectual and legal history of church relations, not the quotidian; despite what top bureaucrats and bishops wrote, the everyday interaction is more important for understanding what Church-state relations really were, not how they were represented by elites. All this affects the source base: one must go beyond the printed sources, which, while important, have their limits, especially in an age of ecclesiastical censorship. To explore this subject (even for elites), it is imperative to draw on the personal and administrative archives.

While all that is on the agenda for future researchers, they will find here a reliable introduction to official elite views.

Brandeis University GREGORY L. FREEZE

Dall'Oronte al Tevere. Scritti in onore del cardinale Ignace Moussa I Daoud per il cinquantesimo di sacerdozio. Edited by Gianpaolo Rigotti. [Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali: Edizioni «Orientalia Christiana».] (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Edizioni "Orientalia Christiana." 2004. Pp. viii, 310. Paperback.)

The work is a *Festschrift*, a collection of articles published on the fiftieth anniversary of the priestly ordination of His Beatitude, Ignace Moussa I Daoud, Patriarch Emeritus Antioch for the Syrian Catholic Church and Prefect of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches since 2000. There are three sections in the work: the first section treats the life and ministry of the cardinal prefect; the second section comprises articles treating the activity of the Congregation

for the Eastern Churches; and the third section is a collection of studies on miscellaneous *orientalia*.

The first article, written by Théophile Georges Kassab (Daoud's successor as Archeparch of Homs), is a brief biography of Moussa Daoud until his appointment as prefect. Moussa Daoud was born near Homs, Syria, in 1930 and was ordained a priest in 1954. In 1977, he was elected as bishop of Cairo and was appointed as archbishop of Homs in 1994. Elected as head of the Syrian Catholic Church in 1998, his tenure as patriarch was brief because in November 2000, Pope John Paul II appointed Daoud as prefect of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches. Maurizio Malvestiti, in his chronicle, offers insights into the role of the prefect. Activities include traveling with the Pope on apostolic visits as well as "follow-up visits" to those countries with Eastern Catholic hierarchies, meetings with Eastern Catholic hierarchs on their *ad limina* visits and newly-elected patriarchs, oversight of institutes for the formation of priests and religious women and men and the Pontifical Oriental Institute, and participation in the canonization of saints.

The second section encompasses topics relating to the Congregation. It opens with a detailed study by Michel Berger of Byzantine iconography, especially the iconostasis of Pimen Sofronov and the murals and the iconostasis executed by Jérôme Leussink in the Byzantine Chapel of the Congregation. A memoir of Lucian Lamza details the events that occurred during his long tenure at the dicastery. Francesco Brugnaro describes the challenges facing the Congregation in the formation of church leaders subsequent to the collapse of communist regimes and throughout the decades of turmoil in the Middle East. Krzysztof Nitkiewicz provides a sympathetic biography of Wladyslaw Cardinal Rubin, who served as prefect from 1980 to 1985. From its inception in 1917 until 1967 the pope himself presided over the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church (as it was then called). The superiors of the Congregation held the titles of cardinal secretary, assessor, and substitute (counterparts to today's titles of prefect, secretary, and under-secretary). Gianpaolo Rigotti provides brief biographies of four Eastern prelates who held the positions of secretary or under secretary. Dimitri Salachas presents an expansive canonical study of the role of the Congregation in ecumenical and missionary matters.

In the third section of the book, François Akl studies the historical relationship between the Maronite patriarch and the various civil authorities who exercised hegemony over the region throughout the century. Jihad Battah provides a brief description on the College of Saint Ephrem for Arabic-speaking priests studying in Rome, and Gisele Harb provides a brief history of the Latin rite Congregation of the Rosary. Bernard O'Connor analyzes the concept of unity as articulated in the 1995 apostolic letter *Orientale lumen* and its resonance in papal allocutions to the diplomatic community from 1990 to 1999. As a canonist, I cannot overlook the imprecise use of the term "rite" in the author's concluding remarks. The erudite and insightful article of Luigi

Padovese on the tenure of Angelo Roncalli as nuncio in Turkey and administrator of the Vicariate of Istanbul is timely in light of the visit of Pope Benedict XVI to this country. Over the years, the Congregation has performed an invaluable service by publishing Eastern liturgical texts. Olivier Raquez provides a detailed examination of the publication of the Greek *Anthologhion* (1967-1980) and an overview of the Byzantine liturgical cycles. The final inclusion in the work is a presentation given by Michel van Parys in Tblisi on the foundation of a Georgian monastery (Ivoron) on Mount Athos and the contribution of monasticism to European identity, especially in the preservation and translation of patristic authors.

A slight criticism of the work: the articles might have been better arranged within their respective sections and a few could have been omitted, being more "page fillers" than "page turners." Nevertheless, the work is a valuable resource regarding the mission of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches during the past seven decades and a fitting homage to a man of the Church who has served the people of God with love, dedication, and zeal for more than five decades.

New York JOHN D. FARIS

"Because He Was a *German!" Cardinal Bea and the Origins of Roman Catholic Engagement in the Ecumenical Movement.* By Jerome-Michael Vereb, C.P. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2006. Pp. xxvii, 332. $35.00.)

Rather than being another biography of Cardinal Augustin Bea, this book is a specialized study of the connections between the German ecumenical movement after World War II and establishment of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity in the spring of 1960. Jerome-Michael Vereb, a former member of the staff of the Secretariat (as it was then called), explains how the adversities of the Hitler years brought Protestants and Catholics together and aroused in some of them ardent hopes for an eventual reunion. In particular Vereb discusses the work of Archbishop (later Cardinal) Lorenz Jaeger of Paderborn, who relied heavily on the staff of the Johann Adam Möhler Institute at the Paderborn seminary. Another priest of the archdiocese, Monsignor Josef Höfer, providentially stationed in Rome, helped Bea to sort out the apparent discrepancies in Pius XII's teaching on church membership in the encyclicals *Mystici Corporis* and *Mediator Dei*. This problem was a major ecumenical issue, and drew much attention at the Council.

The idea of a Roman office responsible for ecumenical affairs was already broached by Patriarch Maximos IV Saigh in a letter to Pope John XXIII on May 23, 1959, but the letter, passed on to the prefect of the Congregation for Oriental Churches, Eugène Cardinal Tisserent, was ignored. A further stimulus

came from the so-called Rhodes incident of August 1959. Two Catholic priests, Johannes Willebrands and Christophe Dumont, were present as "journalists" at a meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. When the two Catholics invited some members of the Orthodox representative to a friendly social meeting, the invitation was interpreted in World Council circles as an attempt to entice the Orthodox to abandon their membership in the World Council. The Holy Office in Rome, angered by the incident, proceeded to cancel other Catholic-Orthodox encounters, to the distress of ecumenists such as Jaeger. He and Bea, in private correspondence, agreed on the necessity of having a responsible ecumenical office for the Holy See.

The *pièce de résistance* of Vereb's book is a letter of March 4, 1960, drafted by Eduard Stakemeier of the Möhler Institut, revised and signed by Jaeger, and personally delivered to Pope John XXIII by Cardinal Bea. This letter formally recommended the establishment of a "Pontifical Commission to Promote Christian Unity" in the Roman Curia. Delivered on March 11, the letter prompted the Pope to set up what soon became the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity.

For readers who are seeking a full account of the scholarly activities of Cardinal Bea, the massive biography of Stjepan Schmidt, S.J., may still be recommended. Vereb's book, as I have explained, deals with a limited aspect of Bea's career, and devotes almost as much attention to Cardinal Jaeger as it does to Bea.

Cardinal Bea in this account appears less as a theologian than as a consummate ecclesiastical diplomat, strongly committed to move forward on the ecumenical front. He is characterized as a gradualist, free from the utopian illusions of some of his cohorts, but nevertheless courageous, optimistic, and determined.

Father Vereb's study is replete with interesting details that cannot be enumerated in this brief review. The book is well researched, although a few names are misspelled (Valkenburg, Dambouriena, Semmelroth). The ordering of the material in the book is somewhat confusing. It often departs from the chronological sequence and falls in unnecessary repetitions. But Vereb tells an interesting story that fills in many facts about the background and genesis of the Secretariat for Promoting Unity.

Fordham University AVERY CARDINAL DULLES, S.J.

American

Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers. By Kent G. Lightfoot. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 338. $55.00 clothbound; $24.95 paperback.)

Recently, Indian lands have become identifiable through the presence or absence of gambling casinos. Professor Lightfoot, a well-known archaeologist, following years of fieldwork has come to question the notable absence of land holdings and federal recognition of Indian groups of coastal California between Santa Rosa and San Juan Capistrano and to research the causes. Through a multi-disciplinary approach, employing an exhaustive bibliography of English-language published sources in ethnohistory, ethnology, archaeology, and oral history, he analyzes the past to explain the present.

An introduction sets forth his intent, and following chapters present Lightfoot's general areas of comparison between Franciscan mission and Russian commercial colonies of coastal California in policies of enculturation, relocation, social mobility, labor, and interethnic unions involving natives, and demographic change, with a survey of established prehistory of the region. More detailed information regarding the six points of comparison within the mission field follows, with a well-balanced, succinct, overview of mission history and archaeology, concluding that neophytes, after several generations, lost traditional identification with geographic areas and, thereby, cultural identity. There follows a chapter providing views of missions from Indian informants and archaeological evidence, demonstrating continuity of various pre-contact social, dietetic, and manufacturing traditions reflecting an underground indigenous culture.

Similarly an overview for the Russian-American Company at Ross-Rumiantsev is presented. Interest in California was restricted to acquiring sea otter pelts and agriculture to supply permanent colonial holdings in Alaska. Thus, enculturation and relocation did not exist, and other factors of Russian-Pomo/Miwok contact were generally insignificant. Russian presence was less than half that of the Franciscans, with Indians retaining most of their traditional culture. Indians at Ross lived freely outside the fort, labored seasonally for the Russians, sometimes involved themselves in liaisons with Aleut otter hunters from Alaska, and few converted to Orthodox Christianity. Given her tenuous position in Spanish territory, Russia sought to allow natives maximum options, creating an impression of friendly occupation.

After presenting this parallel view of both systems, Lightfoot then specifically compares them. In the area of enculturation Russian policy was nil and Spanish incomplete; relocation, nil and congregation and mixture of groups; labor, free and exploitive as opposed to obligatory with sustenance and some training; social mobility, inconsequential versus open to change

through marriage, skills, and native governance; interethnic relations, common [not with Russians!] and brief, and in missions neophytes could assimilate into the Euro-American population; and, finally, Russian presence had little documented impact on demography, and congregation at missions, over double the time period, had disastrous impact. Following abandonment of both systems, California Indian populations were dispersed, forced off lands by growth of ranches and pressure of the Gold Rush, while U.S. allocations of land were restricted to southern coastal and interior regions. In the twentieth century, land grants were extended to the extreme north and included Pomo, but groups between Santa Rosa and San Juan Capistrano were forced off their occupied lands. Finally, anthropological study of California natives established at the University of California alienated coastal people considered to be "culturally extinct" and "missionized," without traditional culture or recollection. Because of this, Miwok, Ohlone, Esselen, Salinan, Chumash, and Gabrielino became identified as "Mission Indians." Thus, the U.S. Government must go beyond retained political and cultural autonomy by considering more complex factors to establish equitable policies.

Excellent and appropriate maps, tables, and contemporary illustrations enhance the text. Lengthy explanatory notes, thorough English-language bibliography, and an analytical index complete the volume. This is a very well developed interdisciplinary study and an important addition to the literature of contemporary California ethnohistory.

El Colegio de Jalisco W. Michael Mathes

Guadalupe and Her Faithful: Latino Catholics in San Antonio from Colonial Origins to the Present. By Timothy Matovina. [Lived Religions Series.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005. Pp. xviii, 232. $60.00 hardcover, $22.95 paperback.)

From its founding in 1718, San Antonio, Texas, has been an ethnically mixed and culturally diverse community that has undergone numerous transformations to produce today's colorful and distinctive city. At its heart—literally—has been San Fernando parish, Timothy Matovina's focus area in his study of Hispanic Catholics in the Alamo City. The choice of San Fernando is natural, since it was Texas's principal Catholic parish from Spanish colonial times well into the nineteenth century. As San Antonio grew and new parishes opened, and even following San Fernando's elevation to cathedral in 1874, the parish remained firmly rooted in its Mexican ethnicity and its Guadalupan devotion. Over time the expression of that devotion changed in response to circumstances, including in the parish's ecclesiastic leadership, which included French and Spanish clergy before the appearance of Mexican American priests and bishops in recent times.

Blending social and religious history, Matovina binds everything up in a sympathetic analysis of "lived religion" among San Antonio's Mexican Americans. In a useful introduction, he provides an overview of the controversy regarding the Virgin's 1531 apparition to the Indian Juan Diego, who subsequently brought Bishop Juan de Zumárraga proof in the form of the image venerated today at Tepeyac. While scholars may debate what the absence of any reference to the apparition in Bishop Zumárraga's writings might mean, "Millions of devotees have no doubt about the authenticity of the apparition narrative and the miraculous origins of the Guadalupe image" (p. 3). There follow discussions of how the Guadalupan tradition has evolved over the centuries and how it has manifested itself in San Antonio. A separate chapter frames the rest of the work through a description of the nationally televised, December 12, 2003, celebrations.

The real meat of the book is the four chronologically organized chapters that follow. Chapter 2 covers Spanish and Mexican Texas (1731-1836) and emphasizes how Guadalupan devotion became a central element in community life. The next chapter focuses on the remainder of the nineteenth century, a time when Texans of Mexican heritage became a minority population and the Guadalupe feast became a mechanism through which they could reaffirm their ethnic distinctiveness. In chapter 4, which treats the twentieth century up to World War II, the role of the Mexican immigrant community in the religious life of San Fernando comes to the fore. Chapter 5 brings the story into the twenty-first century, emphasizing the continuities and discontinuities of Catholic practices and devotion in the post-Vatican II world.

The increasingly prominent role of women, the growing presence of Protestantism among Mexican Americans, and the tensions between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans are interwoven throughout the narrative. A more complete study would have resulted from fuller discussion of relations between San Fernando and other San Antonio Catholic communities, for instance the emergence of new parishes, particularly ethnic ones, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. More attention to the challenges of discrimination within the parish would also have strengthened the work. These are minor quibbles, however, for in *Guadalupe and Her Faithful* we have a well researched and readable examination of a vibrant faith community that is a worthy follow-up to the author's earlier work *Tejano Religion and Ethnicity: San Antonio, 1821-1860* (1995).

Texas State University-San Marcos JESÚS F. DE LA TEJA

The Plundering Time: Maryland and the English Civil War, 1645-1646. By Timothy B. Riordan. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 2004. Pp. xii, 388. $35.00.)

Timothy Riordan, chief archaeologist at historic St. Mary's City, has written an unusual book, one that will appeal to both academic historians and to those whose interest in history is more casual. *The Plundering Time* carefully reconstructs in vivid detail the story of what is usually known as Ingle's Rebellion, the "year of plunder" that devastated and nearly destroyed the infant Maryland colony in the early 1640's. Casual readers will find this tale of revenge, violence, collapse into anarchy, and successful struggle to recover, fascinating, while professional historians will learn much from Riordan's fresh perspective on an important yet poorly understood period of early American history. Riordan argues that to understand Ingle's Rebellion, we should begin by abandoning the label. Too often the event, as the label implies, is viewed as a simple act of revenge by a hot-tempered ship captain striking back at Maryland for what he thought was an unjust arrest. In reality it was much more complex than that. The plundering time cannot be understood unless early Maryland is placed in its global context and attention is paid to several sources of political instability in early Maryland. One of the strength's of this book is Riordan's careful analysis of the roots of that instability, an analysis that reveals much about life in the early Chesapeake colonies. Those sources, which together account for Maryland's near collapse during the plundering time, include conflict with Virginia and with local Indians, the absence of institutions such as dense kinship networks and effective local government that would eventually help stabilize life in Maryland, religious tensions, not only between Catholics and Protestants, but among Catholics, especially between Lord Baltimore and the Jesuits, differences among the colonists over the future of the colony, and, most important, the tendency of political disputes in England to cross the Atlantic and create turmoil in the Americas. To Riordan's list, I would add the conflict between the Calvert family and great colonial merchants of England who were giving shape to the emerging empire. Those merchants disliked proprietary colonies. Their political power lay in England and they preferred colonies under the control of Whitehall, where their influence permitted them to protect their interests. Although focused on Maryland, Riordan has a lesson for historians of colonial America in general. There is a tendency to see early Maryland, and the colonies in general, as largely self-contained and isolated from other world events. As *The Plundering Time* makes clear, our understanding of colonial history can be enriched if we take a broader "Atlanticist" approach to early America. In sum, Timothy Riordan has written an important book, nicely written, impressively researched, and persuasively argued, one that greatly enriches our understanding of early Maryland, and that has an important message for students of British America in general.

University of Minnesota RUSSELL R. MENARD

Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem. By Craig D. Atwood. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 283.)

In *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem*, Craig Atwood examines the connections between theology, ritual, and social organization in colonial Bethlehem by focusing on the Moravians' devotion to the crucified Jesus. The book opens by setting Bethlehem in the context of religious diversity in Pennsylvania and its transatlantic connections. Atwood turns to the christocentric theology of the Moravians' leader, Count Zinzendorf, particularly the devotion to Christ's wounds. The author examines leadership and crisis in colonial Bethlehem, ritual life, and social organization, ending with a chapter on the *Litany of the Wounds*. Atwood traces connections between Zinzendorf's theology of Christ's bodily suffering and the social body of colonial Bethlehem and the religious body of the Moravians there.

Atwood, who is on the faculty of Wake Forest Divinity School, has researched extensively the primary sources in their original languages. He offers a thorough interpretation of Zinzendorf's theology through his sermons, liturgical works, and correspondence. Atwood presents this complex material in a lucid manner, explaining unique Moravian vocabulary.

Atwood seeks to rescue the *Litany of the Wounds* from dismissal by some past historians. Atwood argues that the litany "should not be dismissed as a product of Sifting Time fanaticism" (p. 103) nor should it be blamed for the economic and social crisis of 1748-1752 in Bethlehem. He moves the litany to the center of understanding Zinzendorf's theology of Christ's incarnation and suffering. Atwood argues convincingly that the litany, whose authorship is not fully known, is central to Zinzendorf's mature theology, not just the result of metaphorical excesses from a problematic period known as the Sifting Time at the Moravian community in Herrnhaag, Germany. He explains this concept to the uninitiated and limits it to a short period of 1748-1749, unique to Herrnhaag. Atwood credits broader economic woes among the Moravians as the cause for problems at Bethlehem after 1748, rather than Moravian contemplation on Christ's wounds at the neglect of needed work. Atwood's explanations place the *Litany of the Wounds* in a more organic position within Moravian theology and social and ritual life at Bethlehem than has previously been thought.

In some more provocative passages, Atwood explores Christ's circumcision as a wound that "establishes the holiness of the penis" (p. 89). Yet he admits some liabilities of Zinzendorf's emphasis on the maleness of Christ. Atwood considers the side wound of Jesus as the "organ of spiritual birth in Zinzendorf's theology," resulting in a kind of "feminization of Christ" (p. 110). Thus the side wound becomes "the breast that pours forth nourishment for the believer" (p. 110). These images are reinforced by the centrality of the Eucharist for Moravians as a source of union with Christ.

Atwood relates this quest for union with Christ to Zinzendorf's sometimes ambivalent constructions of gender and sexuality. While Zinzendorf esteemed marital sex as a "sacramental expression of spirituality and worship of God," (p. 185) the soul's union with Christ took priority over marriage partners. Atwood sees this theology as the reason for spouses living separate in same-sex housing in Bethlehem until after 1758.

Given the book's scholarship, one can overlook an occasional small oversight, such as locating Conrad Beissel with the Inspired in Wittgenstein rather than Wetteravia and misspelling his name (pp. 37, 187) or identifying J. G. Gichtel as a Dutch mystic (p. 120), rather than as a German living in the Netherlands.

Craig Atwood has successfully interpreted a difficult component of Moravian liturgy, shedding light on colonial Bethlehem in the process. Roman Catholic readers may well be intrigued by this Protestant group's devotions to Christ's wounds. Atwood's *Community of the Cross* persuasively interprets the unique conclusions that the Moravians drew from this devotion.

Bethany Theological Seminary JEFF BACH
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North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy. Edited by Wilbert R. Shenk. [Studies in the History of Christian Missions.] (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2004. Pp. xiv, 349. $45.00 paperback.)

This collection of papers and essays joins an impressive array of volumes that make up Eerdmans's "Studies in the History of Missions," a series that aptly epitomizes the historiographical renaissance that has flowered around the subject of missions in recent decades. *North American Foreign Missions*, like some of the other books in the series, emerged out of the North Atlantic Missiology Project; it incorporates material that was delivered at NAMP consultations in 1997 (University of Wisconsin) and 1998 (Fuller Theological Seminary), as well as additional chapters solicited by the editor. The title of this compilation is misleading—the main themes are limited entirely to Protestant missionary endeavor. Roman Catholic missions are virtually ignored.

Reflecting the two distinct consultations, the volume is divided into major sections that cover two historical periods: 1810-1865 and 1865-1914. Part I focuses primarily on the Congregationalist missionary enterprise, which was initially driven by the Haystack Prayer Meeting of 1806 and the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810. David Kling of the University of Miami, Florida, sets an appropriate

tone for the book by demonstrating the profound impact of New Divinity theology on the ABCFM, which ultimately points to the largely unexplored missionary legacy of Jonathan Edwards. In one of the most insightful papers, Paul Harris of Moorhead State offers a nuanced analysis of nineteenth-century missiologist Rufus Anderson; he convincingly argues that the Andersonian model for stimulating indigenous churches overseas was marked by significant cultural insensitivity. Another essay, by Dana Robert of Boston University, provides a provocative overview of the role conflicts that were experienced by the wives of Baptist missionaries in Burma and their Congregationalist counterparts in Hawaii. Other contributors in this section examine the influence of millennialism on Protestant missions (Richard Lee Rogers), the effects of the slavery debate on missions (Charles Maxfield III), and the impact of racial issues on Presbyterian efforts in Liberia (Susan Wilds McArver).

Part II likewise contains three pieces that merit special citation. First, Wendy Deichmann Edwards (United Theological Seminary) effectively connects home and foreign missions in her masterful assessment of Josiah Strong, the Congregationalist social gospeler who helped to bring a Manifest Destiny impulse to Protestant missionary endeavor. Second, Samford University's Carol Ann Vaughn astutely portrays the cultural transformation that was wrought in the career of Martha Foster Crawford, a long-term Southern Baptist missionary in China who struggled to transcend some of the limitations of her rural Alabama roots and marriage to a controversial Landmarker. Third, Canadian scholar Alvyn Austin, whose parents labored with the China Inland Mission, traces the historical and institutional development of this important faith mission in both its British and North American contexts. Additional authors cover Canadian Presbyterian women missionaries in India (Ruth Compton Brouwer), the social gospel's relationship to foreign missions (Janet Fishburn), and the mission ideology of Presbyterian missionary leader Robert Speer (John Piper, Jr.).

This important collection serves to highlight some key issues relating to missions history, including the impact of theological ideas on the missionary movement, the strategic role of individuals and institutions on the home front, and the place of women in overseas mission work. Catholic historians may well benefit from reading about the experiences of a limited circle of North American Protestant missionaries and mission promoters. At the same time, this book needs a sharper comparative perspective that would allow its valuable findings and conclusions to have wider applications.

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JAMES A. PATTERSON

Edward Barron, 1801-1854: Unsung Hero of the Mission to Africa. By Seán P. Farragher, CSSp. (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Blackrock College. 2004. Pp. xii. 226. €20.00 paperback.)

Father Farragher's biography of Edward Barron, the leader of the American Catholic Church's first mission to Liberia, clearly can be considered a missionary hagiography as Farragher focuses on the events of Barron's life. In that respect, this volume is not a "life and times" that uses biography as a lens through which to examine a specific period.[2]

The book is divided into five chapters. The first chapter provides extensive information on the Barron family history in County Waterford, Ireland (the family tree would be useful), Edward's formative years and schooling in England, France, and Rome, and his ordination and work at St. John's College in Waterford. Chapter 2 deals with Barron's life from his arrival in Philadelphia as Francis Patrick Kenrick's vicar general in 1837 to his decision to volunteer for the ill-fated mission to Liberia, his arrival at Cape Palmas in February 1842, and his subsequent departure for the United States and Europe two month later to find additional missionaries for the mission. The next chapter follows Barron in his travels through Italy, France, England, and Ireland, his efforts to secure funding and personnel for the mission, his meeting and collaboration with Francis Libermann and the Missionaries of the Immaculate Heart of Mary—seven of whom volunteered for the West African mission, and their departure for Cape Palmas in August 1843. Chapter 4 details the failure of the mission to Liberia including the deaths of seven of the eleven missionaries, the abandonment of Cape Palmas in favor of French trading centers on the West African coast, and Barron's resignation as vicar apostolic. It also briefly discusses developments that resulted in successfully implanting the Catholic Church in West Africa under Libermann's direction. Chapter 5 narrates the events of Barron's return to the United States, his pastoral work in Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Savannah, where he died during a yellow fever epidemic in September 1854.

Farragher's work is the first monographic study related to the church's mission to Liberia in twenty-five years.[3] It is exceedingly well researched, as Farragher has consulted numerous archives in Europe and the United States. He did not, however, consult the papers of the American Colonization Society or the Maryland State Colonization Society or standard works on the expatria-

[2]For excellent examples of such studies in African history see Brian Willan, *Sol Plaatje: South African Nationalist, 1876-1932* (London: Heinemann, 1984), and Tim Couzens: *The New African: A Study of the Life and Work of H.I.E. Dhlomo* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1985).

[3]Edmond Hogan, *Catholic Missionaries and Liberia: A Study of Christian Enterprise in West Africa, 1842-1950* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1981).

tion of freed American slaves (e.g., P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865,* or Penelope Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*). There is no bibliography, and so the reader must track references through the extensive endnotes following each chapter.

Historians of Africa will be frustrated with Farragher's book. There is virtually no African perspective or cultural context in which to understand European missionaries' responses to African actions. In the few instances where African actions can be read back from missionary records Farragher raises several issues that are significant in studies of religion—particularly Christianity—in Africa but does not engage them meaningfully, such as the issue of African inculturation of Christian doxy and praxis versus "backsliding," or whether missionary presence was the cutting edge for European imperialism and colonialism, or the possibility of African cultural beliefs and practices influencing Europeans and their institutions.

Most problematic, however, is Farragher's contention that Barron was the "unsung hero of the mission to Africa." Given the overwhelming failure of Barron's mission, and the fact that he spent most of his two years as vicar apostolic in Europe, John Kelly of the Diocese of New York—who spent two years developing relatively positive relations with American colonists and local Grebo communities and carrying on the quotidian affairs of the mission—would be a more likely candidate. Farragher contends that Barron was the progenitor of the missiology adopted and implemented with great success by Libermann and the Spiritans across the African continent. If so, this could very well be the greatest contribution of this biography. Unfortunately, Farragher does not develop this topic significantly, nor does he provide adequate discussion concerning the origins of Barron's missiology.

Ohio University NICHOLAS CREARY

Around the Family Altar: Domesticity in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1865-1900. By Julius H. Bailey. [The History of African-American Religions Series.] (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xii, 152. $59.95.)

The jacket cover of this 112-page historical study of the African Methodist Episcopal Church proclaims that the author, Julius H. Bailey, "presents a new understanding of family life in American religious history." I truly wish that this were true. *Around the Family Altar: Domesticity in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1865-1900,* is not a completely lacking study of some aspects of the Church as written about by some few privileged individuals, mostly men. Indeed, Professor Bailey, on faculty at the University of the Redlands in California, has culled an arena of historical research previously not widely considered.

Within the few pages of this book, plus its notes to chapters, bibliography, and index, the reader will be introduced to writings in AME Church publications that engage the general discourse on issues of domesticity in the United States between 1865 and 1900. Bailey sets his sites specifically on "moments of intense interest in the family and the most *outspoken* (my emphasis) advocates and opponents of domestic ideology, especially those that invoked a particularly strong response in AME periodicals such as the *Christian Recorder*." Equally, Professor Bailey's self proclaimed concern is only in exploring "ways contributors to nineteenth century AME literature imagined and presented the ideal black family and home to advance causes large and small in the church and American society" (p. 7).

I admit that I thought Dr. Bailey's book would be a deep historical exploration of the AME Church and issues of domesticity. To my surprise, as early as page 15, he begins probing the larger, white U.S. society for ideas on the subject. To a certain extent this is necessary because African Americans are integral citizens and participating members of the nation. Bailey accepts this also but allows his conceptual focus to rely too heavily on positions, contentions, and visions from white America. Even when he encounters contesting ideals, images, and practices in the black community, Bailey refuses to give intentionality to that African American community.

For example, Bailey categorizes contestations about a universal white concept of womanhood as "Images of Black Victoria." He does not appear to read through his textual data to a reality of an alternative vision of womanhood contained in the ideal type of "race woman." As the author says, "Although employing the language of domesticity, post-Reconstruction witnessed a subtle shift from measuring black women against the images found in white domestic literature to an emphasis on the ways their attributes contributed to racial uplift." I kept wondering why this overt indication of African American distinctiveness in criteria and definition of womanhood could not have been the focal concept for exploring domesticity in AME Church literature? Advocates and proponents of "race woman" could have been equally explored. The results could even have been compared and contrasted to the white idea of domesticity. I'm certain there are data within the AME literature. Bailey himself states, "the exact characteristics of the ideal 'race woman' remained a contested notion in the AME Church" (p. 68). Instead, this author chose to forge ahead for forty-four more pages, insisting that an African American phenomenon belonged within a Euro-American concept; a round ball not fitting in a square hole?

Michigan State University JUALYNNE E. DODSON

Creative Fidelity: American Catholic Intellectual Traditions. Edited by R. Scott Appleby, Patricia Byrne, C.S.J., and William L. Portier. [American Catholic Identities: A Documentary History.] (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books. 2004. Pp. xxviii, 330. $50.00.)

This book is part of the series "American Catholic Identities," whose general editor is Christopher J. Kauffman. With other titles in the series, this volume provides an outstanding service to historians and others interested in the history of American Catholicism, by presenting a wide array of significant and often inaccessible primary documents.

Describing a volume such as this as "balanced" may be trite, but it is also high praise, which this collection fully deserves. To take one example, it is common to think of John Courtney Murray as the single significant American Catholic thinker on the issue of church and state. The editors rightly offer space to Murray's direct opponent (Joseph Clifford Fenton) as well as to an important earlier author, John A. Ryan.

This is not to say that the editors, in section and selection introductions, do not display a particular perspective. That perspective is one that celebrates the "dizzying and wonderfully creative explosion of world theologies, liberation theologies, ecumenical theologies, feminist theologies, mujerista theologies, and so on" (p. xxvii) that occurred after Vatican Council II. It is also one that exhibits the widespread tendency among historians of American Catholicism to overstate the negative intellectual impact of papal actions. In one selection introduction, Pope Pius XII's *Humani Generis* is deplored for casting a "chill in Catholic intellectual circles." The frost could not have been too severely damaging because, as the next sentence notes, the condemned ideas were "refined and incorporated into the theology informing the documents of the Second Vatican Council. . . ." Indeed, the very passage introduced by this comment is from a theologian's 1951 *Theological Studies* article, which *praises* the encyclical. Many Catholic intellectuals have considered papal directives to be aids rather than obstacles to their work, as the contents of this volume illustrate.

Turning to the meat of the book, its documents, the arrangement, instead of being strictly chronological, is chronological within each thematic section (e.g., education, social thought, spirituality, and art). This approach possesses both advantages and disadvantages but on the whole it is compelling. The breadth of topics and personalities covered is excellent. Documents date from 1787 to 1997 and include selections that treat both substantive intellectual problems, such as church and state, as well as the organizational aspects of intellectual life, such as the establishment of schools and seminaries.

Every reader will consider this or that gem within this treasure trove of historical documentation to be most valuable, but a strong case can be made for

the long excerpt on education from the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. It is a crucial piece of American education history that is often cited but not readily accessible in its full text.

Two stimulating pieces appear in the spirituality and art section. The first is Justine Ward's 1908 analysis of liturgical chant and the other is Flannery O'Connor's 1969 discussion of Catholic fiction. These selections indicate the broad and eminently justifiable approach to intellectual life taken by the editors, an approach that not only encompasses music and literature but also demonstrates that American Catholics had interesting things to say about those subjects.

The weaknesses as well as the strengths of Catholic intellectual life in the United States are on display in this volume, and it is worth noting that neither the weaknesses nor the strengths are confined to one period or to one side in the debates. The editors' and publisher's provision of such a revealing and valuable set of documents is to be highly commended.

Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty KEVIN SCHMIESING

American Catholics and the Mexican Revolution, 1924-1936. By Matthew A. Redinger. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 260. $45.00 clothbound; $22.00 paperback.)

This book provides a detailed account of the various methods by which the American Catholic hierarchy, clergy, and laity attempted to influence official U.S. policy toward the Mexican government's anticlericalism in the years following the Revolution of 1910-20. Redinger skillfully analyzes the interplay among different institutional levels within the far-from-monolithic Church of this period. The study is based solidly on American Catholic archives and U.S. diplomatic papers, and on unfortunately too few Mexican sources.

The book begins with a useful survey of key events: the restrictions on religious practice and education imposed by the Mexican Constitution of 1917; the enforcement of these provisions by the 1924-28 Calles administration; the popular "Cristero" rebellion of disaffected Catholics in the western highlands; the 1929 Church-state *modus vivendi* brokered by U.S. ambassador Dwight Morrow, and the lessening of overt anticlericalism in the middle 1930's. In its reaction to the Mexican crisis, the American Catholic hierarchy was badly split: leading archbishops' responses ranged from withdrawing U.S. diplomatic recognition from Mexico, economic boycotts and formal protests, to open support for successive U.S. administrations' largely passive policies. In particular, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Ambassador Josephus Daniels brought out these divisions. While some prelates praised them, others demanded the electoral defeat of the former and the removal of the latter for their acquiescence towards Mexico's more radical religious and educational reforms. According

to Redinger, these mixed signals were responsible for the hierarchy's failure to improve concretely the lot of Mexican Catholics (p. 34).

More effective than most of the archbishops was Monsignor John J. Burke, C.S.P., who as general secretary of the Church-sponsored National Catholic Welfare Conference helped negotiate the 1929 *modus vivendi* and obtained an informal protest from FDR to the Mexican ambassador in 1935. Individual clerics also contributed to American Catholic mobilization, although their stances were so divergent that Redinger cannot generalize about them other than to comment, rather vaguely, that they reflected a "Thomist unity between Americanism and Catholicism" (p. 115).

The two chapters of lay organizations and leaders are the most interesting and original part of the book. The national Catholic organization, the Knights of Columbus, failed to achieve its stated goals that FDR replace Ambassador Daniels and publicly condemn the anti-Catholic persecution, but did increase U.S. government interest in the issue and helped induce informal recommendations to Mexican representatives. Like the leaders of the episcopate, spokespeople for the laity did not articulate a consistent viewpoint, but created a climate of "official interest" that facilitated the settlement of the crisis (p. 169). The book concludes with an assessment that Catholic leaders and organizations "influenced Coolidge's and Roosevelt's consciousness," although they did not cause an overt change in official policy (p. 183).

If there is any flaw in Redinger's excellent monograph, it is that he rarely employs Mexican primary or secondary sources. He takes official revolutionary anticlericalism at face value, despite published research showing that legal enforcement varied regionally as to its duration and intensity. The inconsistent application of the 1917 Constitution may have factored into the U.S. government's failure to take a stronger stand. Further, it is not clear what Catholic protests achieved, as the "consciousness" of U.S. presidential administrations amounted to little in practice. Nevertheless, the book is a fine survey of religious mobilization at different institutional levels, and illustrates well the problems of creating a unified policy within the diverse American Catholic community of the early twentieth century.

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PETER L. REICH

Crusader in the Cold War: A Biography of Fr. John F. Cronin, S.S. (1908-1994). By John T. Donovan. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc. 2005. Pp. xiv, 245. $67.95.)

John T. Donovan has written a wide-ranging biography of one of the foremost anti-communist Catholic clerics of the Cold War. From 1945 to 1967, Father John F. Cronin, a member of the Society of St. Sulpice, served as Assistant

Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. During the height of the Cold War, Cronin served as a behind-the-scenes labor expert and priest-politico dedicating the resources of his department to the solution of labor problems and the eradication of domestic communism. Through his scholarly writing, "blind" speech and pamphlet writing, and advice to bishops and politicians, Cronin became the intellectual pointman on communism for the U.S. bishops throughout the early Cold War. Cronin's career exemplifies the alliance of the U.S. bishops with secular politicians dedicated to the "rollback" of communism in Europe and the swing within the Cold War U.S. hierarchy to view political anti-communism as a divinely sanctioned imperative. These trends are exhibited most succinctly through Cronin's exclusive and extensive contacts with both the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the office of Vice President Richard Nixon.

Cronin's contacts and information-sharing with the Federal Bureau of Investigation reached the highest levels of the bureau, with its director J. Edgar Hoover periodically reviewing and passing judgment on Cronin's activity and usefulness. In late 1945, Hoover permitted the bureau to pass untraceable raw data from their investigative files to Cronin for use in preparation of a U.S. bishops' report entitled "The Problem of American Communism in 1945." John T. Donovan ably chronicles the import of this report, showing how Cronin's work assumed the status of a White Paper on how U.S. bishops were to understand domestic communism. Donovan traces Cronin's verbatim integration of FBI field intelligence into his report. One area left unconsidered is how the twelve pages of word-for-word FBI information on "Negro" involvement with the Communist Party USA may have shaped the thinking of the new generation of postwar U.S. bishops. FBI RACON (Racial Conditions) files were often tinged with disparaging racial analysis, and further investigation here would be interesting, since a real contribution of Donovan's work is his account of Cronin's work in the late 1950's and early 1960's as a progressive Catholic voice for civil rights. Did FBI material in Cronin's 1945 report reinforce existing prejudices and make his later push for change more difficult?

Donovan also provides an account of Cronin's personal relationship with Richard M. Nixon. With the arrival of this book, there can be no doubt that Cronin was the primary speech writer for Vice President Nixon. Donovan, however, seems more intent on solving the investigation into Cronin's ghost-authorship of Nixon's speeches than on analyzing of the content or socio-political import of the speeches themselves. More will need to be written on the fact that a Roman Catholic priest largely constructed Richard Nixon's early political persona.

The analytical lacuna encountered in the Cronin-Nixon relationship exemplifies a shortcoming of this otherwise data-driven biography. While Cronin's furtive secular political work mirrors that of other Cold War anti-communist clerics such as the Anglican Archbishop Cyril Forster Garbett, the Jesuit

Edmund A. Walsh, and Aloisius Cardinal Muench—all subjects of recent scholarly biographies—there is little indication that Donovan views Cronin within the emerging historiography ably mapped out by Peter Kent in his book *The Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII*. For Kent and others, regional Catholic leadership was given an urgent green light to work for the advancement of secular political anti-communism precisely because non-extremist anti-communism was viewed as possessing inherent theological value. Donovan, on the other hand, sees Cronin's anti-communism as holding equal footing with his genuine wish for "a more just society as expressed in his work on labor and race relations" (p. 4). More difficult to assess is Donovan's assertion that Cronin's furtive work with government security agencies and high-level politicians was engaged due to the priest's "gee-whiz" fascination with espionage and because Cronin "must have found working with 'G-men' to be more electrifying than preparing reports for the bishops" (p. 163).

Stylistically, the author's lack of transitional sentences and paragraphs makes the reading bumpy and in some spots outright jolting. Historians interested in the Catholic Church and the civil rights movement will find valuable material here regarding how Cronin's office edged the U.S. bishops toward civil rights reform and acceptance of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s struggle. There is also an intriguing and consequential chapter on Cronin's attitudes concerning the extreme religious right in the early 1960's.

College of the Holy Cross CHARLES R. GALLAGHER, S.J.

A Vision, A Voice, A Presence: A History of the First Forty Years of the Michigan Catholic Conference. By Maxine Kollasch, I.H.M.. (Sterling Heights, Michigan: Lesnau Printing Company for the Michigan Catholic Conference. 2005. Pp. 105.)

The Reverend John J. Burke, General Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (the predecessor of our current United States Conference of Catholic Bishops), wrote a doctoral student who described the NCWC as a "pressure group" in national politics. Burke objected to this appellation and instead noted that the NCWC acted according to Catholic principles to promote the integrity of government and in that sense was not a lobby group (Archives of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Administration Files 42, Burke to Henry, Washington, D.C., January 28, 1930). Sister Kollasch articulates the same concern as she recounts the 1978 efforts of the Michigan Catholic Conference to exempt religious groups from a pending state lobbying bill: "Unless exempted, MCC and other religious groups working on behalf of the common good were subject to the law just as lobbyists representing special interests were" (p. 41). Whether it is the national organization of Catholic bishops or the various state organizations of Catholic bishops, the self-understanding is the same: their purpose is the common good, a truly Catholic obligation, an essential role for the Church in the public forum.

Marie T. Hilliard ("State Catholic Conferences: A Canonical Analysis of Two Constitutions and Bylaws," Licentiate in Canon Law Thesis, The Catholic University of America, 2003) concludes that the current thirty-four State Conferences in the United States "provide a mechanism for [the diocesan bishops in a state] to exercise a collegial teaching function in matters of public policy" (p. 49). David Yamane (*The Catholic Church in State Politics: Negotiating Prophetic Demands and Political Realities* [Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005]) indeed focuses his study on "the political advocacy of state Catholic conferences" (p. 7), though this emphasis should not be narrowly understood as mere lobbying. Indeed, the earliest scholar of these structures, now Archbishop Michael Sheehan ("The State Catholic Conference: A New Development in Interecclesial Cooperation in the United States of America," Doctoral Dissertation in Canon Law, Pontifical University of the Lateran, 1971 [see "State Catholic Conferences," *The Jurist* 35 (1975):431-454, for summary]) sees them as manifestations of "interecclesial communion" (p. 42) flowing from the Vatican II principles of *communio*, lay involvement in the mission of the Church, church care for the community, and ecumenical co-operation, as well as the practical need to communicate with political entities.

All of these scholars note that the Michigan Catholic Conference (MCC) is unique among its institutional colleagues, which focus solely on collaboration with state officials, because of the MCC's large pension and health insurance programs for the dioceses of the State of Michigan. Started as the Catholic Charities of Michigan in 1958, it was transformed in 1963 into the MCC and reorganized in 1968, and considered by some as a model for the United States Catholic Conference established in 1968 (see John F. Neill, *The Michigan Catholic Conference: Development of a New Church Decision-Making Structure* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970]). Archbishop John Dearden of Detroit headed both the state and national organizations.

The beautiful anniversary book under review highlights this more varied activity of a state conference and thus serves as an example and perhaps a challenge to those state conferences which may be more limited to engaging the political arena. This is a celebratory volume including quotations from various figures involved in the MCC's past and present, as well as a section describing their new building in Lansing, Michigan. In addition, there is a brief history of the activities of the conference, including the many forays into the political arena, instruction in the Church's social teachings, the insurance and retirement programs instituted for employees of the Church in Michigan, and the investing board for parish and diocesan funds. The text does situate this history into the context of the American social and political scene. It does not deal with the theological issues surrounding this episcopal co-operation on the state level, nor does it offer a comparison with the other state conferences or an account of other comparable religious organizations in the state, all of which would have enhanced the text.

Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit, Michigan EARL BOYEA

Black, White, and Catholic: New Orleans Interracialism, 1947-1956. By R. Bentley Anderson, S.J. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 292. $45.00.)

In *Black, White, and Catholic: New Orleans Interracialism, 1947-1956*, Father Anderson achieves several great historical feats. First, he accomplishes what no other civil rights history to date has attempted to do and that is to address the important ways in which Catholics worked both for and against civil rights for African Americans prior to the famous Catholic involvement in the Selma campaigns of 1965. Second, he identifies interracial Catholic co-operation and advocacy for civil rights for African Americans as the origin of Catholic dissent in the twentieth century. In the case of New Orleans interracialism black and white Catholics who were working together for racial justice often did so without the support and often in defiance of their clerical leaders. And, thirdly, Anderson's study is unique and praiseworthy because it shows the agency of black Catholics who on the one hand possessed a fierce love and commitment to the Catholic Church but on the other hand were not afraid to challenge the practices of racism that they experienced on a daily basis in their own church. In this history, the voices and actions of black Catholics figure as prominently in Anderson's thesis and historical account of the time as do those of white Catholics. In this history, black Catholics are not objects in the history but very clearly the subjects of the history.

Father Anderson brings this time, 1947-1956, this culture, New Orleans Catholicism, and these people, black and white Catholics, to life for the reader by carefully and engagingly developing the personalities of the major black and white Catholic figures involved on the side of racial justice as well as those of Catholics adamantly opposed to interracialism. The reader can hear the hope and conviction in the interracial efforts of the black and white Catholic college students at Xavier University, Loyola University, Ursuline College, the College of the Sacred Heart, and Dominican College led by Father Joseph H. Fichtner, S.J., can feel the strident opposition to interracialism led by figures such as Father Sam Hill Ray, S.J., and can sense the tentative quality of Archbishop Rummel's response to this movement in his archdiocese.

Father Anderson is able to convey all of this through his excellent use of the archival sources made available to him, through his astute understanding of the historical period and the unique culture of New Orleans Catholicism, and through his interviews with subjects of this history. All of these factors work together to allow Anderson to reveal the radical nature of things that we take for granted today like attending Mass in an integrated setting, sitting down for breakfast with men and women of different races, or attending lectures where the presenters are not all white. Yet in New Orleans in the late 1940's and in the rest of the South, throughout much of the Midwest, and in parts of the North, none of these things was the norm and engaging in them was countercultural. But these were the tactics and strategies black and white

Catholics in New Orleans employed to defy Jim Crow, to live what they understood to be truly Christian lives, and ultimately to begin to transform their church and their culture.

Black, White, and Catholic: New Orleans Interracialism, 1947-1956, is a welcome addition to civil rights history, United States Catholic history, and African American studies. It is also a wonderful choice for undergraduate and graduate courses in these areas. Its highly readable quality makes it appropriate for non-specialists and its novel thesis and unique view on the role of the Catholic Church in the civil rights movement makes it especially engaging for specialists as well. I believe it should be and will be viewed as a landmark study in United States Catholic history.

University of Dayton CECILIA A. MOORE

Latin American

Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800. Edited by Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff. (New York and London: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xxii, 317. $24.95 paperback.)

Colonial Saints is an outstanding compilation of fourteen essays by scholars in history, art history, and literature from Canada, Latin America, and the United States. The collection offers a series of historical and cultural readings that point toward the relevance of saints in the understanding of the colonial political and spiritual culture in the American hemisphere. The essays offer new examples of transatlantic continuity and hemispheric connections. With an interdisciplinary approach, religious spirituality is viewed in terms of a cross-cultural conquest that transcended time, influenced politics, and shaped cultural identity. Many essays demonstrate that Colonial sainthood was a religious, social, and political construction that played a major role in colonial history (e.g. religious contact, conversion, and resistance to Christianity). Some essays underscore the relevance of saints' lives on issues of gender, race, and class. In many cases we learn how these categories help define local culture and early national ideals.

The excellent introduction by Jodi Bilinkoff provides an overview of the Western cult of saints that led to the proliferation of hagiographies and popular religious manifestations during the early modern period. Against the Middle Ages, she explains how the emergence of the printing press and the Counter-Reformation were fundamental in the reproduction of saints lives and their inscription in the early modern worldview. The introduction justifies the selection of essays and brings to the forefront common themes across the Americas that tend to be studied in isolation. A key statement that should resonate with scholars of religious colonial culture is that while we try to understand the "spiritual conquest" of the Americas we must also acknowledge the "conquest" of Christianity. Transculturation occurred both ways, and

the study of colonial religious culture and its present legacy certainly demonstrates this experience.

The articles are grouped into three sections. The first section, "Cultural Mixing," explores how the manifestations of the sacred in the Americas must be studied within a wider cultural context that is not only white and Christian. Villaseñor Black presents a comparative study of the maternal archetype found in the depiction of St. Anne, mother of Mary. She links the Mexican emphasis placed on St. Anne with its deep cultural and political roots. Another piece from this section, by Ronaldo Vainfas, in a similar manner looks at the colonial legacy and transformation and appropriation of St. Anthony in colonial Brazil. Blurred boundaries between indigenous and Christian beliefs, a theme found in several essays of the collection, are explored in Tuer's excellent reading of the Creole Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's *La conquista espiritual del Paraguay*. In this section the essays explore compelling Amerindian and African appropriations.

Essays in the second group, "Holy Women, Holy Men," shed light on martyrdom and male and female holiness. Jodi Bilinkoff, for example, engages the hagiography of Gregorio Lopez by Francisco Losa to show the complexities of life-writing within the context of the Counter-Reformation and the common thread of transference that can be reproduced in hagiographies and biographies between author and subject. In the last section, "The Uses of the Sacred," the essay by Julia Boss explores the relationship that seventeenth-century Catholics in New France constructed between hagiographies and accounts and relics. Two other outstanding essays study independently two crucial icons, the Mexican Guadalupe by William Taylor and Santa Rosa de Lima by Kathleen Myers. Regardless of the vast literature on these two figures, they are able to shed more light with an insightful analysis on the politics of hagiographies in the process of canonization (Myers) and the role of financial records on the centuries-long debate on the apparitions of Guadalupe (Taylor).

Colonial Saints is a well balanced, comparative, and interdisciplinary collection. These elements compete to offer an insightful and comprehensive view of saintliness in the Americas and diverse approaches for its study.

Florida State University SANTA ARIAS

Visions of Paradise: Primordial Titles and Mesoamerican History in Cuernavaca. By Robert Haskett. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 420. $49.95.)

The Catholic conversion of the native peoples of Mexico remains one of the most fascinating stories in the cultural and religious history of the early Americas. Traditionally, historians have told the story of (what has been

called) the "spiritual conquest" of Mexico from the perspective of the friars—their methods, accomplishments, and sacrifices—based on letters, reports, and church histories written by the friars themselves. In recent decades, scholars have utilized other sources to seek out the experiences and perspectives of the indigenous peoples who were the objects of the friars' activities, including the wealth of documentation from early Mexico written in indigenous languages. These sources include ecclesiastical literature such as catechisms, model sermons, and confessional guides; mundane legal records such as testaments and acts of donation; and the complex "primordial titles" (*títulos primordiales*) that form the documentary basis of the study under review here.

Visions of Paradise is based on a substantial corpus of primordial titles originating in Cuernavaca, a region located just south of the Valley of Mexico, and written in Nahuatl—the major language of central Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest. Primordial titles are alphabetic texts (with pictorial elements) composed by (male) town leaders in the late seventeenth century in the context of escalating land conflicts. (Many primordial titles have been found among the court records of land disputes.) They narrate detailed descriptions of a community's territorial boundaries (replete with such sacred markers as churches, crosses, and chapels) and the "foundational events" of the colonial-era community, both secular and religious. They recount how Spanish officials arrived to initiate tribute payment, mark off community lands, and resettle local populations into compact communities. Catholic clergy came to introduce the faith and were eagerly received by the locals who constructed the first churches, erected crosses, staged festivities in honor of the patron saints, and witnessed miraculous apparitions. Heroic cultural leaders actively participated in these founding acts, all telescoped into one moment in time, when the primordial community was formed. Primordial titles thus do not conform to Western notions of "history" but draw on oral history and older pictorial and alphabetic texts to present a kind of collective cultural memory that speaks to the timeless sovereignty and autonomy of the local community and the legitimacy of its rulers. In doing so, they shed light on indigenous views of the history of Spanish colonialism, including the introduction, reception, and practice of Christianity, hardly found in other types of documentation and virtually unavailable for other parts of the Americas.

Visions of Paradise constitutes a major scholarly contribution. It represents the first monograph to study a substantial corpus of primordial titles; it will become the classic to which all later work will refer. With its sophisticated engagement with the theoretical literature on history, myth, and cultural memory, it also sets the debate in terms of interpretive approach. It argues that primordial titles represent "true history," indeed, true history in *Mesoamerican terms*; thus, it extends and deepens the argument that Mesoamerican traditions influenced colonial ones that increasingly characterizes the field based on indigenous-language documents. The research is extensive and first-rate, especially evident in the three central chapters on boundary descriptions, founda-

tional acts and figures, and religious acts and practices. Throughout, Robert Haskett demonstrates his deep knowledge of Mesoamerican ethnohistory as well as colonial Cuernavaca and the cultural world of its indigenous inhabitants. And he demonstrates his excellent command of colonial Nahuatl, especially crucial for a project on primordial titles, arguably the most linguistically difficult and idiosyncratic of Nahuatl documentary genres.

With its fine scholarship, engaging prose, and concern with cultural memory and colonialism, *Visions of Paradise* will find a broad and diverse audience, including the indigenous communities and local historians of Cuernavaca, Mesoamerican ethnohistorians, postmodern and postcolonial theorists and, of special concern here, scholars of Catholicism and Christianity.

University of Utah REBECCA HORN

Our Lady of Guadalupe and Saint Juan Diego: The Historical Evidence. By Eduardo Chávez. Translated from the Spanish by Carmen Traviño and Veronica Montaño. [Celebrating Faith: Explorations in Latino Spirituality and Theology.] (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group. 2006. Pp. xxxviii, 173. $60.00 clothbound; $22.95 paperback.)

The campaign for the canonization of Juan Diego, the visionary of the Guadalupe tradition, between 1995 and 2002, revived a long-standing controversy over the authenticity of the tradition and the reality of Juan Diego himself. During that time a small group of scholars, including both priests and laity, tried to dissuade the Vatican from canonizing a person whose existence was at best questionable, while proponents of the cause sought the opposite with vigor and success. The campaign was marked by vitriol and virulence, quite similar to the previous Guadalupan controversy of 1880-1896.

One of the principal advocates of the canonization was Father Eduardo Chávez, a founding member and currently rector of the Instituto Superior de Estudios Guadalupanos. He was postulator of the cause from 2001 until the canonization in 2002. He is a founding member of the Instituto Superior de Estudios Guadalupanos, an honorary canon of the basilica of Guadalupe, and first rector of the Catholic University Lumen Gentium of the Archdiocese of Mexico. Currently he is rector of the Pontifical College of Mexico. Father Chávez has impressive credentials for writing a book on the historical evidence for both the apparitions and the figure of Juan Diego. This makes the present volume all the more disappointing.

The title and the jacket note give the impression that this is an historical study of the questions surrounding the apparitions of Guadalupe and the reality of Juan Diego based on available evidence. A large part of the book, however, is actually devotional and exegetical rather than historical. The sections that deal with history contain significant gaps, and so the work is

notable as much for what it omits as for what it presents. Chávez repeats some of the standard apparitionist arguments but without noting the many difficulties involved.

The author makes the fundamental error of assuming that any reference to Guadalupe prior to 1648 authenticates the apparition tradition, even though nothing is said about the apparitions. He does not distinguish between the shrine at Guadalupe, which was established about 1555-1556, and the apparition story, which was not attached to the shrine until 1648. Thus, in chapter 8 he cites numerous wills and testaments, even though these say nothing about Juan Diego or the apparitions.

He accepts a number of ideas that are not supportable in the light of current research: the mass conversion of Indians after 1531; the total destruction caused by the Spanish conquest; Antonio Valeriano's authorship of the first native-language account of the apparitions; the preservation of the image as a sign of its supernatural origin, despite the fact that in 1982 an investigation shows signs of extensive deterioration. He fails to address the inconsistent tradition of whether Juan Diego's wife died before or after the apparitions or whether they had issue.

The book is not helped by a translation that is simultaneously awkward and inaccurate. It appears to have been done by persons with a limited knowledge of English and of the various technical terms in colonial and modern Spanish. What is one to make of "She requested through Juan Diego to be constructed in that place, a house, home for all" (p. xxi)? Or: "The historian must not say something that is false, but must reminded either hide something that is true. . . ." (p. xviii)? Examples abound, for example, Ermita is translated throughout as "hermitage," though it actually means a rural chapel of ease. "[B]eggar-bishops controversy" is presumably the conflict between the bishops and the mendicants (p. 86).

The notes on the back cover quote Sister Rosa Maria Icaza of the Mexican American Cultural Center as saying, "If there was any doubt about the historicity of the event or about the identity of Saint Juan Diego, this book erases that doubt." Unfortunately, that is not true. This book has little to offer the serious historian or scholar and contributes nothing of substance to the ongoing controversy over the person of Juan Diego.

Los Angeles, California STAFFORD POOLE, C.M.

The Guadalupan Controversies in Mexico. By Stafford Poole, C.M. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 318. $65.00.)

Stafford Poole's new book makes a sequel to his 1995 *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-*

1797 (University of Arizona Press, Tucson). In that volume he traced the early history of the Mexican devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe, elucidating the lack of historical records for the devotion's foundation story before its 1648 publication, and outlining early opposition to the apparition tradition. (In the foundation story, the Virgin appears four times, in 1531, to an Indian neophyte named Juan Diego, sending him to the bishop, Juan de Zumárraga, to request that a shrine be built for her and leaving her image imprinted on his cloak.) *The Guadalupan Controversies* summarizes that early period and then follows the story through 2002, when John Paul II canonized Juan Diego. Poole reviews the Guadalupan literature, pro- and anti-apparitionist, scholarly and not, that appeared throughout the period, but focuses on two key moments: the movement by Mexican churchman in the late nineteenth century to have Rome authorize a coronation of the image and approve a new proper Mass and Office, and the movement, a century later, for the beatification and canonization of Juan Diego.

Both make sordid tales. The movements arose not from surges of popular devotion but from ambitious, elite priests skilled at self-promotion, back-biting, and fudging and misrepresenting history. For the coronation controversy Poole digs up detailed records of the actions and career paths of a colorful cast of characters; their efforts are ultimately successful but leave a trail of recrimination and ruined careers. The primary victim in this round is the distinguished historian Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Researching his biography of Zumárraga, García Icazbalceta found no evidence of his subject's supposed role in the Guadalupan event. A devout Catholic, García Icazbalceta chose simply to say nothing about the matter in his book, but was soon called to task by pro-apparitionists. In a private letter to the archbishop of Mexico he detailed the absence of the apparition in the sixteenth-century historical record. One of the actors in the coronation drama stole a copy of this letter and published it; García Icazbalceta was then so vilified that he quit writing history. His letter remains an excellent summary of the evidence; Poole translates it into English in an appendix.

Reluctant Vatican officials faced another onslaught from Mexico in the late twentieth century, now surrounding Juan Diego's historicity and holiness. The recentness of the events and Poole's own involvement make this an even more engrossing story than that of the coronation. The primary victim now is Monsignor Guillermo Schulenburg Prado, abbot of the basilica of Guadalupe, who was pilloried in the Mexican press and obliged to leave his post after stating that Juan Diego was a symbol, not a historical personage. Poole joined Schulenburg and some other Mexican priests and scholars in petitioning the Vatican to delay the canonization, and found his own research vilified. (At Poole's request I wrote to Vatican officials explaining that my own investigations of indigenous Mexican Christianity contradict the apparition tradition.) The opponents were never allowed to defend their position in Rome; Juan Diego became a saint on July 30, 2002.

Poole writes as a priest who tried to prevent an embarrassing canonization and promote devotion to Christ and the Virgin over devotion to a fictional character and an old painting—sympathetic though he is to the Mexican people's love for Guadalupe. He also writes careful, thorough, evidence-based history. Unlike García Icazbalceta, Poole kept writing in the face of criticism, and his book is a valuable record of some crucial events in Mexican Church history.

SUNY at Albany LOUISE M. BURKHART

BRIEF NOTICES

Hülser, Tina. *Aufbau und Intensivierung kirchlicher Verwaltung im Erzbistum Köln im 17. Jahrhundert: An Beispielen aus der Amtszeit des kölner Generalvikars Paul von Aussem.* [Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte, 16.] (Frankfurt: Peter Lang. 2005. Pp. 126. $30.95 paperback.)

In the Historical Archive of the City of Cologne are preserved 159 volumes of the records of the General Vicariate of the archdiocese for the years between 1662 and 1825. In this thesis presented for the *Staatsexamen* at the University of Düsseldorf, Hülser analyzes the volume for 1675 under the vicariate of Paul von Aussem. Focused narrowly on the institutional and administrative development of the Archdiocese of Cologne, Hülser argues that the institutional history of the Catholic Church in Cologne was characterized by the continuous jurisdictional disputes between different institutional organs. Her major conclusion is the expanded task and competence of the General Vicar, who grew in administrative importance in the process of implementing the Tridentine decrees. The role of the Episcopal Official, the senior ecclesiastical officer for jurisprudence, lost importance relative to this new development. The records of the General Vicariate document numerous jurisdictional disputes between the General Vicar and the Official, and between the Archdeacon and the rural deacons. This continuous friction between different organs of the archdiocese reflected the tenacious resistance to Tridentine reform and its concomitant centralization of power at the central episcopal administration. Some two-thirds of all matters recorded in the 1675 protocol involved jurisdictional disputes and marital dispensations, demonstrating that the implementation of the Tridentine decree *Tametsi* was far from completed.
R. Po-chia Hsia (*Pennsylvania State University*)

Pelton, Robert, C.S.C. (Ed.) *Archbishop Romero: Martyr and Prophet for the New Millennium*. (Scranton: University of Scranton Press. Distributed by the University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 89. $12.00 paperback.)

This volume represents the latest fruit of perhaps the most sustained North American reflection on Archbishop Oscar Romero by one institution, the University of Notre Dame's annual "Romero Lectures." It contains seven essays generated from a conference to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of Romero's 1980 assassination. These essays not only assess Romero's legacy, but consider the present and future import of that legacy in the areas of law, theology, and history.

The editor's preface provides an important recounting of the 2004 U.S. District Court case that found Alvaro Rafael Savaria legally liable for his involve-

ment in Romero's assassination. He rightly points out how this outcome will have important precedence for future cases in which perpetrators of human rights violations seek to hide behind plausible deniability.

Kevin Burke, S.J., and Barbara Reid, O.P., offer theological reflection on the ecclesiological import of remembering Romero's life and the prophetic nature of his preaching, respectively. The next two essays present the best material for a more properly historical assessment of Romero's legacy. Written by Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chávez, Auxiliary Bishop of San Salvador since 1982, and by Ricardo Urioste Bustamante, Vicar General to Romero, these essays utilize personal anecdotes and reference to magisterial documents that help Romero studies move from the hagiographical to a more considered claim about Romero's episcopacy. Far from a romantic, rebellious, or heterodox figure, Archbishop Romero emerges as a priest and bishop influenced deeply by ecclesial documents of Vatican II, Paul VI, and CELAM. Moreover, Romero represents a model of the type of bishop described in John Paul II's reflections and needed in this period of globalization.

The book concludes with both Lawrence Cunningham's illuminating essay on the shift in understanding necessary in cases like Romero where martyrs are killed by other Christians rather than for an *odium fidei*, and Margaret Guider's set of reflections on pastoral application of the conference's themes. While not a groundbreaking study on Romero, this volume demonstrates the value of continuing reflection on an important martyr-bishop. MICHAEL E. LEE *(Fordham University)*

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Anniversaries and Exhibitions

On December 13, 2006, Pope Benedict XVI marked the eightieth anniversary of the founding of the Vatican Publishing House, the Libreria Editrice Vaticana. While Sixtus V established the Vatican Printing Press in 1587, it was not until 1926 that Libreria Editrice was constituted as an autonomous organization with the mission of publishing official Vatican documents and works on Catholic doctrine, liturgy, and culture. On February 7, 2007 it opened the John Paul II International Bookstore in St. Peter's Square for the sale of its publications.

On February 23, 2007 an exhibition entitled "Tu es Petrus—the Basilica of St. Peter in the Medals of the Popes" opened at the Villa Chiassi on the via Cola di Rienzo in Rome to help commemorate the five-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the new St. Peter's Basilica. Among the depictions of the Basilica are that of Bramante's design (1506), Sangallo's project, Michelangelo's design with the dome, Maderno's façade, and Bernini's cathedra. Once the exhibition closes on April 22, it will move to the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg and be open there in the months of May and June.

The Museo di Roma is sponsoring an exhibit "Portraits in Purple" that displays seventy images of cardinals from the Renaissance to today, some portraits painted by such famous artists as Raphael, others photographs taken by Mario Delogu. Among the cardinals represented are the two Alessandro Farneses (father and grandson), Carlo Borromeo, Scipione Borghese, Ludovico Ludovisi, Francesco Barberini, Pietro Gasparri, Giovanni Battista Montini, Francis Arinze, and Josef Ratzinger.

Archaeological Find

On December 11, 2006 the Vatican archaeologist Giorgio Filippi formally announced the unearthing of the sarcophagus of St. Paul found three years earlier under the pavement of the Basilica of St. Paul outside the Walls in Rome. The sarcophagus dates from the reign of emperor Theodosius and bears the inscription "Apostle Paul Martyr." After the fire of 1823 it had been enclosed in a large block of cement. With the removal of the cement it is now visible through a glass window laid into the floor. Whether the sarcophagus contains the bones of St. Paul has yet to be determined.

Conferences and Workshops

On March 1, 2007 a conference was held in Sora, Italy to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of Cesare Baronio (1538-1607), the

disciple of St. Filippo Neri, cardinal, and librarian of the Church, whose *Annales Ecclesiastici* covering the years up to 1198 was published in twelve volumes (1588-1607). Edoardo Aldo Cerrato presented a paper "Cesare Baronio discepolo e primo successore di san Filippo Neri."

On March 9, 2007, in conjunction with the meeting of the Texas State Historical Association in San Antonio, the Texas Catholic Historical Society presented a panel entitled "The Movimiento and the Catholic Church, Texas Style, 1965-1972." It consisted of three papers: "Caution and Compassion: The Catholic Church and the Early Chicano Movement in Houston" by Robert R. Treviño, "San Antonio Women Religious and the Chicano Movement: Resisting the Challenge and Challenging the Resistance" by Maria Eva Flores, CDP, and "Researching and Archiving the Catholic Church's Response to the Movimiento Chicano in South Texas" by Gilberto M. Hinojosa. On March 10, 2007 the Society presented a workshop in Laredo, Texas on "Teaching Texas Catholic History." It featured three talks: "Spanish Missions in Texas" by Gilberto M. Hinojosa, "Catholic Social Justice and Archbishop Robert E. Lucey" by Thomas W. Jodziewicz, and "The Catholic Church in Laredo, 1755-1911" by Jose Roberto Juarez. For further information, please contact Professor Jodziewicz at tjodz@udallas.edu.

On April 12-14, 2007 the Calvin Studies Society Colloquium presented "John Calvin and Roman Catholicism" in the McKenna Hall, University of Notre Dame. Among the papers presented were "The French Roman Catholic Lives of Calvin from Bolsec to Richelieu: Why the Interest?" by Irena Backus, "Calvin and the Nicodemites" by George H. Tavard, "John Calvin, Accidental Anthropologist: How Calvin Stumbled on a Theory of Religion by Studying Catholic Primitives" by Carlos Eire, "Friend and Foe: Reformed Genevans and Catholic Neighbors in the Time of Calvin" by Karen Spierling, "Rules of Engagement: Catholics and Protestants in the Diocese of Geneva, 1580-1625" by Jill Fehleison, "*In partibus infidelium*: Calvinism and Catholic Identity in the Dutch Republic" by Charles Parker, "Reviving the Reform: What Calvin Learned from Dialogue with the Roman Catholics" by Randall Zachman, and "Sacramentality in Calvin? A Catholic Perspective" by Dennis Tamburello. For more information, visit www.CalvinStudiesSociety.org.

From May 25 to June 3, 2007, the 76th Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences will meet at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. Among the societies participating in the congress are the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, the Canadian Society for Renaissance Studies, the Canadian Society of Medievalists, the Canadian Society of Church History, and the Canadian Catholic Historical Association. For more information, visit www.fedcan.ca/congress2007.

From June 25 to July 13, 2007, the National Endowment for the Humanities will sponsor an institute entitled "Teaching the Reformation in a Pluralist Age" at the H. Henry Meeter Center at Calvin College in Grand

Rapids, Michigan. A group of thirty faculty members from American colleges and universities will discuss current trends in Reformation studies and try to set the issues in the wider context of global struggles over the relationship of religion and society. Stipends are available to cover the cost of travel, accommodations, and subsistence. For further information, please contact Dr. Karin Maag at Calvin College.

From July 5 to 7, 2007 the French subcommission of the International Commission of the Comparative History of Christianity will hold at various universities of Paris sessions dedicated to six themes. (1) "From faith to rite: the birth and evolution of Christian liturgies" with the following papers: "Légendier romain et rituel baptismal: entre hagiographie et liturgie" by Michel Perrin, "La réforme du bréviaire par le pape Pie V" by Clément Meunier, "La Congrégation des Rites et les mutations du culte en France aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles" by Bernard Dompnier, "L'idée de la 'primitive église' et les aménagements liturgiques en France aux XVII ^{e} et XVIII ^{e} siècles" by Mathieu Lours, and one on the theme "Tradition and traduction après Vatican II" by Florian Michel; (2) "The cultic assemblies" with the following papers: "La chapelle royale comme assemblée cultuelle au Moyen Age et au début de l'époque moderne, en Pologne, France, Angleterre, Portugal" by Urszula Borkowska, "La République liturgique au début du XVIII^{e} siècle: essai de topographie" by Xavier Bisaro, "La liturgie au service de la dissidence? L'Eglise catholique française de l'abbé Chatel (1831-1840)" by Jean-Pierre Chantin, "Liturgies mariales, XIX^{e}-XX^{e} siècles. L'exemple français" by Claude Langlois, "La suppression de la prière du Vendredi saint 'pour le Juif perfide'. Une bataille politique du Congrès juif mondial après guerre" by Catherine Pujol; (3) "The sacraments and the 'sacramenta'" with the following papers: "Du rite à la foi? Influence de la prière eucharistique sur le développement des christologies antiques" by Matthieu Smyth, "L'exorcisme des possédés, un nouveau baptême? Liturgies de l'intégration et liturgies de la réintégration dans l'Eglise médiévale" by Florence Chave-Mahir, "Aspects liturgiques du culte des reliques dans l'Occident médiéval" by Andre Yauchez, "'*Ubi missa, ibi mensa*': les leçons d'un adage ecclésiastique" by Jacques Benoist, "La liturgie catholique des enfants morts en age d'innocence. L'évolution du sentiment de l'enfance (XVII^{e}-XX^{e}-siècle)" by Régis Bertrand, "L'eucharistie comme symbole social au XIX^{e} et au début du XX^{e} siècle" by Jeremy Morris; (4) "The confessional and regional differences" with the following papers: "La Liturgie et les langues cultuelles dans les Pays Roumains aux XIII ^{e}-XV ^{e} siècles" by Emilian Popescu, "La liturgie dans l'église rurale en Europe du Centre-Est (Pologne, Bohême XIV^{e}-XV^{e} siècles)" by Stanislas Bylina, "Variations liturgiques et paraliturgiques en Corse: entre tradition romaine et pratiques régionales" by Michel Casta, "'Romaniser' la liturgie lyonnaise au XIX^{e} siècle. Les conditions d'une alliance entre Lyon et Rome" by Bruno Dumons, "L'invention d'une liturgie des funérailles dans les Eglises réformées de la Charente-Inférieure au XIX^{e} siècle" by Nicolas Champ, "Liturgie romaine et liturgies orientales dans la 2^{e} moitié du XIX^{e} siècle" by Brigitte Waché, "L'Eglise catholique, l'Etat nippon et le jinja shinto: comment le Saint-

Siège admet le caractère non-religieux des 'rites chinois'(1890-1939)?" by Olivier Sibre; (5) "The liturgical objects" with the following papers: "Le *Liber ordinarius* et l'élaboration d'un catalogue des ordinaires liturgiques manuscrits conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France" by Pascal Collomb, "L'objet liturgique contemporain, objet beau, objet utile" by Bernard Berthod, "L'art scout, témoin et support du Mouvement liturgique" by Anne Fachinat and P. Geoffroy Bovens, "L'espace liturgique catholique après Vatican II" by Anne Perrin, "L'évolution de l'art liturgique après 1960" by Isabelle Saint-Martin; (6) "The word and the music" with the following papers: "Les drames liturgiques au Moyen Age" by Nils Holger Petersen, "Pratiques des plains-chants dits musicaux en France (XVII^{e}-XIX^{e} siècles)" by Cécile Davy-Rigaux, "La musique liturgique en usage dans les missions indiennes du Canada aux XVII^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècles" by Paul-Andre Dubois, "Cent-cinquante ans de discours solesmien sur le rapport texte-musique dans le rite chrétien, 1840-1990, de Dom Prosper Guéranger à Dom Eugène Cardine" by Dominique-Marie Dauzet, "Musique, fête et territoire: espaces virtuels et frontières musicales dans un village maltais" by Giovanna Iacovazzi, "Songs and Songwriters in an Ecumenical Decade: The Church Music Revolution in England in the 'Long 1960s'" by Ian Jones and Peter Webster. For further information and registration, please contact Dr. Jacques-Olivier Boudon, professeur à l'Université de Paris IV, 1 rue Victor Cousin, 75230 Paris cedex 05. Email: joboudon@noos.fr.

From September 6 to 10, 2007 at the John Paul Catholic University of Lublin the Polish and Ukrainian Sub-Commissions of the International Commission of the Comparative History of Christianity will sponsor a congress devoted to the religious life of East-Central Europe. The following is a listing of the proposed panels, their themes and chairpersons and/or participants: The Early Polish and Czech Parish (Zofia Kurnatowska and Libor Jan), Religious Culture of Medieval East-Central Europe (Urszula Borkowska), First Attempt to Handle Synthetically the History of Christianity of East-Central Europe: From the Ninth/Tenth to the Twentieth Century (André Vauchez, Marc Venard, Jean-Marie Mayeur, and Jerzy Kłoczowski), The Bishoprics of East-Central Europe in the Middle Ages (Józef Szymański and Henryk Wąsowicz), Preaching as an Instrument of Catechetical Instruction in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period (Krzysztof Bracha and Stanisław Bylina), The Churches of Podolya until 1795 (Tadeusz Trajdos), Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in East-Central Europe in a Comparative Context (Paweł Kras), Canon Law and Synodal Legislation: Their Importance for the Church and Society of East-Central Europe (Henryk Streit), Religious Spaces in East-Central Europe: A Comparative Illustration (Zbigniew Pilat), Structural Organization of Religious Communities in the Fifteenth-Century East-Central Europe (Krzysztof Kaczmarek), The Franciscan Movement in East-Central Europe from the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Century (Henryk Gapski), The University and Intellectual Culture of East-Central Europe in the Middle Ages (Krzystof Ożóg and Krzysztof Stopka), A Postulative Model of Christianity in East-Central Europe, in the Light of Hagiography until the Fourteenth Century (Józef Dobosz and Edward

Skibiński), Evangelical Churches in East-Central Europe in the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century (Wojciech Kriegseisen), Members of Male Religious Communities in the Pastoral Activities of the Church in East-Central Europe in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century (Adam Żurek), Eastern Christianity in the Polish Commonwealth in the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century (Hanna Dylągowa and Andrzej Gil), Typical Features of the Monastic Life in Eastern Christianity in East-Central Europe (Antoni Mironowicz), Religious Justification of Political Power in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Europe (Hubert Łaszkiewicz), Eastern and Western Christianity in the Nineteenth Century in the Territories of the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Church Structures and Their Functions (Daniel Olszewski), The Religious Life and Culture of the Christian Emigrants from East-Central Europe to North America, Christianity in East-Central Europe in the Period 1918-1939 (Etienne Thevenin), The Attitude of Christian Churches to the Population Migrations during World Wars I and II (Mariusz Korzeniowski), Survival Strategies of Churches in East-Central Europe under the Communist Regime (Tomasz Schramm and Konrad Białecki), Female Religious Orders in East-Central Europe in Struggle with the Nazi and Communist Totalitarianisms (1939-1989) (Agata Mirek and Krystyna Dębowska), Sacral Space in Poland: Legal Regulations and Practice (Marian Kallas), Present Situation in the Field of Religion in East-Central Europe: A Comparative Approach (Piotr Cywiński and Marcin Przeciszewski), The European Border Areas Between the Byzantine and the Roman Worlds (Ihor Sevcenko), Cohabitation of National and Denominational Minorities in the Times of the Second Republic of Poland (Interwar Period) (Janusz Kania), Mutual Influences of the Christian and Jewish Communities in East-Central Europe (Jacob Goldberg), Religious Orders in the Municipal Space: The Example of Poznań (Jacek Wiesiołowski), An Attempt at a History of Catholic Dioceses in Today's Perspective (Jacek Wiesiołowski), and from the Croatian Sub-Commission four proposals: The Church in the Croatian Lands and Its Reaction to the New Religious and Social Movements (Franciscans and Dominicans), The Croatian Church Confronted with the Ottoman Invasion, Laity within the Church during the Eighteenth to Nineteenth-Century Revolutions, and The Croatian Church Independent from the Hungarian Church. There is planned a cartographic exhibition entitled "The Socio-Religious Space of East-Central Europe." For more information, please contact Jerzy Kłoczowski of the Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej in Lublin at instesw@platon.man.lublin.pl.

The American Cusanus Society is trying to sponsor a series of panels dedicated to the theme "Reassessing Reform: Gerhart Ladner's *The Idea of Reform* Fifty Years Later." It hopes to organize papers and panels at the biennial conference of the American Cusanus Society at Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, October 10-12, 2008; at the International Congress of Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan, in May of 2008 and 2009; and at the American Historical Association meeting in New York, January 2-5, 2009. For further information, please contact Professor Christopher Bellitto of Kean

University at cbellitt@kean.edu or Professor Zach Flanagin of St. Mary's College of California at zachflanagin@hotmail.com.

Canonizations

Pope Benedict XVI has authorized the canonization of four saints: the Polish Szymon of Lipnica, O.F.M. (1439-1482), the Brazilian Antonio of Santa Ana, O.F.M., Disc. (born Antonio Galvao de Franca) (1739-1822), the Dutch Charles of St. Andrew, C.P. (born Johannes Andreas Houben) (1821-1893), and the French Marie Eugénie de Jésus (born Anne-Eugénie Millerte de Brou) (1817-1898), foundress of the Institute of Sisters of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The pope has also authorized the beatification of sixty-nine martyrs killed during the religious persecutions in Spain (1934-36) and four killed in Brazil (1924, 1931, and 1993).

Publications

Seven articles in the *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento—Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient* for 2005 (Volume XXXI) are devoted to the theme "Il dibattito storiografico sulla figura di Pio XII. Punti di arrivo e problemi aperti," as follows: Giovanni Miccoli, "Santa Sede, guerra, e Shoah: una proposta di discussione" (pp. 227-259); Philippe Chenaux, "Il cardinale Pacelli e la questione del nazismo dopo l'enciclica 'Mit brennender Sorge' (1937)" (pp. 261-277); Emma Fattorini, "Pio XI, Mussolini, Hitler e Pacelli (1937-1939)" (pp. 279-317); Anna Foa, "Le due leggende. Riflessioni sulla storiografia su Pio XII e gli ebrei" (pp. 319-331); Hubert Wolf, "Pius XII. als Nuntius in Deutschland. Pacellis Schlussrelation vom November 1929" (pp. 333-353); Heinz Hürten, "Die Briefe Pius' XII. an die deutschen Bischöfe zur Kriegszeit. Eine zentrale Quelle für seine Amtsauffassung?" (pp. 355-365); and Matteo Luigi Napolitano, "I documenti diplomatici come fonte per il dibattito storiografico su Pio XII" (pp. 367-394). An abstract in English is printed at the beginning of each article.

The Passionist Heritage Newsletter, Volume 13, Issue 4 (Fall 2006), pages 1-6, contains an article "Praying the Steps: An Historical Understanding of the Passionists at Holy Cross-Immaculata Church on Mt. Adams, Cincinnati, Ohio," from an interview of Father Richard Parks, C.P., by Father Robert Carbonneau, C.P.

At the Fourteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies, held at Oxford in August, 2003, the Athanasius-Arbeitsstelle of Erlangen organized a workshop on Athanasius of Alexandria. The papers presented there are now published in Volume 10 (2006) of the *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum—Journal of Ancient Christianity*: Charles Kannengiesser, "The Dating of Athanasius' Double Apology and Three Treatises against the Arians" (pp. 19-33); Kelley McCarthy Spoerl, "Athanasius and the Anti-Marcellan Controversy"

(pp. 34-55); Joseph T. Lienhard, "Two Friends of Athanasius: Marcellus of Ancyra and Apollinaris of Laodicea" (pp. 56-66); Hanns Christof Brennecke, "Zwei Apologien des Athanasius an Kaiser Constantinus II." (pp. 67-85); Annette von Stockhausen, "Athanasius in Antiochien" (pp. 86-102); Uta Heil, "Athanasius und Basilius" (pp. 103-120); and Winrich Löhr, "Arius Reconsidered (2. Teil)" (pp. 121-157).

"Tod und Bestattung in der frühchristlichen Welt" was the theme of the Römische Tagung zur frühen Kirche held at the Priesterkolleg Campo Santo Teutonico on May 19-21, 2005. The papers resulting from those days are now published in Number 3-4 of Volume 101 (2006) of the *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*: Bertram Stubenrauch, "Auferstehung des Fleisches? Zum Proprium christlichen Glaubens in Motiven patristischer Theologie" (pp. 147-156); Theofried Baumeister, "Die montanistischen Martyriumssprüche bei Tertullian" (pp. 157-172); Heike Grieser, "Das christliche Idealisierung des Sterbens—Beobachtungen anhand einiger griechischer Viten des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 173-193); Peter Bruns, "Reliquien und Reliquienverehrung in den syro-persischen Märtyrerakten" (pp. 194-213); Sebastian Ristow, "Grab und Kirche. Zur funktionalen Bestimmung archäologischer Baubefunde im östlichen Frankenreich" (pp. 214-239); Winfried Weber, "Vom Coemeterialbau zur Klosterkirche—Die Entwicklung des frühchristlichen Gräberfeldes im Bereich von St. Maximin in Trier" (pp. 240-259); Achim Arbeiter, "Grabmosaiken in Hispanien" (pp. 260-288); and Jutta Dresken-Weiland, "Vorstellungen von Tod und Jenseits in den frühchristlichen Grabinschriften des 3.-6. Jhs. in Rom, Italien und Afrika" (pp. 289-312).

The editors of the *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, Daniel Pichot and Florian Mazel, have devoted their third number for 2006 (Volume 113) to the study of "Prieurés et sociétés au Moyen Âge." It contains the following articles: Daniel Pichot, "Prieurés et société dans l'Ouest, XI^{e}-XIII^{e} siècle. Éléments d'historiographie et premier bilan d'une enquête" (pp. 9-32); Sébastien Legros, "Les prieurés de Château-Gontier et l'établissement d'une seigneurie chatelaine dans le comté d'Anjou (fin du X^{e} siècle-fin du XI^{e} siècle)" (pp. 33-59); Jean-René Ladurée, "Le prieuré de la Ramée dépendant de l'abbaye d'Évron: un prieuré rural exemplaire" (pp. 61-72); Jérôme Beaumon, "Implantation et expansion d'un réseau de prieurés à l'époque féodale: l'exemple des prieurés de l'abbaye Saint-Florent de Saumur dans le diocèse de Rennes et la seigneurie de Dol-Combourg (XI^{e}-XIII^{e} siècle)" (pp. 73-91); Étienne Mathieu, "La naissance des prieurés de l'abbaye feminine Saint-Georges de Rennes (1024-1047)" (pp. 93-104); Florian Mazel, "Seigneurs, moines et chanoines: pouvoir local et enjeux ecclésiaux à Fougères à l'époque grégorienne (milieu XI^{e}-milieu XII^{e} siècle)" (pp. 105-135); Florian Mazel, "Armelle Le Huërou, Actes de l'abbaye de Marmoutier concernant le prieuré de la Trinité de Fougères, XI^{e}-XII^{e} siècles: edition et traduction" (pp. 137-165); Cécile Treffort, "Moines, monastères et prieurés charentais au Moyen Âge. Quelques

réflexions autour d'un projet collectif en cours" (pp. 167-188); Laurent Ripart, "Moines ou seigneurs: qui sont les fondateurs? Le cas des prieurés bénédictins des Alpes occidentals (vers 1020-vers 1045)" (pp. 189-203); and Philippe Racinet, "Cluny et les autres: L'exemple des prieurés" (pp. 205-221).

Going beyond American history, the *U.S. Catholic Historian* has devoted its issue for winter, 2007 (Volume 25, Number 1) to the theme "*Pascendi dominici gregis*: 1907-2007." It contains the following "Centennial Essays on Responses to the Encyclical on Modernism": C. J. T. Talar, "Introduction: *Pascendi dominici gregis*: The Vatican Condemnation of Modernism" (pp. 1-12); William L. Portier, "*Pascendi*'s Reception in the United States: The Case of Joseph McSorley" (pp. 13-30); Lawrence Barmann, "The Pope and the English Modernists" (pp. 31-54); C. J. T. Talar, "The French Connection: The Church's 'Eldest Daughter' and the Condemnation of Modernism" (pp. 55-69); Giacomo Losito, "Ernesto Buonaiuti and *Il programma dei modernisti*" (pp. 71-96); and Michael Kerlin, "Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange: Defending the Faith from *Pascendi dominici gregis* to *Humani generis*" (pp. 97-113).

In observance of the three anniversaries celebrated by the Jesuits in 2006 the editors of the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* have devoted their double number (3-4 of Volume 90) for that year to the missionary activity of the Society of Jesus. Following an introduction by Michael Sievernich, S.J., there are seven articles: Santiago Madrigal, S.J., "«Servir a Dios» y «ayudar a las animas»: Misión, eclesiología ignaciana y misiones" (pp. 165-182); Philippe Lécrivain, S.J., "«*Non sufficit orbis* . . .» Les missions jésuites aux XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècles" (pp. 183-195); Mariano Delgado, "Alonso Sánchez SJ und José de Acosta SJ in der Kontroverse über die Conquista und Evangelisation Chinas am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 196-209); Claudia von Collani, "Der Ritenstreit und die Folgen für die Chinamission" (pp. 210-225); Klaus Schatz, S.J., "Jesuitenmission in der neuen Gesellschaft Jesu (19./20. Jh.)" (pp. 226-248); Karl Markus Kreis, "Die nordamerikanischen Indianermissionen der Jesuiten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert" (pp. 249-262); and Franz Magnis-Suseno, S.J., "Missionar in Indoensien. Erfahrungen, Reflexionen, Ausblicke" (pp. 262-274).

The Verein für würrtembergische Kirchengeschichte along with the Geschichtsverein der Diözese Rottenburg-Stuttgart held its annual meeting of 2002 on September 11-15 of that year in the Catholic Academy of Weingarten on the theme "Säkularisationen und Säkularisierung im deutschen Südwesten" to commemorate the bicentenary of that historic event. The papers presented on that occasion have now been published in the volume (104) for 2004 of the *Blätter für würtembergische Kirchenschichte* as follows: Hartmut Lehmann, "Die Entscheidung des Jahres 1803 und das Verhältnis von Säkularisation, Säkularisierung und Säkularismus" (pp. 11-25); Hermann Ehmer, "Die Kirchengutsfrage in der Reformation" (pp. 27-45); Eike Wohlgast, "Säkularisationen und Säkularisationspläne im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert" (pp. 47-71); Klaus Ganzer,

"Die Kirchenreform nach dem Konzil von Trient" (pp. 73-89); Dieter Breuer, "Katholische Aufklärung und Theologie" (pp. 91-109); Erich Garhammer, "Pastoralstrategie im Übergang vom 18. bis 19. Jahrhundert: Von der »Säkularisierung« zur »Sakralisierung« aufgezeigt am Priesterbild und Priesterbildung" (pp. 111-129); Konstantin Maier, "Säkularisation, Finanzen und Ökonomie. Überlegungen zur Säkularisation der Benediktiner-Reichsabtei Ochsenhausen (1803-1806)" (pp. 131-150); Karl Hausberger, "»Untereinander und mit dem Oberhaupte der Kirche enge geeint«. Dalbergs Pläne für die Neuordnung der deutschen Kirche nach der Säkularisation" (pp. 151-172); and Henning Pahl, "Folgen der Säkularisation: Zu Stellung und Stellenwert der Religion in der ländlichen evangelischen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 173-193).

As its fourth number for 2006 (Volume 57) the *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* has published a thematic issue entitled "München 60 Jahre nach Kriegsende." It contains the following articles: Peter B. Steiner, "Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau der Kirchen Münchens" (p. 291-304); Rita Haub, "'Es fordert den ganzen Menschen'—Zeugen des Glaubens: P. Rupert Mayer SJ (1876-1945) und P. Alfred Delp SJ (1907-1945)" (pp. 305-319); Manfred Weitlauff, "Die Leitung der Erzdiözese München und Freising in Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit: Die Erzbischöfe und Kardinäle Michael von Faulhaber (1869-1952) und Joseph Wendel (1901-1960)" (pp. 320-346); Manfred Weitlauff, "Die Theologische Fakultät der Universität München unter der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft" (pp. 347-375); Stephan Leimgruber, "Seelsorge und Religionsunterricht in und um München in der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit" (pp. 376-385); and Peter Neuner, "Michael Schmaus und der Neubeginn der Theologie an der Universität München nach 1945" (pp. 386-398).

Personal Notices

Dr. Nelson H. Minnich of the School of Theology and Religious Studies and of the History Department of The Catholic University of America was appointed on February 5, 2007 by Benedict XVI as a member of the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche.

Obituaries

Dr. Charles F. Fleener, professor of history at Saint Louis University, died on November 27, 2005, aged 67. Dr. Fleener's undergraduate degree in foreign affairs was from Georgetown University (1960) and he received his master's in 1963 and doctoral degree in 1969 in Latin-American history from the University of Florida. In 1966 he joined the Saint Louis University faculty, where he served for almost forty years as teacher, advisor, and administrator. In 1984 after a term as chair of the History Department he became director of the Pre-Law program. Dr. Fleener gave dedicated direction to this program and developed it to a point of excellence through his twenty years in

the directorship. As a professor and especially as director of Pre-Law he was dedicated to the students and their needs in pursuing law careers. At the request of students he organized the Mock Trial program, became its moderator, and got university funding for it. Mock Trial became part of the curriculum with credit in the college. He traveled with the team regularly and gave of his time and energy to further the program. The Pre-Law program has received numerous awards over the years for the performance in Mock Trial competitions. In 1996 the Midwest Association of Pre-Law Advisors recognized and honored Dr. Fleener at their national meeting for his contributions to Pre-Law. In October of 2005 he received the Outstanding Pre-Law Advisor of the Year award from the National Association of Pre-Law Advisors.

Dr. Fleener was highly respected as a teacher. He brought history to life with his engaging lectures, making him a much-sought-after instructor among students. His service to many students as an advisor earned him the Advisor of the Year award in the College of Arts and Sciences. Although the History Department no longer had a graduate program in Latin American history, he regularly taught upper division courses in this specialty to provide another perspective to student majors. Fluent in the Spanish language, he frequently taught at the Saint Louis University Madrid campus, where he also served as acting dean in 1992. His scholarly research was done primarily in the archives of Latin America found in various depositories in Spain. He was a life member of the American Historical Association and of the American Catholic Historical Association.

Dr. Fleener was dedicated to Saint Louis University, to its students, and to its mission as a Catholic Jesuit institution of higher learning. Much of his Latin American study and research dealt with the work of the Catholic Church and the Jesuits. He donated more than 10,000 volumes to the University library dealing with United States and Latin American history, film and film theory, and another of his interests, the stage. The mission of Jesuit universities is to form men and women for others. Dr. Fleener himself embodied this mission of the University in his unsparing dedication to Saint Louis University—the students, and the furtherance of the institution.

Saint Louis University ELIZABETH KOLMER, A.S.C.

In an essay after her death in January, 2007, at the age of 65, Robert P. George, Princeton Professor of Jurisprudence, wrote: "Elizabeth Fox-Genovese was a scholar as notable for her bravery as for her brilliance." This is remarkable homage from a highly regarded ethicist. Surely, her intellectual genius should have been enough reason to commend this brilliant historian whose career included prestigious assignments at Harvard, the University of Rochester, the State University of New York at Binghamton, and, finally, Emory University, where she contributed richly to the field of history from 1986 until her death. The daughter of historian Edward Whiting Fox of Bostonian lineage,

she was viewed by some to be a "patrician"; her social grace and intellectual command of both history and French literature seemed to demand it. Her first degree, *cum laude*, at Bryn Mawr College and her advanced degrees from Harvard University foretold that she would add much to *academia*. Yet, her unlikely marriage in 1969 to the Sicilian, Brooklyn-born, and often sharp-tongued, Marxist historian, Eugene Genovese, hinted that there would be another contribution to life and scholarship that this talented woman would provide. Together this erstwhile "royal couple of radical *academia*" became, in George's words, a "force field" of Christian love as well as remarkable major contributors to the historical analysis of antebellum Southern culture. Their collaborative studies not only inspired scholars but resulted in magisterial studies on the phenomenon of the Southern master-slave society. Elizabeth's particular insight was maximized with regard to the consequences of slavery upon women. One of her monographs, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (1988) proved a penetrating analysis of the effect of slavery upon the family. It received both commendations and impressive awards. Fox-Genovese's talents as a teacher and mentor were equally evident; so, too, were her administrative capabilities. At Emory, she developed offerings in women's history, founding the Institute for Women's Studies. Within a few years, this program became the first in the nation to offer a doctoral degree.

For all her earlier success, the Marxist perspective that had originally given Fox-Genovese intellectual leverage began to fail her as she observed the ethical directions that women's studies was taking by the late 1970's. She believed that the penchant for what she termed "radical, upscale feminism" was wrong-minded, and she began to reject mainstream academic, feminist beliefs. The fault line of this feminist critique, she came to realize, was its embrace of abortion. In her words, "no amount of past oppression can justify women's oppression of the most vulnerable among us." It was not long before she began publicly to articulate the flaws she found in what she called the "unreflective" assumptions of this school of thought. How countenance abortion? Why, furthermore, reject women's "special roles as bearers and rearers of children"? Two trenchant monographs, *Feminism Without Illusions: A Critique of Individualism* (1991) and *Feminism Is Not the Story of My Life* (1996) put these considerations, especially those regarding an overemphasis on the rights of individuals, into the public arena. The result for her was notoriety. From this point on, she had to endure the labels of "pariah" and deserter from former colleagues—even the charge of harassment. To her death, however, she never flinched from the conviction that feminism had taken a deadly, wrong turn.

During the last dozen years of her life, Fox-Genovese began to reconstruct her personal life and her career. In intellectual circles, she joined "conservative" groups. But something (Someone) also compelled her attention. This former "unbelieving Christian" began a solitary spiritual journey that led her to accept Jesus Christ as her personal savior. In 1995 she fulfilled that aim,

receiving five sacraments in the Roman Catholic Church on the same day. A week later, her husband followed her example, returning to the Church into which he had been baptized. During this phase of her life, she took on different intellectual responsibilities, now joining boards of conservative organizations, including the Washington, D.C.-based Women's Freedom Network and the Board of Consulting Scholars associated with the James Madison Program in American Ideals. In 2001, she became a member of the American Catholic Historical Association. Impressed with the new perspectives that now guided her, still other organizations invited her to offer her expertise. Thus, she was named to the editorial board of *First Things*, was asked to join the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars, the G.K.Chesterton Institute, and the Institute for Faith and Reason. Awards from other sectors now came her way. In 2003, she received the prestigious Cardinal Wright Award; the same year, President Bush awarded her the National Humanities Medal, which recognized her as a "defender of reason and servant of faith." Each award seemed to be yet another reminder of both the bravery and brilliance that had become the hallmark of her life.

A scholar whose academic work will surely stand the test of time, Fox-Genovese should also be remembered as a superb model of women in the Church. Common sense had brought her to the faith. Armed with new understanding, she had been outspoken in her concerns that radical feminism had failed to see the danger of abortion and its impact on family and marriage. As Robert George so correctly quipped, "If her pro-life advocacy angered many liberal intellectuals, her outspoken defense of marriage and traditional norms of sexual morality made them apoplectic." When one reads of her God-inspired life, one cannot help but agree. She had overturned the tables upon which the feminist critique was posited. She may well be remembered longer for her bravery—her heroic adherence to the teachings of her newfound Church—than for her equally impressive historical analyses. Regardless, her death remains a great loss to all of us. Our deepest sympathies go especially to her husband, Eugene, who always saw in her someone who would not only illumine minds but, more importantly, transform hearts. Indeed, her life's story may soon invite another nomination, namely, that of joining the ever-lengthening list of saints and scholars.

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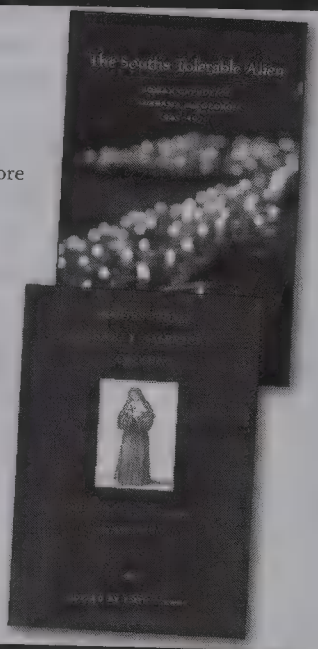

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VOL. XCIII NO. 3

The Catholic Historical Review

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THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

Official Organ of the American Catholic Historical Association

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All communications concerning direct subscriptions and advertising should be addressed to the Business Manager. Communications concerning editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, 320 Mullen Library, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064; telephone and fax number: 202-319-5079; electronic mail address: CHR@CUA.EDU. Manuscripts of articles must not exceed thirty pages, must be typewritten or computer-printed with double spacing (including the footnotes), and must be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped manila envelope if the return of the manuscript is desired in case of rejection.

Subscription price: Institutional: United States and Canada $50.00; foreign $55.00; single issue $15.00.

A missing issue will be replaced without charge only if a claim is made within thirty days after the following issue is received.

Published Quarterly by

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS
The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064

Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

The Catholic Historical Review is indexed in the *Catholic Periodical Index* and in *Religion Index One: Periodicals, Index to Book Reviews in Religion, Religion Indexes: RIO/RIT/IBRR 1975- on CD-ROM* and *ATLA* [American Theological Library Association] *Religion Database on CD-ROM* (http://www.atla.com). The articles are analyzed and indexed in the *Bulletin Signalétique Sciences Humaines* and in *IBZ* (International Bibliography of Periodical Literature). The medieval articles are indexed in the *International Medieval Bibliography* and in the *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law.* The modern European articles are abstracted in *Historical Abstracts*, and the American articles in *America: History and Life.* The book reviews are indexed in *Book Review Index*, and *An Index to Book Reviews in the Humanities*, and in *IBR* (International Bibliography of Book Reviews).

International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) 0008-8080

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Postmaster: Send address changes to Business Office, The Catholic University of America Press, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 620 Michigan Ave., N.E., Leahy Hall, Room 240, Washington, D.C. 20064.

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The Catholic Historical Review

VOL. XCIII JULY, 2007 No. 3

ABBOT HUGH: AN OVERLOOKED BROTHER OF HENRY I, COUNT OF CHAMPAGNE

BY

RUTH HARWOOD CLINE*

Hugh (d. 1171), a natural son of Count Thibaut IV of Blois and II of Champagne (d.1152), was a half-brother of Count Henry I of Champagne (1127-1181) and Adèle (d. 1206), queen of France and mother of Philip Augustus. A knight wounded in battle, Hugh became a monk of Tiron Abbey near Chartres. Supported by his uncles King Stephen and Bishop Henry of Winchester, Hugh became abbot of St. Benet of Holme in Norfolk and of Chertsey outside London. Hugh returned to Champagne ca.1155 and became abbot of Lagny near Paris (1163-1171). A castrate, Hugh may have inspired Chrétien de Troyes' Fisher King.

Count Henry I "the Liberal" of Champagne (1127-1181) was the oldest of ten children of Count Thibaut "the Great" IV of Blois and II of Champagne (d.1152) and his wife Mathilda of Carinthia. Thibaut II, a warrior and magnate who was a nephew of Henry I of England, was offered the English throne before it was seized by his younger brother, Stephen (r. 1135-1154). Count Henry's wife, Countess Marie (1145-1198) was the older daughter of Louis VII of France (b. 1121, r. 1137-1180) and his first wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204). His second brother, Count Thibaut V of Blois (d. c.1191), was seneschal of France and had married Countess Marie's younger sister, Alix (1150-c. 1197). His third brother was Stephen, count of Sancerre (d. 1190). His fourth brother, William of the White Hands (d. 1202), was bishop of Chartres,

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archbishop of Sens, papal legate in England, archbishop of Reims, Cardinal of Santa Sabina, regent of France, and head of the Royal Council of his nephew Philip Augustus (r. 1180-1223).[1] His youngest sister, Adèle (d. 1206), was queen of France as the third wife of Louis VII and mother of the heir Philip Augustus. Count Henry was a crusader, an administrator, a diplomat, and a literary patron. His kinship network extended over modern France and to the England of his second cousin, Henry II (b. 1133, r. 1154-1189), and his travels extended through the Holy Roman Empire to the Holy Land. These distinguished children of an illustrious father were central figures in the politics of twelfth-century France. It is less well known that they had a half brother.

Count Henry's English connections included his paternal uncles: Stephen, king of England, and Stephen's younger brother Henry, bishop of Winchester and abbot of Glastonbury (d. 1171). Bishop Henry was not elected archbishop of Canterbury, but was compensated for some time by the more powerful position of papal legate in England. Bishop Henry lived in England during the reigns of Stephen and Henry II until 1171, interrupted by a sojourn at Cluny during a tense period in 1155-1162. His half-brother Hugh (d. 1171), a Benedictine abbot, lived in England for a decade before returning to his family in Champagne. Hugh was an interesting person in his own right, and his story is a fascinating addition to the genealogy of the House of Blois-Champagne.

Hugh was Count Thibaut's natural son, and his birthdate and mother are unknown.[2] The only solid documentation of Hugh's life

[1]Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in Medieval France, Documents from the County of Champagne* (Philadelphia, 1993) and D.D.R. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen and Legend* (Oxford, 1993, 1996).

[2]It is documented that Thibaut had a natural son whose birth was considered to have taken place before Thibaut's marriage to Mathilda in 1123. See H. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, II (Paris, 1861), pp. 407-408. Presumably the boy was named after Thibaut's uncle Hugh, from whom Thibaut inherited Champagne. His mother's name is not recorded in genealogies that list the mothers of other illegitimate lines. See William Addams Reitwiesner, *Matrilineal Descents of the European Royalty, A Work in Progress*, 5th ed., Volume IV: *NB-DS* (Washington, D.C., 1997), ATJ, p. 3. Some genealogies list Hugh as a legitimate son and abbot of Cîteaux. Augustin Déchaussé Anselme, continued by Honoré Caille Dufourny, *Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France*, II (Paris, 1726), pp. 840-841, lists two Hughs as sons of Thibaut: Hugh, abbot of St. Benet of Holme and Lagny, and a legitimate son Hugh, abbot of Cîteaux in 1155. *Europäische Stammtafeln: Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, n.s., ed. Detlev Schwennicke, Band II: *Die Ausserdeutschen Staaten die Regierenden Hauser der Ubrigen Staaten*

covers his adult years, from c.1141 until 1171. The major sources are references to him in the thirteenth-century *Chronica* of John of Oxenedes (d. c. 1293), the records of St. Benet of Holme in *William Worcestre Itineraries*, the Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, and the Annals of Lagny cited in *Gallia Christiana*. He is also mentioned in the cartularies of the abbeys of Tiron, St. Benet of Holme, Chertsey, and Lagny and in the Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot. Although Oxenedes is inaccurate about Hugh's dying at Chertsey Abbey, he provides the most comprehensive account of Hugh's life.[3] For his Chronicle, Oxenedes borrowed from various sources, including the Chronicle of Hugh of St. Victor, John of Salisbury's Polycrates, and William of Malmesbury.[4] Oxenedes paid tribute to Stephen as an excellent knight of great piety, but chose to include his perjuries regarding his obligations to the Church and to others.[5] Oxenedes's

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Europas (Marburg, 1984), Table 46, lists Hughes abbot of Cîteaux in 1155. Michel Turquois of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Troyes explained the confusion by noting that the Latin name of Chertsey is *Certesiensis* and the Latin name of Cîteaux is *Cisterciense*, in *Dictionnaire Universel du XIX Siècle*, ed. Pierre Larousse, Vol. 4, Part 1 (1869; Geneva and Paris, 1982 reprint), p. 355. If the Latin source for "of Chertsey Abbey" spelled the name *Cercesiensis*, as it appears in *Gallia Christiana*, ed. Monachi Congregationis S. Mauri Ordinis S, Benedicti, Vol. 7 (Paris, 1744), col. 497, genealogists expecting to find a French abbey instead of an English one opted for Cîteaux. There was no abbot of Cîteaux named Hugh in 1155, although on that date Hugh was still nominally abbot of Chertsey. Goswin, abbot of Cîteaux (1150-1155), was succeeded by Lambert (1155-1161). Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs* (Ithaca and London, 1991), pp. 205-206, cites J.-M. Canivez, "Cîteaux (Abbaye)," col. 866 in the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, 12 (Paris, 1953), cols. 852-874.

[3]John of Oxenedes, *Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes monachi S. Benedicti de Hulmo ab adventu Horsae et Hengisti in Britanniam ad A.D. 1293*, ed. Henry Ellis, [Rolls Series, 13] (London, 1859), pp. 270-271; *The Register of the Abbey of St. Benet of Holme, 1020-1210*, ed. J.R. West [Norfolk Record Society, 2], (Fakenham and London, 1932), p. 195: *Successit eidem Hugo nepos Stephani regis Angliae, miles strenuus. Qui aliquando in bello vulneratus, de vita desperatus apud Tyrum monachilem suscepit habitum. Qui convalescens de infirmitate stetit per aliquod tempus in eadem religione et postea rege avunculo suo agente factus est abbas S. Benedicti de Hulmo. Qui jura et libertates ecclesiae suae viriliter ac strenue defendebat maxime eo quod de nobili genere esset tota illum metuebat patria. Unde vicecomes quidam nomine Wymerus Caperun eum exosum habebat per quem quedam muliercula latenter lectulo abbatis ignorantis et dormientis introducta ab insidiatoribus inventa apud manerium de Fyleby clamore levato ipsum abbatem innocentem testiculis privaverunt. Qui tanti confectus scandali pudore patriam ac provinciam relinquens cessit abbitiae et loco. Qui postea agente rege scilicit avunculo suo abbatiam Certeseye ubi vitae terminum fecit adeptus est.*

[4]Oxenedes, *Chronica*, p. viii.

[5]Oxenedes, *Chronica*, p. 45, ad annum 1135, and p. 50, ad annum 1152.

description of Hugh is in an original Appendix recounting the early history of the abbey of St. Benet of Holme and its successive abbots.[6] His assertion of Hugh's good character does not reflect uncritical admiration for Hugh's royal uncle.

Oxenedes states that Hugh was a knight. The traditional upbringing for the son of a great nobleman included a good early education, fostering, and military training. A future knight would not have pursued as advanced a course of studies as a son destined for the clergy, but he would have received a good grounding in reading and writing French and Latin and the other branches of the trivium. Count Henry, Thibaut's first legitimate son, studied the liberal arts, was "subject to the discipline of the schools" for several years, read Latin for pleasure,[7] and corresponded with scholars. There is no reason to think that Thibaut would have given less care to the education of another son. Possibly Hugh was educated at Tiron Abbey, where noblemen sent their sons for schooling, according to the *Vita Bernardi*.[8] Thibaut, then count of Blois and Chartres, paid in 1117 for major embellishments of Tiron Abbey, twenty-five miles southwest of Chartres, including the construction of an infirmary. The improvements might have been related to his decision to place his young son there for his early education.[9] Later, a future knight would have been fostered in an aristocratic household. In addition to the nobles of Blois, two of Thibaut's uncles would have been willing to rear his son: Hugh, count of Champagne on his father's side, and Henry I, king of England on his mother's side. The king acknowledged over twenty natural children and married many into the aristocracy. In early adolescence Hugh would have been taught good manners and courtly behavior, the code of honor of chivalry, and respect for women. In an era when Thibaut and his overlord the king of France were constantly at war, Hugh would also have received extensive training in horsemanship and combat. His knight-

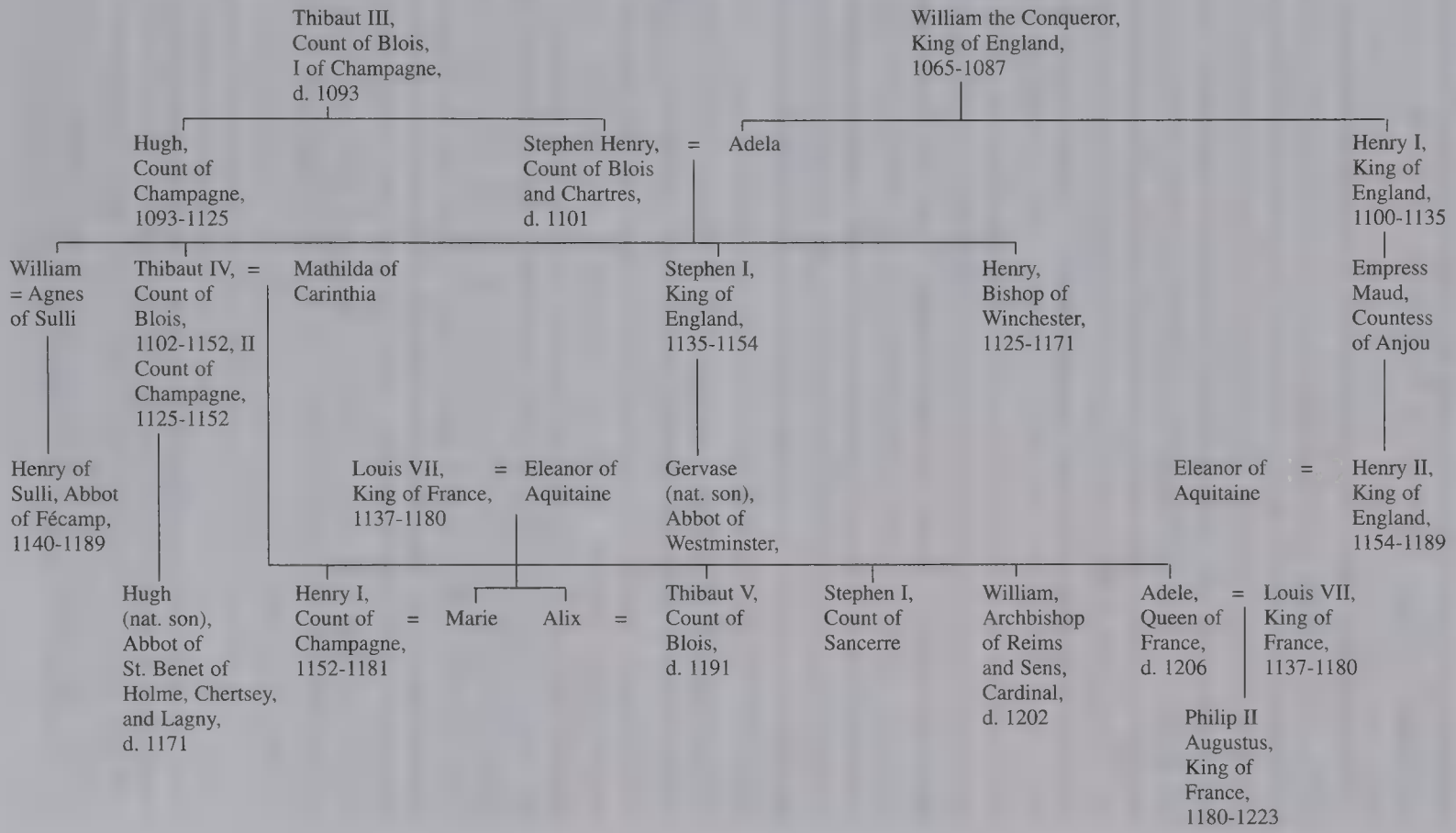
[6]Oxenedes, *Chronica*, Appendix, pp. 267-277.

[7]Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne*, III (Paris, 1861), pp. 189-190, citing a letter to Count Henry from Philip, abbot of Bonne-Espérance. See letter 16 *Philippi, abbatis Bonae-spei, ad Henricum* [Epis. 17, p. 84] in D. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaulles et de la France*, ed. Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial, new ed. by Léopold Delisle (Paris, 1878), Volume 16, p. 703: "*Horum concursu scholarum disciplinam per annos aliquot prosecutus sub magistrali ferula.*"

[8]Geoffrey Grossus, *Vita Beati Bernardi Tironiensis*, ed. Godefroy Henskens and Daniel Papebroch, in *Acta Sanctorum* [hereafter AASS], ed. Jean Bolland *et alii*, (Antwerp, Venice, Paris, 1643-1870, and Acta Sanctorum Database 1999-2006 ProQuest Information and Learning Company), Aprilis II, p. 239, §74

[9]Geoffrey Grossus, *Vita Bernardi*, AASS, Aprilis II, p. 245, §97.

Simplified Genealogy of the House of Blois-Champagne


Thibaut III, Count of Blois, I of Champagne, d. 1093
William the Conqueror, King of England, 1065-1087
Hugh, Count of Champagne, 1093-1125
Stephen Henry, Count of Blois and Chartres, d. 1101
= Adela
Henry I, King of England, 1100-1135
William = Agnes of Sulli
Thibaut IV, Count of Blois, 1102-1152, II Count of Champagne, 1125-1152
= Mathilda of Carinthia
Stephen I, King of England, 1135-1154
Henry, Bishop of Winchester, 1125-1171
Empress Maud, Countess of Anjou
Henry of Sulli, Abbot of Fécamp, 1140-1189
Louis VII, King of France, 1137-1180
= Eleanor of Aquitaine
Gervase (nat. son), Abbot of Westminster,
Eleanor of Aquitaine
= Henry II, King of England, 1154-1189
Hugh (nat. son), Abbot of St. Benet of Holme, Chertsey, and Lagny, d. 1171
Henry I, Count of Champagne, 1152-1181
= Marie
Alix =
Thibaut V, Count of Blois, d. 1191
Stephen I, Count of Sancerre
William, Archbishop of Reims and Sens, Cardinal, d. 1202
Adele, Queen of France, d. 1206
= Louis VII, King of France, 1137-1180
Philip II Augustus, King of France, 1180-1223

ing would have been an important religious ceremony. Whether Hugh received this traditional upbringing is unknown, but he was literate and trained to fight.

Like his noble father, Hugh was described as a brisk, energetic, vigorous, and perhaps restless knight, aristocratic in appearance, and authoritative and virile in his bearing. While Hugh could not have inherited Count Thibaut's vast domain of Blois, Champagne, and Sancerre, he could have expected his father to settle property on him and arrange for his marriage. Hugh's life took a dramatically different turn when at some time he was wounded in battle. Wherever the war was being waged, he must have been somewhere near Tiron Abbey, which was five miles from the Norman border in Thibaut's territory of Perche and had physicians and an infirmary.[10] One possibility is that Hugh was with his father and involved in the fighting that broke out in Normandy near Exmes and the river Risle following Stephen's accession to the English throne. Thibaut besieged Pont-Saint-Pierre outside Rouen for a month in June 1136. Exmes is about 50 miles from Tiron; Pont-Saint-Pierre is about 75 miles away. It would have been prudent to transport Thibault's wounded son across the border of Normandy into Blois to prevent his capture and then to take him to the nearest source of medical attention.

Hugh entered Tiron Abbey despairing of his life, but the physicians of Tiron pulled him through. Possibly he was too impaired to continue as a knight, for during his convalescence he decided to become a Benedictine monk. He remained for some time in that reformed abbey, which ran a school and emphasized manual labor and artisanry. Tiron engaged actively in trade and had abbeys and priories in border regions in France and the British Isles, specifically in the diocese of Winchester and the dependent abbeys of Kelso in Scotland and St. Dogmael's in Wales.[11] Then Hugh traveled to England, where his uncle Stephen offered him sponsorship and protection. Through the king's influence Hugh became abbot of two English Benedictine abbeys: first St. Benet of Holme and then St. Peter of Chertsey.[12]

[10]Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed.and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, (Oxford, 1978), VI, Book 13, Section 24, pp. 463-465.

[11]Lucien Merlet, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Tiron*, 2 vols. (Chartres, 1883).

[12]David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (New York, 1972), describe the abbeys of Chertsey (p. 62) and St. Benet of Holme (p. 75).

Hugh's first documented appearance is c.1141-1146 as the abbot of St. Benet of Holme in Norfolk.[13] This important Benedictine monastery, fortified so that it was more castle than cloister, was near Ludham in northeast England in the marshes between Norwich and Great Yarmouth, about 40 miles from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, a noted pilgrimage site. The Fen country was particularly torn by the civil war raging in England. Hugh obtained the appointment by sheer royal favor. In 1140 Abbot Anselm died and was succeeded by Abbot Daniel, a wise but illiterate layman, a glazier, formerly married, with a son. Between 1141 and 1146, at Stephen's order, Daniel was deposed and Hugh installed in his place.[14] Since Stephen esteemed Daniel highly,[15] he probably appointed Hugh from nepotism, to institute the continental reforms within the monastery, and to strengthen his royal authority in the region.

Hugh was a vigorous and successful abbot, who manfully defended the rights and privileges of his abbey to the utmost. A grant of land he made to William of Hastings near Fyebridge, Norwich, was witnessed by his prior William, his subprior Wilfric, his sacristan Ralph, his cellarer Laurence, and his chamberlain Algar.[16] His charters show that he had another married chamberlain named Serlo,[17] obligations of knight service,[18] and holdings that included marshes and sheep.[19] He made several grants of land to Nicholas the clerk.[20] The abbey founded a cell in Panxworth during his tenure.[21] Among other gifts, Stephen granted

[13]*The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940-1216*, ed. David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, and Vera C.M. London (Cambridge, 1972, 2001), pp. 38 and 68.

[14]Records of St. Benet of Holme are contained in *William Worcestre Itineraries*, ed. John H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), pp. 209-235. After Hugh left, Abbot Daniel was restored c.1150-1153, *Ibid.* pp. 232: "*Hugo nepos Stephani Regis miles Regis nobilis qui factus monachus loco Danielis per Regem viriliter defendit jura Sancti Benedicti.*" 1153. *Daniel fuit vitrarius et laicus sed sapiens Rex Stephanus si sciuisset cantare missam faceret ipsum archiepiscopum Cantuarie habuit uxorem et filium nomine Henricum socius Sancti Thome martiris et dictus Henricus Danielis et post abbas istius loci et postea per Regem factus abbas Ramesey.*"

[15]William of Worcester says above that if Abbot Daniel had known enough Latin to sing Mass, King Stephen would have made him archbishop of Canterbury.

[16]*Norfolk Record Society*, II, p. 80, No. 141.

[17]*Norfolk Record Society*, II, pp. 85-86, Nos. 151, 152.

[18]*Norfolk Record Society*, II, p. 81, No. 143; p. 85, No. 151.

[19]*Norfolk Record Society,* II, p. 84, No. 148, 149; p. 87, No. 155; and pp. 170-171 list of alienations.

[20]*Norfolk Record Society,* II, pp. 52-3, No. 89; pp. 84-5, Nos. 148 and 149.

[21]*Norfolk Record Society*, II, p. 88, No. 156.

the abbey, and Hugh, the two-hundred courts of Flegg and the hundred-court of Happing 1147-1149,[22] an important gift granting authority in coastal regions which was confirmed by the archbishop of Canterbury.[23] Nonetheless, Stephen's right to give these courts was vigorously disputed by the previous owner, and Henry II could not give warranty for the abbey's rightful possession of them in 1155-1158.[24] The abbey's rights and privileges included the collection of income and rents from manors, farms, and other properties, and other legal prerogatives, so that, as a strong abbot endeavoring to run two courts, Hugh may have posed a challenge to the secular authorities. The country went in fear of him, and he had enemies, both within the abbey among the pro-Daniel faction, and without. In 1147-1149 Hugh obtained a general confirmation by Pope Eugenius III of the abbey's possessions and liberties, containing a provision that he and his successors should not be deprived of their abbey by violence, but that abbots should be duly elected.[25]

In 1148 Hugh was an unsuccessful candidate for Bishop of Lincoln. He was one of three kinsmen[26] of Stephen and Bishop Henry to be nominated for the position, at a time when both king and bishop were in papal disfavor. The pope had summoned Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops and abbots of England to the Council of Reims, scheduled for March 1148. Seeking to restrict contacts between the English church and Rome, Stephen had expelled the papal legates bearing the summonses and had allowed only three bishops to attend. The council had suspended the English bishops who ignored the summonses until Theobald was willing to absolve them. Bishop Henry had been suspended by name and had been required to seek release from

[22]*Norfolk Record Society*, II, pp. 28-29, Nos. 52-53

[23]*Norfolk Record Society*, II, pp. 46-47, No. 78.

[24]*Norfolk Record Society*, II, p. 19, No. 29, and pp. 185-186.

[25]*Norfolk Record Society*, II, pp. 36-38, No. 68.

[26]Z. N. Brooke *et al.*, eds., *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 109, Letter 75: "*Quod enim domno Wintoniensi super hac re magis placuerit hoc domno papa per omnia displicebat, Fiscamensem, Hulmensem, de Westmustier illum depulsat domnus papa, iam nunc multa cum indignatione et seueritate reprobauit.*" John T. Appleby, *The Troubled Reign of King Stephen* (London, 1969), notes on pp. 179-180 that the candidates were Henry of Sulli, abbot of Fécamp, son of Stephen and Henry's elder brother William, Thibaut's natural son Hugh (abbot of St. Benet of Holme), and Gervase, abbot of Westminster, a natural son of Stephen. The Lincoln chapter elected Robert of Chesney, archdeacon of Leicester. R.H.C. Davis, *King Stephen 1135-1154* (London and New York, 1990), p. 172, places these three candidates on a genealogical table.

the pope.[27] During this tense period, the see of Lincoln became vacant, and, according to Gilbert Foliot, the pope indignantly rejected the royal kinsmen. In December 1148 Robert of Chesney was elected and consecrated bishop of Lincoln.

In 1149 Hugh's enemies were emboldened to strike. Hugh was outside the safe walls of his abbey visiting his neighboring manor of Filby. The Domesday extent of the land was 1 ploughland and 20 acres; 3 freemen with 42 acres, so Filby was not a large holding at that time, but it may have been becoming a large manor.[28] A sheriff, Wymer Caperon, who hated Hugh, arranged to have a woman slipped into the bed of the sleeping abbot and accused him of breaking his vow of chastity. In the subsequent uproar Hugh was castrated. The Anglo-Norman kings had introduced blinding and castration to England as a more merciful alternative to the death penalty for capital crimes like treason, but the sheriff and his men seem to have acted in the heat of the moment to shame Hugh and drive him from his abbey. They were successful: in the ensuing scandal Hugh relinquished his abbey and returned to his uncle's protection. Daniel was restored to the abbacy and ruled until his death in 1153.

In 1150 Hugh became the abbot of St. Peter of Chertsey, another important and prosperous abbey on the Thames southwest of London bordering to the west on Windsor Forest, about 10 miles downriver from Windsor Castle.[29] Abbot William of St. Helen, a monk of Abingdon, appointed by Stephen, was removed by the pope at the request of Bishop Henry.[30] Hugh was within his uncle's bishopric and immediately obtained protection from the pope and the archbishop of Canterbury. Eugenius III's confirmation bull addressed to him as abbot of Chertsey is dated February 16, 1150.[31]

[27]Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956), pp. 25-27, 106.

[28]Norfolk Record Society, II, p. 206.

[29]"Hugh II:? 1149-by 1163."The next abbot of Chertsey was Aymer, in office by 1166. *Chertsey Cartularies, Chertsey Abbey Cartularies*, 2 vols.[Surrey Record Society], (Frome and London, 1958), II, part 1, p. x.

[30]*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson [Rolls Series, II, 2] (London, 1958), pp. 291-292; *Norfolk Record Society*, II, p. 195.

[31]Abbot Hugh obtained two papal bulls confirming his abbacies. [See above Note 25]. The one for St. Benet of Holme in 1147 is published in Norfolk Record Society, II, pp. 36-38, No. 68. The papal confirmation for Chertsey issued by Eugenius III, Lateran Palace, February 16, 1150, from Chertsey Cartulary s. XIII, British Museum, Cotton MS Vitellius A XIII fol. 29, mentioned in *Chertsey Abbey Cartularies,* II-I, p. xvi as an unpublished

The cartulary of Chertsey contains three charters of King Stephen addressed to Hugh as abbot and "my nephew"; of these two fall between the consecration of Hilary, bishop of Chichester, in 1148 and the death of Gilbert de Clare in 1151, while the third falls between 1148 and the death of Richard, bishop of London, in 1162[32] Hugh appears as a donor to the priory of Ankerwick, a nunnery founded before 1160 by Gilbert de Montfichet, lord of Wyrardisbury, and his son Richard.[33]

Thus, with sponsorship from his powerful uncles, the monk Hugh became an abbot of two wealthy religious houses, thereby acquiring a title and an income. As their nephew Hugh had personal contacts with Stephen in London and Windsor and with Bishop Henry in Winchester. During this period he experienced the upheaval of the civil war between Stephen and Empress Mathilda and the early energetic efforts of Henry II, Mathilda's son, to restore order to the realm and consolidate his French domains.

Hugh's tenure of Chertsey was characterized by the demise or departure of his older relatives. In 1152 his father Thibaut II died at the abbey of Lagny in France outside Paris, and Thibaut's three oldest sons inherited Champagne, Blois, and Sancerre. In 1154 Stephen died, and Henry II and Eleanor became king and queen of England. The son of Stephen's rival, Henry II had no reason to be sympathetic toward Stephen's relations. Bishop Henry incurred Henry II's wrath by depart-

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Chertsey Cartulary, is published in Walter Holtzmann, *Pabsturkunden in England* [Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologische-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge, Band XXV (New Series, Volume 25)], 1. Band: *Bibliotheken und Archive in London,* 1. Abteilung: *Berichte un Handschriften Beschreibungen,* ed. Walter Holtzmann (Berlin, 1930; reprinted Göttingen, 1970), pp. 284-286, No. 46.

[32]*Chertsey Abbey Cartularies,* II-I, p. xvi: fol. 55v Stephen (4 manors) to Hugh abbot "my nephew"; fol. 57 same (general) to same; fol. 57v same (toll and passage) to same.

[33]William Dugdale *et alii, Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols. (London, 1817-1830), IV (London, 1823), p. 229, writes of Ankerwyke Nunnery in Buckinghamshire; "This small nunnery was situated upon the banks of the Thames, in the parish of Wyrardesbury, not far from Stanes." Confirmation of Mary Magdalene of Ankerwyk: "*De dono Hugonis abbatis de Certesey dimidiam hidam terrae et quinque acras terrae cum pertinentiis en Pernerbs*." No. 2, *Carta Regis Henrici tertii, donationes quamplurimas recitans et confirmans* [Cartae 41 Hen. III. M. 3.], *Ibid*, pp. 230-231. Dugdale notes that Thomas Tanner (author of *Notitia monastica, or a short history of the religious houses in England and Wales* [Oxford, 1695, 2nd edition enlarged, ed. by J. Tanner, 1744]) places this charter as having been issued during the reign of Henry II. Therefore the Abbot Hugh is Stephen's nephew, not the first abbot by that name.

ing secretly for France with his treasure in 1155. Hugh's half-brothers and half-sister allied themselves by marriage with the king of France during this period.[34]

Still nominally abbot of Chertsey, Hugh probably fled to France at the same time as Bishop Henry in 1155. According to Robert of Torigni, he obtained the protection of Count Henry and Count Thibaut V of Blois, whom Robert describes as his kinsmen. In 1156, Count Henry endowed Notre Dame d'Arable and Hugh personally "abbot of Chertsey, my brother" with 60 arpents of arable land, 60 arpents of woods, half his field, his vineyard, and a eight leagues of still water below the mill.[35] Thus Hugh reestablished himself in France as a religious of Tiron in contact with the court of Champagne by 1156.

By 1157 the abbey of St. Peter of Lagny was becoming a problem for Count Henry. Lagny, founded in the seventh century and endowed by the counts of Champagne, was important for several reasons. It was within the jurisdiction of the counts of Champagne but on the western border of the diocese of Sens near Paris and therefore close to the French court. Count Henry's father Thibaut had been cared for there during his last illness and was buried beside the altar.[36] It had a miraculous fountain that attracted pilgrims. It was the site of some splendid tournaments, particularly one given in 1179 at the time of the coronation of Philip-Augustus.[37] It was one of the great fair towns, together with Troyes, Provins, and Bar-sur-Aube, with fairs supported and pro-

[34]Louis VII, who had grown fond of the future Count Henry of Champagne during the Second Crusade of 1147, betrothed his daughter Marie, age eight, to him and his daughter Alix to Count Thibaut V of Blois in 1153. Thibaut was appointed royal seneschal in 1154. Louis VII married their sister Adèle in 1160. In 1164 Marie and Alix were married to Henry and Thibaut, and in 1165 Adèle gave birth to the future Philip Augustus. Theodore Evergates, "Louis VII and the Counts of Champagne," Chapter 11, in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 113-114.

[35]Merlet, *Cartulaire*, II, p. 83, No. 310.

[36]Shortly after Count Henry I's accession in 1152 (before April 19), he, his mother, and his brothers Thibaut V, Stephen, and William met at Provins castle in the company of many abbots. Count Henry reduced his right to corody from Lagny and remitted 20 of the 108 *modii* of wine rent which the abbot's tenants owed him to establish an anniversary Mass for his father. Count Henry said that he was compensating the abbey of Lagny for the expenses it incurred by their father's frequent visits there, as well as for Thibaut's burial. See Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica libri vi* (Paris, 1681), pp. 584-585, No. 156, from the Cartulary of Lagny, and Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs*, III, p. 326, No. 4.

[37]Sidney Painter, *William Marshal, Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England* (Baltimore, 1967), pp. 32-33 and 44-46.

tected by the counts of Champagne and Brie.[38] The Lagny fair was on New Year's Morrow. The abbey was heavily involved in it,[39] and the fair revenues were important to the count.[40] A fire burned the town of Lagny in 1157.[41] Abbot Geoffrey and Count Henry disagreed at length about the count's wish to have the abbot build him a defensive tower at Lagny. The count extracted a promise from the abbot,[42] but a charter of reconciliation issued in 1159 conveys the count's anger about the abbot's refusal to honor it.[43] Between March 27 and April 15, 1160, Count Henry gave Lagny 20 sous annually to keep a lamp burning over his father's tomb.[44] Abbot Geoffrey was deposed in 1162, and succeeded by Abbot Hugh I, who was promptly murdered.[45] Robert of Torigni describes how Abbot Hugh I was riding in the forest when he was challenged by a stranger. When the abbot threatened the stranger with decapitation or destruction, the stranger shot an arrow through the abbot's eye and brain. Count Henry could see many benefits in having a close relative in that important position and, with his strong support, his half-brother Hugh became Abbot Hugh II of Lagny in 1163.[46] Hugh's installation was the occasion for a family reunion.

[38]Evergates, *Feudal Society*, pp. 28-36.

[39]Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs*, III, p. 329, No. 23. Count Henry, who had forbidden merchants and money changers to stay longer than ten days at the Lagny fair, lifted this ban at the request of the abbot and monks of Lagny in c. 1154.

[40]Robert-Henri Bautier, *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe*, trans. Heather Karolyi (London, 1971), pp. 110-111.

[41]"Annales de Lagny," ed. E. Berger, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres*, 38 (1877), p. 481: "*MCLVII. Combustion Latiniac[ensis].*"

[42]*Gallia Christiana*, ed. Denis de Saint-Marthe *et alii*, 16 vols. (Paris, 1716-1865), VII (Paris, 1744), p. 497.

[43]Edmund Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (1717, reprinted New York, 1968), p. 447, from the charters of Lagny.

[44]Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs*, III, p. 340, No. 80.

[45]"Annales de Lagny," p. 481: "*MCLXII. Hic depositus est abbas Godefridus, cui successit Hugo. MCLXIII. Obiit Hugo abbas, cui successit Hugo, frater comitis Henrici. MCLXV. Natus est Philippus rex, filius Ludovici regis. MCLXXI. Hic dep[ositus est] Hugo, comitis frater, cui successit Garinus.*"

[46]Richard Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, [Rolls Series, 82], IV: Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Michael-in-Peril-of-the-Sea. (London, 1889), pp. 218-219. "*Similiter, anno praeterito, cum abbas Latiniacensis equitans invenisset quendam, qui ei forisfecerat, et minaretur ut eum caperet et destrueret, ille emissa sagitta percussit abbatem in oculo usque in cerebrum, et occidit. Cui successit Hugo, naturalis filius comitis Theobaldi senioris. Iste fuit prius monachus Tironis, et tempore Stephani regis patrui sui, per aliquantum temporis fuit abbas Hommensis in Anglia, qua abbatia relicta, fuit abbas Certesiensis. Iterum illa relicta, venit in Franciam ad nepotes suos Henricum et Theobaldum, et sic, ut diximus, factus est abbas Latiniacensis.*"

Count Henry I, in the presence of his brothers Count Thibaut V of Blois (and royal seneschal) and William (canon of Soissans, Provins, and Troyes), gave to his brother Hugh, abbot of Lagny, a marshland at Lesches with the right of justice over it.[47] Clearly he was on good terms with his illustrious half-brothers.

The description of Hugh's career at Lagny in *Gallia Christiana*, based on the Annals of Lagny, states that he served the abbey in the best manner. He obtained many assets for Lagny from his brother Henry, count of Champagne, and added gifts of his own for annual prayers for himself after his death. He paid the annual ounce of gold Lagny owed to the papacy and honored its other obligations to the bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina. His purchase of grain from Wido and Adam of Pisaria, from whom Abbot Geoffrey had obtained a tract of land,[48] was considered noteworthy.[49] In 1171 he was deposed and succeeded by Garinus. Hugh died that same year and was buried at Lagny with his father.[50]

[47]Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs*, III, p. 346, No. 113. Theodore Evergates's notes taken from B.N. de Paris, Lat. 9902 (Cartulary of Lagny), fol. 25.

[48]*Gallia Christiana*, VII, p. 498: "*& acquisivisse legitur a Widone de Pisaria & Adam ipsius fratre totam eorum terram de Plastreia.*"

[49]*Gallia Christiana*, VII, pp. 497-498: "XV. *Hugo II. Theobaldi Senioris, seu Magni, Campaniae comitis filius nothus, primum Tironii monachus, teste Roberto de Monte, dein tempore Stephani regis patrui sui, per aliquantum temporis fuit abbas Homensis in Anglia, qua abbatia relicta, fuit abbas Cercesiensis, qui iterum illa relicta, venit in Franciam ad nepotes, imo fratres suos Henricum & Theobaldum, & sic, factus est abbas Latiniacensis. post Hugonem primum anno 1163. secundum Latiniacense chronicon. Is multa contulit ad conventus emolumentum, pleraque ex fratris Henrici comitis Trecensis munificentia, quibus & alia ipsemet adjecit dona, ut annuas sibi preces post obitum procuraret, quod anathemate & sigillo capituli firmatum est. Scripsit ad eum Alexander papa III. Senonis v. idus Octobris de uncia auri, quam singulis annis Lateranensi palatio Romae Latiniacensis ecclesia debet, & iterum eadem de re Portuensis episcopus B. quas iisdem solvisse perhibetur, & quidem anno 1164. papae, Berengario vero Portuensi episcopo anno incerto. Emit Hugo Latiniaci abbas frater Henrici comitis a duobus militibus Adam & Widone de Pisaria quinque modios annonae, partim ex frumento, partim ex avena; qui demum de suis optime meritus vivere desiit anno 1171.*"

[50]Marcel Pouzol, *L'Eglise N-Dame des Ardents et St. Pierre de Lagny* (Lagny, 1953), p. 13; B.H., "L'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Pierre de Lagny," in *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, 1 (1876), 136-141, 193-196, 246-250, 385-388, 475-479, and 2 (1877), 58-63, 134-135, states on 247 that Count Thibaut's raised a porphyry tomb with four marble pilasters adored with flames of silver that is now in the sanctuary of the new choir on the Gospel side [left facing the altar]. In a personal communication dated June 8, 2006, Lucien Philbert, deacon of the parish, states that the tombs no longer exist: "Les tombeaux n'existent plus. Pour les descriptions de ces tombeaux et pour une étude épigraphique des

Hugh's career sheds light on the way an illustrious family incorporated a natural child into its kinship network. Hugh enjoyed the patronage of his father, uncles, and half brothers, who supported his monastic vocation and obtained important positions for him in England and France. He also suffered personally when Stephen's position was weakened. As a monk of Tiron, he was trained to impose a stricter interpretation of the Rule of Saint Benedict on his abbeys, and he furthered Stephen's support of reformed monasticism. He was a strong abbot and a capable administrator who promoted the interests of the houses of Blois and Champagne with loyalty and reliability.

This article on Hugh cannot be concluded without noting a striking literary parallel. The discovery of Hugh resulted from a search for the identity of the poet Chrétien de Troyes, who created the Arthurian romance as a literary genre.[51] Chrétien's identity is a matter of speculation, as is the manner in which he acquired detailed factual knowledge of Norfolk and Southern England, particularly Windsor Castle. Count Henry's court supported many writers, but Chretien's works are a special case. They are long, well-structured romances in verse, carefully re-crafted, which required years to write and prepare for public reading. Their length and literary background suggest that Chrétien was an aristocrat with an ecclesiastical benefice or a position at court from which he derived an independent income, together with oppor-

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pierres tombales, voir la Bibliothèque Nationale aux références suivantes: MS 6356 Collection de Champagne 18, Folio 28, et description par Dubuisson Aubenoy folios 182 et 185 et Bibl. Nat. lat. 13818 EXCENPTA EX Chartularus necrologis folio 78."

[51]Constance Bullock-Davies, "Chrétien de Troyes and England," in *Arthurian Literature*, I, ed. Richard Barber (Woodbridge, Sullfolk, 1981), pp. 1-61. Chrétien de Troyes had visited the fountain of Barenton in the forest of Paimpont, Brittany, and had seen Windsor Castle under construction (1168-1174). During the period between *Erec* and *Cligès*, 1169-1174, he was strongly influenced by the works of Ovid and the Tristan legend, which suggests attendance at a court where such works were in vogue. He claimed to have obtained the source of *William of England* at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, Norfolk, and of *Cligès* at the cathedral church of Beauvais, and he entrusted his uncompleted romance of *Lancelot* to a clerk named Geoffrey of Lagny, from that Champagne fair town east of Paris. See D. J. Shirt, "Godefroi de Lagny et la Composition de la 'Charrete'," *Romania* 96 (1975), 27-52. The force of circumstances, probably Count Henry's decision to leave for the Holy Land in 1179, obliged the poet to find a writer to finish the *Lancelot*, dedicated to Countess Marie, while he began *Perceval* for a new patron, Philip, count of Flanders. *Perceval* shows that Chrétien knew such details of the youth of Count Henry's nephew Philip Augustus, king of France, as an incident before his coronation in 1179 when the prince was lost in the forest and led back to court by a charcoal-seller.

tunities to travel to Brittany and England and the leisure to write and polish his works. Despite conjecture that Chrétien was a minstrel who picked up his literary references from educated courtiers and his information about England at the great fair at Troyes, the members of the house of Blois-Champagne seemed a more likely source of transmission of literary material and the matter of Britain.

A landing at a port below Southampton and the road from there to Winchester are mentioned in Chrétien's *Cligès*, and Glastonbury was a center of Arthurian legends. Hugh's residences in Norfolk and in Chertsey near Windsor were a close match for the places mentioned in Chrétien's early romances: *William of England* and *Cligès*. Chrétien might well have acquired information about England through contact with these prelates. In the wars that raged following Stephen's succession, he sustained injuries similar to those of the maimed Fisher King in *Perceval*[52] whose impotence has turned his realm into a Waste Land. With regard to the identity of Chrétien de Troyes and the transmission of the matter of Britain, the coincidences in places associated with the bishop and abbot suggest that religious communities may have been as deeply interested in Arthurian literature as the aristocratic courts. A century after Hugh's death, c. 1260-1280, Chertsey Abbey was decorated with tiles illustrating the romance of Tristan and Isolde,[53] a story reworked by Chrétien in a lost work and in his great romances *Cligès* and *Lancelot*. In view of the connections between Count Henry and Hugh, the decision to illustrate this unmonastic topic may reflect sustained interest at Chertsey in the Arthurian legends encouraged by an earlier abbot.

As a cleric with close ties to the court of Champagne, Chrétien might have accompanied or visited Count Henry's uncle or half-brother. Such travel would have brought him to Lagny, to the Southampton Water and Winchester, to Windsor, and possibly to the great shrine at Bury St. Edmunds in the Fen country. Such contacts

[52]Chrétien describes the rich and hospitable Fisher King as "a handsome nobleman with grayed hair," "wise and courteous," "but in a battle he was lamed,/ so badly wounded, he was maimed. /He cannot move and must have aid./ Hurt by a wound a javelin made/ between his thighs, the king is still/ in such pain, it's impossible/ for him to ride, but when he wishes/ to spend some pleasant hours, he fishes." Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval or the Story of the Grail*, trans. Ruth Harwood Cline (Athens, Georgia, 1985), 3086-87, 3498, 3509-3516.

[53]Roger Sherman Loomis, *Illustrations of Medieval Romance on Tiles from Chertsey* (Urbana, Illinois, 1916).

would account for the place names in his romances as well as the possibility that his description of the Fisher King was modeled after Hugh in old age. The poet's identity remains a matter of conjecture, but scholars who find royal prototypes in Chrétien's *Perceval* , such as the hero's resemblance to the young Philip Augustus, will find support by the similarities between Philip Augustus's half-uncle Hugh and the rich, maimed Fisher King.

THE HUMAN BODY AS A UNIVERSE: UNDERSTANDING HEAVEN BY VISUALIZATION AND SENSIBILITY IN JESUIT CARTOGRAPHY IN CHINA

BY

HUI-HUNG CHEN*

This paper discusses the religious meaning of Jesuit world maps that were produced in China by their missionaries from the late sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries. These world maps serve as a visual proof to emphasize the greatness of the world and the minuscule nature of man, and by means of these maps man "can see" the truth of God because of the visual ability granted via God's omnipotence. Jesuit cartography is not only a visual image of geographical configuration. It paved the way for the comprehension of the Creator's significance. It was an embodiment of the Renaissance tradition of cartography as the graphical representation of the universe, which included the idea of understanding nature through mathematical science as well as of understanding Heaven by visualization and sensibility. In this Renaissance tradition, geography was associated with cosmology that was based upon Christian theology, and Aristotle's sensibility toward the comprehension of the universe formed the core of Catholic epistemology and natural philosophy. The religious implications of Jesuit cartography in China explain how the Jesuits could have used it strategically in their evangelization.

*Dr. Chen is an assistant professor of history in National Taiwan University, Taiwan. The final version of this paper was revised according to the constructive comments of two anonymous reviewers. She wishes to express her deep gratitude to them, and especially for the detailed line-by-line comments and rewording provided by one of them. This article is a revised version of an earlier paper with the same title presented at the Second International Junior Scholars' Conference on Sinology, National Tsing Hua University, Hsinchu, Taiwan, in November 2004. The author is grateful to the commentator and the professors from the university for their insights and suggestions. The conference paper had been revised from her dissertation, "Encounters in Peoples, Religions, and Sciences: Jesuit Visual Culture in Seventeenth Century China" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 2004). She would like to express gratitude to her adviser, Professor Jeffrey Muller, for his advice on the original research, and to Professor Pingyi Chu, an associate fellow of the Institute of History and Philology at the Academia Sinica, Taiwan, and the adviser of Dr. Chen's postdoctoral project, as the revision was carried out while she was a postdoctoral fellow at the Academia Sinica.

This work and the publication are supported in part by National Taiwan University of Taiwan under Grant No. 95R0033-4, and National Science Council (NSC) of Taiwan Grant No. NSC 95-2411-H-002-023.

In his preface to the world map *Wanguo quantu* 萬國全圖 (*Universal Map of Countries*), which was made in China around 1620, the Jesuit missionary Giulio Aleni (1582-1649) states, "The human body is a small universe" (Fig. 1):

> 顧我身之在天地，雖爲甚微而一點，靈才爲 造物主所賦，自能包括天地，而明天地萬物之 真主。所謂人身一小天地也。信爾，以此形軀之至小，則何處可生倨傲之情，以此靈心之至大，則無可自棄自賤之理，果知乎此，則天地在目，豈徒然哉?
>
> Although my body in the universe is so minuscule and only one point, the capacities of the soul were endowed by the Creator, so that I can comprehend the whole Heaven and Earth and come to some understanding of the real master of the universe. It is said: the so-called human body is a small universe. Because we believe in this and understand that the physical body is so small in size, we will not become haughty. Moreover, because our intellectual mind—in contrast to the small physical body—will perceive the supreme greatness, there is no reason to abandon oneself and be self-derogatory. If we understand all of these things, the Heaven and Earth seen by the eyes are not illusory.[1]

In Aleni's eyes, the whole human body bears the full meaning of the universe. On the one hand, the world map serves as a visual proof to emphasize the greatness of the world and the minuscule nature of the human; on the other hand, because of the ability to visualize—one of the talents granted to us by an all-powerful God, humans "can see" through, and by means of a world map to perceive the truth of God. With God's grace, one understands the value of man, and therefore we should not undervalue ourselves. It thus appears that Jesuit cartography is not only "a visual image of a geographical configuration."[2] It also paved the way for the comprehension of the Creator's significance.

[1]Giulio Aleni, *Wanguo tu xiaoyin* 萬國圖小引 (*Little Preface of the* Wanguo tu). It only appears in an edition of Aleni's *Wanguo quantu* in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), call number Barberini Oriente 151 (1a). A modern facsimile of this map is provided by Howard L. Goodman, "Paper Obelisks: East Asia in the Vatican Vaults," in *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Anthony Grafton (Washington, 1993), p. 259.

[2]This term is appropriated from Donald Lach's term "visual image of Asia's configuration" of European printed maps, see his work *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk. 1 (Chicago, 1965), p. 218.

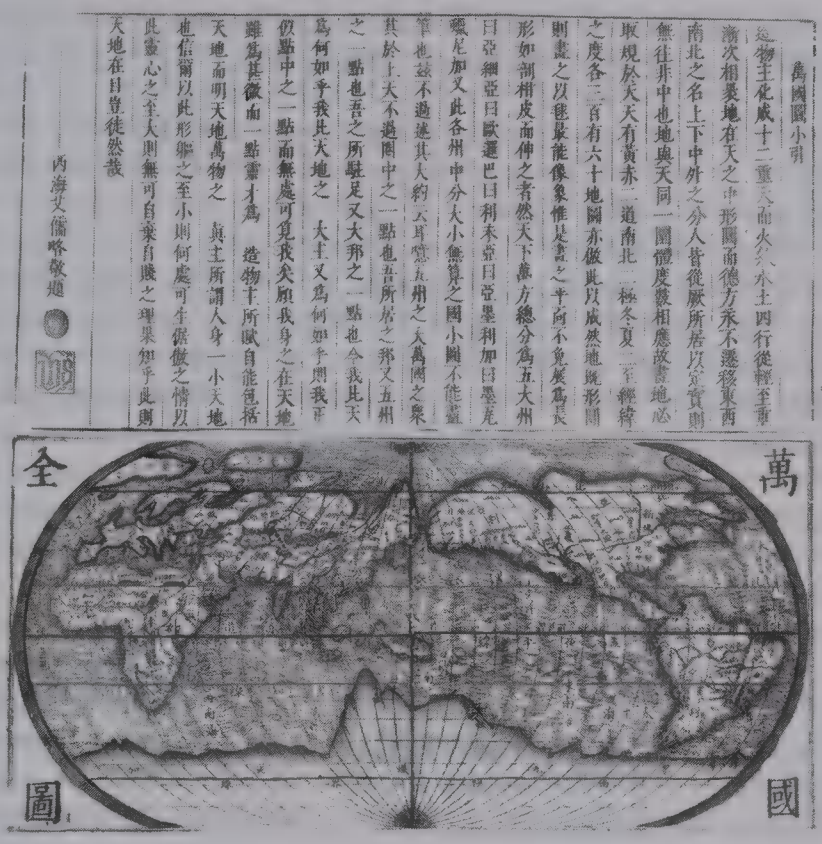

Fig. 1. Giulio Aleni, *Wanguo quantu* 萬國全圖 (*Universal Map of Countries*), c. 1620, woodcut and color on paper, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Barberini Oriente 151 (1a), © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

This paper intends to discuss the religious meaning of Jesuit world maps produced in China by their missionaries from the late Ming to the early Qing periods. Aleni's statement quoted above reveals a method by which the Jesuits interpreted world maps, and a meaning that may have been given to this Jesuit cartography destined for the Chinese people. The "method" and "meaning" are both related to the religious dimension of the Jesuits. Cartography was a very important aspect of the Jesuits' China mission strategy in terms of both visual culture and sciences. How Jesuits used cartography as part of their visual methods of evangelization is a topic that needs to be investigated. The linkage between art and science, something unfamiliar in Chinese culture, was practiced in Early Modern Europe, and thus known to the Jesuits. Perhaps, due to this condition, Jesuit cartography in China was rarely discussed as it pertained to visual culture, and it has been much

more considered among the scientific achievements of the missionaries, and thus valued from scientific perspectives.[3]

Cartography as art and art in cartography are complicated historical questions in western civilization. Recent scholarly studies from the perspectives of both the history of cartography and the history of art have attempted to elaborate on the sophisticated nature of cartography. Their methodological reflections on the relationships between artistic and scientific methods, between form and content, and between aesthetics and function have led to stimulating discussions in several areas of scholarship.[4] Cartography as "a graphic mode of expression" or "a visual image of geographical configuration" should not be excluded from the topic of visual culture.[5] Cartography is regarded as an "art," in the current tendency to treat it as a "genre of pictorial image," to borrow Marcia Kupfer's term.[6] Reading maps is a process of reading images, so the iconographical character of maps becomes the central theme of the interpretation. Particularly interesting is that the Jesuit mapping techniques demonstrated a visual language different, both in form and content, from what was presented in the local traditions. This visual language, as I will argue, cannot be understood without the missionary contexts. Therefore, the religious dimension in the Jesuit cartography is crucial for deciphering that visuality, for a religious meaning is embedded into the iconography of their maps. Thanks to recent scholarship on the question of cartography as art, we are encouraged to investigate the iconography of Jesuit cartography in China, then to look for the religious meaning associated with the iconography. We can understand Aleni's words in the above quotation to be a Jesuit iconographical interpretation of the world map. This paper will discuss the religious meaning of the Jesuit world maps in China by looking into how and by what means the Jesuits presented and interpreted their "graphic mode of expression" or "visual image of

[3]For instance, the recently comprehensive reference to the Jesuits or Christianity in China put the topic "cartography" under the category of "science and technology," separate from the category of "arts, crafts, and language." See Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China,* Volume One, *(635-1800)* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 752, 809.

[4]For a review of these scholarly reflections about cartography, see David Woodward's introduction to the book edited by him, *Art and Cartography—Six Historical Essays* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 1-9.

[5] The term "a graphic mode of expression" comes from Sergio Bosticco, "Cosmology and Cartography," in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 3 (New York, 1960), p. 836; for the term "a visual image of geographical configuration," please see note 2 above.

[6]Marcia Kupfer, "Medieval World Maps: Embedded Images, Interpretive Frames," *Word and Image* 10 (July-September, 1994), 262.

geographical configuration" to the Chinese. The method that the Jesuits used, within the framework of European cartography, is summed up in two categories: visualization and sensibility.

Jesuit World Maps in China

The world map of Matteo Ricci's (1552-1610) is the first European example of its kind presented to the Chinese. Ricci displayed his map to the Chinese for the first time in 1583-84 in Zhaoqing 肇慶, a prefecture of the Province of Guangdong (廣東省), almost immediately after he arrived in Macau in 1582.[7] It is obvious that Ricci had brought this map with him from Europe. In the Jesuit educational system, mathematics and astronomy were among the basic training courses for Jesuit students and were seen as a necessary preparation for theological studies.[8] Maps could be used as visual material embodying the teachings of mathematics and astronomy. Ricci probably brought maps for the Jesuits' own academic uses, that is for the same reason that he imported mathematical devices such as the globe and clocks. It is not surprising to notice that Euclid's geometry, arithmetic, geography and cosmography, perspective, and horology—assigned courses for Jesuit mathematical training—can all be found in their theoretical and material fields for the Jesuit China mission.[9] Jesuit engagement in mathematical and astronomical knowledge should be understood within the larger Jesuit intellectual structure. Given the study of these disciplines as preparation for divine knowledge, their introduction to the Chinese was aimed at persuading non-Christians to study Heavenly doctrines, in Chinese *tianxue* 天學 (literally meaning "Heavenly Studies").

Among the several European books brought into China by the Jesuits in the early years of the mission, Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570) was the only European publication whose title Ricci included in his list of objects presented to the

[7]Pasquale M. d'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane: Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci a la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579-1615). Storia dell' introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina scritta da Matteo Ricci*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1942-1949), I, p. 207.

[8]Nicolas Standaert, "The Classification of Sciences and the Jesuit Mission in Late Ming China," in *Linked Faiths: Essays on Chinese Religions & Traditional Culture in Honour of Kristofer Schipper*, ed. Jan A. M. De Meyer and Peter M. Engelfriet (Leiden, 2000), pp. 287-317.

[9]For these Jesuit mathematical courses, see Giuseppe Cosentino, "Le Matematiche nella «Ratio Studiorum» della Compagnia di Gesù," in *Miscellanea storica ligure*, vol. 2 (Genoa, 1970), pp. 171-213; also refer to Allan P. Farrell, S. J., trans., *The Jesuit* Ratio Studiorum *of 1599* (Washington, D. C., 1970).

Chinese Emperor.[10] However, Pasquale D'Elia, the remarkable scholar on Ricci's œuvre, has argued that the European map Ricci displayed in Zhaoqing could have not been Ortelius' atlas since the latter arrived on the mainland at a later date, and that there are not enough existing sources to be certain which map Ricci showed at the time.[11] The first public appearance of the European-style world map, shown by Ricci in 1583-84, brought about telling reactions from local people, including that of the Prefect of Zhaoqing (肇慶知府) Wang Pan 王泮. Wang urged Ricci to annotate the map in Chinese and to print and distribute it all over China. The first edition of Ricci's world map in Chinese was entitled *Shanhai yudi quantu* 山海輿地全圖 (*Universal Map of Mountain, Sea, and Geography*) or *Yudi shanhai quantu* 輿地山海全圖 (*Universal Map of Geography, Mountain, and Sea*).[12] Afterwards this map was repeatedly revised and reprinted, for example, in Nanchang (c. 1596), Nanjing (1600), and Beijing (1601-1603).[13] The Beijing example of 1602 was supervised by Li Zhizao 李之藻 (c. 1564-1630), and developed a refined format with additional supplementary contents and commentaries. This was the exemplar most often cited, and the final version of Ricci's *mappamundi* was re-entitled *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (*Universal Map of the World and Countries*) (Fig. 2).[14] The 1603 edition from Beijing is also in a larger scale and format even than the one of 1602, and entitled *Liangyi xuanlan tu* 兩儀玄覽圖 (*Universal Map of the Heaven and Earth*). Although this

[10]D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, II, pp. 90, 114, 123; Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628), *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journal of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610*, trans. Louis J. Gallagher (New York, 1953), p. 364.

[11]Pasquale D'Elia, trans. and anno., *Il Mappamondo Cinese del P. Matteo Ricci S.I.* (Vatican City, 1938), p. 169; D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, I, p. 207.

[12]D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, I, pp. 207-209; II, pp. 58-59.

[13]About the history of the printing of Ricci's world maps, the following studies are still seen as of the most comprehensive: Hung Weiliang 洪煨蓮, "Kao Limadou de shijie ditu" 考利瑪竇的世界地圖 (On the World Map of Matteo Ricci), *Yu gong ban yue kan* 禹貢半月刊 (*The Chinese Historical Geography*) 5 (1936), 2-5; Fang Hao 方豪, *Li zhizao yanjiu* 李之藻研究 (*On Li Zhizao*) (Taipei, 1966), pp. 78-79; Cao Wanru 曹婉如 et al., "Zhongguo xiancun limadou shijie ditu de yanjiu" 中國現存利瑪竇世界地圖的研究 (Study of the World Map of Matteo Ricci Extant in China), *Wenwu* 文物 12 (1983), 57-70. At least sixteen copies and editions of Ricci's *mappamundi* dated from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are extant in Europe, China, Taiwan, and Japan.

[14]In addition to D'Elia's *Il Mappamondo*, the earlier reprint and annotation of the 1602 version at the BAV, the latest full modern facsimile of this edition, with a complete enlargement of every division of the map, was published from the one housed in the Library of the Miyagi Prefecture 宮城縣圖書館, see Li Madou 利瑪竇 (Matteo Ricci), ed., *Li madou kunyu wanguo quantu* 利瑪竇坤輿萬國全圖 (*Universal Map of the World and Countries of Matteo Ricci*) (Tokyo, 1996).

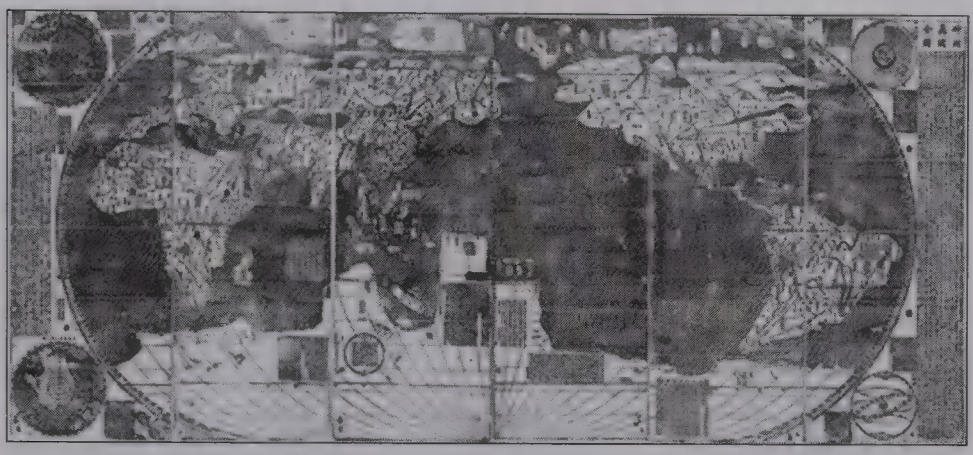

Fig. 2. Matteo Ricci, *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (*Universal Map of the World and Countries*), 1602, woodcut on paper, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Barberini Oriente 150 (1-6), © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

1603 edition was expanded to eight vertical scrolls, compared to the six scrolls of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, in principle it follows the 1602 edition. However, this edition is less well known because of the fewer extant copies and versions based on it. Ricci's map certainly gained much interest and popularity, as many revisions and reprints were made up to 1603 in China, and even later in Japan.[15]

The universal mapping method of Ricci is basically founded on Ptolemy's model, but it seems intentionally to modify China's position with respect to the other continents by placing China in the middle (the fourth scroll from the right side).[16] This can be demonstrated when Ricci's map is compared with a European world map of the same time, for instance, with one from Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, a version of which was sent to the Chinese court (China on the

[15]Although several European maps, such as those by Ortelius and Gerard Mercator, were also brought to Japan via missionaries, Ricci's world map, serving as the standard format in the mandarin style for neighboring Japan, played a significant role in the modern world cartography of this country. One annotation of a Japanese *mappamundi* of the eighteenth century (1775) states that Ricci's map was the harbinger of western cartography introduced to the East that projected a three-dimensional object on a flat surface ("利氏常來[illegible]地圖...實爲泰西地球圖導來之始"). This Japanese map was entitled *Chikyu Bankoku Sankai Yochi Zenzusetsu* 改正地球萬國全圖 (*Revised Earth Map of Countries*), under the authorship of Sekisiu Nagakubo, housed in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, U.S.A. (without a shelf number). The Library has two copies of this, one published in Mito, the other in Osaka.

[16]D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, I, pp. 208-211.

Fig. 3. Abraham Ortelius, World Map, from *Theatrum orbis terrarium*, 1570, color engraving, Leiden University Library, The Netherlands, Atlas 36, © Leiden University Library, Leiden, The Netherlands

far right side) (Fig. 3). Although, in contrast to the Chinese mapping traditions, the size of China was diminished on Ricci's map in order to present an appearance of China relative to the rest of the world, the map's overall modification was a concession to local mapping traditions. And yet, the position of China on the whole scale of the world in terms of both quantity and quality, still produced a culturally shocking visual experience for the Chinese. One anecdote, about a president of Nanjing looking at the world map that Ricci wanted to present to the Chinese Emperor, could be the first written record detailing a direct response to this new visual material from a Chinese scholar, Wang Zhongming 王忠銘, President of the Board of Rites of Nanjing (南京禮部尚書):

> The President took great pleasure in studying this tablet [on which the world map was drawn], wondering that he could see the great expanse of the world depicted on such a small surface, and that it contained the names of so many new kingdoms and a list of their customs. He would examine it over and over again and very attentively, in an effort to memorize this new idea of the world.[17]

[17]Trigault, *China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 301; the relevant but briefer passage in D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, II, p. 13.

According to Ricci's own account, his observations of popular, self-oriented Chinese conventions in mapping the world were based on his studies of Chinese cartography, thus he might have foreseen the possible effect of his European-based map on Chinese traditions.[18] In his famous work on Ricci's map, the Chinese scholar Hung Weiliang, 洪煨蓮, held that Ricci's interest in Chinese geography upon his arrival in China explained why he endeavored to translate European geography into Chinese.[19] One of the most important sources Ricci used for his mapping was *Guang yu tu* 廣輿圖 (*Atlas of Universal Land*), an atlas based on the work of an earlier cartographer, Zhu Siben 朱思本 (1273-1333), expanded and revised in the sixteenth century by Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504-1564) and first printed in 1555. This cartographical work had a wide influence on the Chinese geographical tradition.[20] According to Zhang Zhejia 張哲嘉, the mapping style shown in the maps of the *Guang yu tu* was aimed at accuracy, in contrast to a popular sketchy style seen in several types of maps produced by the local gazetteers of Ming China.[21] If the *Guang yu tu* pursued accuracy in mapping more than other traditional cartographical modes, Ricci's reliance on it could correspond to the missionary's intention to offer a better and more precise mapping skill to the Chinese.

After Ricci's maps (1583-1603), Giulio Aleni's world map *Wanguo quantu* was made around 1620, following Ricci's format and contents. This world map was included in some editions of Aleni's geographical work, *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 (*Descriptions of Foreign Land*), his preface to which is dated 1623. This preface states that another Jesuit, Diego de Pantoja (1571-1618), on the command of the emperor, had translated a different European map, also following Ricci's model, but we have no direct knowledge of this work at the present.[22] Aleni's *Wanguo quantu* is much smaller in size (49 cm × 24 cm) than Ricci's *Kunyu wanguo*

[18]D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, I, pp. 207-210.

[19]Hung, "Kao Limadou," p. 7.

[20]For the *Guang yu tu*'s influence on Ricci's geographical work in Chinese, see Goodman, "Paper Obelisks," p. 257.

[21]Zhang Zhejia 張哲嘉, "Mingdai fangzhi de ditu" 明代方志的地圖 (The Maps in the Local Gazetteers of the Ming Dynasty), in *Jindai zhongguo de shijue biaoshu yu wenhua goutu* 近代中國的[illegible]表述與文化構圖 (*The Visual Representations and Cultural Mappings in Early Modern China*), ed. Huang Kewu 黃克武 (Taipei, 2003), pp. 184-207.

[22]One edition of the *Zhi fang wai ji*, including Aleni's world map, is reproduced in its modern facsimile, see Giulio Aleni, *Zhi fang wai ji* 職方外紀 (*Descriptions of Foreign Lands*), in *Congshu jicheng chubian* [illegible] (*The First Compilation of Various Books*) (Shanghai, 1936). Aleni mentioning Pantoja is on the preface's page 1 of this facsimile.

Fig. 4. Ferdinand Verbiest, *Kunyu quantu* 坤輿全圖 (*Universal Map of the World*), 1674, woodcut and color on paper, Kobe City Museum, Japan, © Kobe City Museum, Kobe, Japan

quantu (each scroll of which is 174 cm × 67 cm, and a total of six scrolls vertically connected); therefore, the former could be easily made to fit into the *Zhifang waiji*.[23] The Jesuit Francesco Sambiasi (1582-1649) composed and annotated another world map, entitled *Kunyu quantu* 坤輿全圖 (*Universal Map of the World*), in Nan-jing in 1633.[24] The most important Jesuit publication of the world map for the China

[23]Here the size of the *Wanguo quantu* is taken from Takato Tokio's catalogue for the edition housed in BAV, call number Barberini Oriente 151 (1a) and (1b) (two copies), see P. Pelliot, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits et imprimés chinois de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, ed. Takata Tokio 高田時雄 (Kyoto, 1995). The one with the number 151 (1a) has a single image alone, above a preface written by Aleni and the colored *Wanguo quantu* below. That of 151 (1b) is also a single yet uncolored sheet with the *Wanguo quantu* above and the *Beiyu ditu* 北輿地圖 (*Northern Polar Hemisphere Map*) and *Nanyu ditu* 南輿地圖 (*Southern Polar Hemisphere Map*) below. This one is identified as the same as the other extant copies of this work housed in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, and in the Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma, Rome (call number 72C494 1&2). For the one in Ambrosiana, the following catalogue wrongly attributed it to Ricci: Paolo Revelli, *I Codici Ambrosiani di contenuto geografico*, vol. 1 of *Fontes Ambrosiani* (Milano, 1929), p. 188. The information in this catalogue offers the similar measurement (49.4 cm × 24.3 cm) as that of BAV's. The old attribution could be seen as a result of the prominence of Ricci's role in translating the European cartographical mode into Chinese for the traditional European scholarship. As for Ricci's map, the measuring information also comes from Takata's catalogue for the edition in BAV, call number Barberini Oriente 150 (1-6). This one serves as the subject of D'Elia's *Il Mappamondo*.

[24] There are six copies of the *Kunyu quantu* known at present. See the most recent research of Paolo de Troia and Ann Heirman, "The World-Map of Father Franceso Sambiasi (1582-1649)" (paper presented at the XVth Biennial Conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies (EACS), University of Heidelberg, Germany, August 25-29, 2004).

mission in the second half of the seventeenth century is the *Kunyu quantu* (1674) of Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688). It bears the same title as Sambiasi's, yet is in a different format (each scroll 179 cm × 54 cm, a total of eight scrolls vertically connected) (Fig. 4). Verbiest's map consists of two hemispheres, and the two outer scrolls individually depict cartouches that contain several kinds of information on geography and meteorology. This projection, which had been devised by the famous cartographer Gerard Mercator (1512-1594) in his *Orbis terrae compendiosa descriptio* (1587), depicts a different mode from the Ptolemiac one, that was illustrated in Ricci's, Aleni's, and Sambiasi's representations of universal cartography. Although Verbiest's *Kunyu quantu* was the first Chinese translation of a Mercator projection, we can see a map made with this mapping method that had hung previously on the wall of the Beijing studio of the Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666), in a depiction of this missionary's office found in *China Illustrata* (1667) of the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) (Fig. 5). The making of Verbiest's *Kunyu quantu* was intended to meet the interest of the Kangxi 康熙 emperor, as Verbiest's introductory dedication implies. There are at least fourteen to fifteen copies and editions of this map dating from the seventeenth century currently extant in Europe, Japan, Taiwan, America, and Australia.[25]

Through the above brief history of the Jesuits' making of the world map in the China mission, we can see why the missionaries introduced such a map from the very beginning and how the ensuing development was part of the important work of some major missionaries. Most maps described here were printed. That the Jesuits made use of the Chinese printing industry to distribute the European mode of the uni-

[25]For the above information about Verbiest's *Kunyu quantu*, see Lin Tongyang 林東陽 "Ferdinand Verbiest's Contribution to Chinese Geography and Cartography," in 南懷仁的世界地圖—坤輿全圖 *Ferdinand Verbiest: Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat*, ed. John W. Witek (Nettetal, 1994), pp. 136-138; and his "Nanhuairen de shijie ditu—kunyu quantu" (Ferdinand Verbiest's World Map—Kunyu quantu), *Donghai daxue lishi xuebao* 東海大學歷史學報 (*Bulletin of the Graduate Institute of History and the Department of History Tunghai University*) 5 (1982), 69-84; Christine Vertente, "Nan Huai-Jen's 南懷仁 Maps of the World," in *Succès et échecs de la rencontre Chine et Occident, du XVIe au XXe siècle* (San Francisco, 1993), pp. 257-263; Monique Cohen and Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine* (Paris, 1992), pp. 126-127. However, there is one copy or edition of Verbiest's *Kunyu quantu* never mentioned by the above three articles, i. e., the one hanging on a side wall of the public entry lobby of BAV, entitled *Mappamonde Terreste* (1674 ed.), in contrast to Johann Adam Schall von Bell's *Planisfero Celeste* (1634 ed.) on the opposite wall. Both works do not have shelf numbers, so they are not entered in any of the library's catalogues.

Fig. 5. *Johann Adam Schall von Bell*, from Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata*, 1667, engraving, Stanford University, U.S.A., RBC DS708. K58 1667F, © Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, U.S.A.

versal cartography is seen in the several editions and copies of Ricci's and Verbiest's maps. Ricci's and other later Jesuits' studies of Chinese geography for making the world map were meant to incorporate the growing knowledge about "China" into the "geography of Jesuit knowledge," to use the phrase of Steven Harris.[26] This Jesuit case in China exemplified the "local" and "distributed" characters of their scientific knowledge, the term "distributed" referring to Jesuit efforts to translate

[26]Steven J. Harris, "Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, S.J., *et al.* (Toronto, 1999), p. 214. The following discussion about the "local" and "distributed" characters of scientific knowledge, the Jesuit geographical network, and the *corporate* or *organized* travels all refer to Harris's theoretical framework, see esp. pp. 214-216. This theory intends to answer why the Society of Jesus published a great amount of works on geography and natural science.

a European-based map into a Chinese printed version, and to introduce new geographical knowledge of China back to Europe.[27] Under this theoretical framework, we can say that the value of Jesuit cartography in China is contextualized within the Jesuit institutional geographical network, in the sense of Jesuit *corporate* or *organized* travels and missions, which played a significant role for the Society. In this broader Jesuit context, the religious meaning of these world maps in China can hardly be dismissed, because they were made in conjunction with the evangelical concerns of the missionaries.

The Reception of Jesuit Cartography by the Chinese

What Jesuit cartography communicated to the Chinese people can be seen in the Chinese perception of European cartography. This perception illustrates the differences between two cartographical traditions. While the Jesuits tried to convey implicit Christian messages by their strategic manipulation of cartography, the Chinese perceived these messages in different ways.

First, Jesuit cartography in China communicated to the Chinese the geographical knowledge of the world, from a European perspective. Along with their geographical works composed in Chinese, such as Aleni's *Zhifang waiji* and Verbiest's *Kunyu tushuo* 坤輿圖說 (*On the Cartography of the World*) (1672), the Jesuit world maps portray countries other than China, all of which are drawn comparatively to scale. By so doing, they place the geographical position of China within the global framework more correctly than did the old Chinese geographical tradition. Ricci's *Kunyu wanguo quantu* and Aleni's *Wanguo quantu* both employ *wanguo* 萬國 (literally, *tens of thousands of countries*) in their titles, and in fact emphasize the comparative scale of the world in contrast to the domination of China, as it had been portrayed formerly in Chinese geography and ideology. For Ricci and the Jesuits, one secular and strategic purpose for using the European geographical knowledge in the missions was to eradicate Chinese fear of the missionaries and of their countries, which were considered by

[27]For the Jesuits' introducing new knowledge of China to Europe and the ensuing new style of maps of Asia in Europe, see Boleslaw Szcześniak, "The Seventeenth Century Maps of China: An Inquiry into the Compilations of European Cartographers," *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956), 116-136; Theodore N. Foss, "A Western Interpretation of China: Jesuit Cartography," in *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773*, ed. Charles E. Ronan and Bonnie B. C. Oh (Chicago, 1988), pp. 209-251; the same author as above, "Cartography," in Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, pp. 752-770.

Chinese authority as inhabited by barbarians in the first instance and as a political and military threat as well. By means of the pictorial format of the European cartographical model, the Jesuits could explain the real geographical distance between Europe and China, thus showing that the potential political and military threat did not exist. Additionally, architectural and other books, showing the beauty of European cities, palaces, and other structures, served as a "geographical explanation" in order to enhance Chinese knowledge of Europe.[28] Ricci himself presented the following prints to the Chinese court in 1601, as recorded in his account: prints of the building of St. Lawrence of the Escurial of Spain, and of the church of St. Mark of Venice, along with the arms of the Signoria.[29] In addition to Ricci's account, a similar request appears in a letter written by the Jesuit Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640) on October 12, 1599, that indicates that "*alguas cousas di architectura e uarias impressa di paços & de g' la muito em Roma* (some architectural objects and various prints of parks and of the [city] wall in Rome)" were needed for the China mission.[30] Like the world maps, the information revealed by these architectural sources attempted to direct the Chinese audience to an improved concept of Europe and European geography.

Therefore, this introduction to a fuller vision of the world through European cartographical models was a completely new experience for the Chinese both in visual format and contents. If we consider Samuel Edgerton's "mental matrix" theory for the present discussion, the reading of Jesuit world maps by the Chinese might have presented a visual challenge to the local people. Edgerton thought that the western and eastern mental matrices for mapping were opposites of each other. The Chinese grid pattern superimposed on the world appears to have been "centripetal—aiming at a central focus," which is different from the western grid, that was "centrifugal—aiming at expansion and domination."[31] As seen from a map of the whole of China made by the Chinese in the seventeenth century, the way towards the center of China is prominent (Fig. 6). Although this kind of the map meant the whole China, it usually and meanwhile meant the whole world in Chinese perception. This idea of centripetal movement from the east-

[28]D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, I, pp. 211, 259.

[29]D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, II, p. 131.

[30]ARSI (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy), JapSin 13-I, fol. 319v.

[31]Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., "From Mental Matrix to *Mappamundi* to Christian Empire: The Heritage of Ptolemy Cartography in the Renaissance," in Woodward, *Art and Cartography*, pp. 10-50, and Woodward's introduction in this book, p. 4.

Fig. 6. *Yuji tu* 禹跡圖 (*Map of the Tracks of Emperor Yu*), woodcut, from Wang Qi 王圻, comp., *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會, *dili* 地理 13 卷 (*juan*), pp. 49-51, from an edition of 1609, Fu-ssu Nien Library, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, A041 033, © Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan

ern perspective is demonstrated especially well in a political geography, which actually dominated the geographical and cartographical traditions of China over centuries (Fig. 7).[32] A popular style of mapping in Chinese local gazetteers also shows a centripetal point of view, i.e., it indicates that the perspective of the maker centers first on the important governmental building of the city or town, such as the city hall, and then looks outward. The central governmental building is enlarged, while the marginal areas appear diminished, even neglected (Fig. 8).[33] Perhaps, the contrast between the eastern and western conceptions for "mapping" countries and peoples on a universal scale is a

[32]John Henderson, "Chinese Cosmographical Thought: The High Intellectual Tradition," in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 2, bk. 2 (Chicago, 1994), pp. 203-213.

[33]Zhang, "Mingdai fangzhi," pp. 190-212.

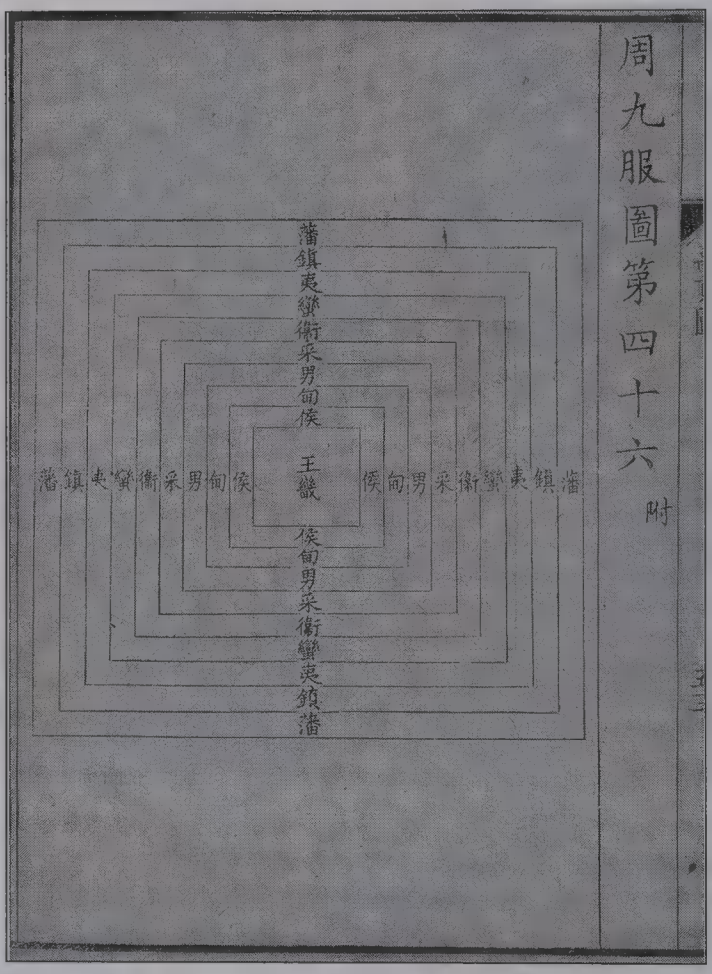

Fig. 7. *Zhou jiufu tu* 周九服圖 (*Diagram of the Nine Domains of the Zhou*), woodcut, from Hu Wei 胡渭, *Yu gong zhuizhi* 禹貢錐指 (written 1694-97), from an edition of 1705, Fu-ssu Nien Library, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, 093.31 313, © Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan

better and more thoughtful way to explain local responses resulting from different visual experiences. The explanation can further our understanding of Chinese curiosity, as shown in the account of Wang Zhongming looking at Ricci's map.

Second, this new geographical knowledge and representative format of world cartography had to direct the Chinese to an inevitable scientific fact: the Earth is a sphere. European cartographical projections were carried out based upon this fact, which was again contrary to the traditional Chinese concept: that the Earth is flat or square. In

Fig. 8. Town plan, woodcut, from *Wanli suian xianzhi* 萬曆遂安縣志 (*Gazetteers of the County of Suian of the Wanli Period*), from an edition of 1612, National Taiwan Library, Taiwan, © National Taiwan Library, Taipei, Taiwan

the conventional ideology held in China over centuries, only the Heaven be could round or spherical.[34] It is legitimate, therefore, to point out the reason for the addition of the sun, moon, and stars to the globes that God holds in the images of the title page and in the last one, the "Coronation of the Virgin Mary," in Aleni's Chinese woodcuts *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* 天主降生出像經解 (*Biblical Explanations and Illustrations of the Heavenly Lord's Incarnation*), a work which illustrates the life of Christ (Figs. 9, 10). It is not exactly correct to say that the sun, moon, and stars depicted on a globe in these images are new elements particularly in Chinese fashion, as their European models do not have these elements, because we find a similar depiction in an engraving of the Flemish printer Maarten de Vos

[34]Chu Pingyi 祝平一, "Kua wenhua zhishi chuanbo de gean yanjiu—mingmo qingchu guanyu diyuan shuo de zhengyi, 1600-1800" 跨文化知識傳播的個案研究—明末清初關於地圓說的爭議, 1600-1800 (The Formation of Factual Knowledge in Trans-cultural Scientific Transactions: The Debate over the Sphericity of the Earth in China, 1600-1800), *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (*Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*) 69 (1998), 589-670.

Fig. 9. Title page, woodcut, from Giulio Aleni's *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* 天主降生出像經解 *(Biblical Explanations and Illustrations of the Heavenly Lord's Incarnation)*, 1637, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Italy, JapSin I-187, © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy

(Fig. 11).[35] For the Chinese of the Ming period, a globe could only indicate a celestial body; by no means could it be used as a visualization of the terrestrial entity. So the sun, moon, and stars on the globes in the hands of Christ in Aleni's woodcuts reinforce their identification as celestial bodies. However, the idea of the three-dimensional projections in European cartographical modes could be realized only after it had been established that the Earth is a sphere. Aleni's *Beiyu ditu*

[35]Paul Rheinbay said that the globe on the title page of the *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* was "depicted according to Asian style," meaning that they were only outlined in Asia. Paul Rheinbay, "Nadal's Religious Iconography Reinterpreted by Aleni for China," in *"Scholar from the West:" Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the Dialogue Between Christianity and China*, ed. Tiziana Lippiello and Roman Malek (Nettetal, Germany, 1997), p. 330.

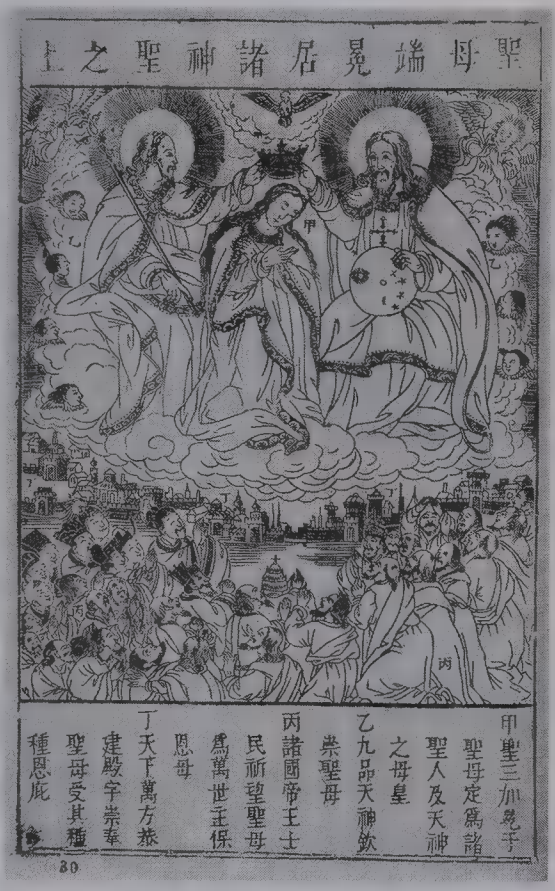

Fig. 10. *Coronation of the Virgin Mary*, woodcut, from Giulio Aleni's *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* 天主降生出像經解 (*Biblical Explanations and Illustrations of the Heavenly Lord's Incarnation*), 1637, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Italy, JapSin I-187, © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy

北輿地圖 (*Northern Polar Hemisphere Map*) and *Nanyu ditu* 南輿地圖 (*Southern Polar Hemisphere Map*), included in one of the editions of his *Wanguo quantu*, and the depictions of the same hemispheres occupying prominent positions in the upper and lower left corners of Ricci's *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, made explicit the Earth's sphericity for the purposes of scientific theory (Fig. 12).

Sambiasi's map contains at least four diagrams for illustrating the theory (Fig. 13).[36] On the top of this cartographical panel, Sambiasi's

[36]The illustration shown here is also found in an earlier Jesuit work, Manuel Diaz, Jr., *Tian wen lüe* 天問略 (*On Astronomy*; 1615) see *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函 (*The First Book Compilation of the "Heavenly Studies"*), 6 vols. (Taipei, 1964), V, p. 2704.

Fig. 11. Maarten de Vos, *Salvator Mundi*, from a series of "Christ Blessing," early seventeenth century, engraving, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Belgium, SI38279, © Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, Belgium

text deals directly with the sphericity of the Earth. The beginning sentence goes to the core of the relevant geography and cosmology: "造物者之初造物也，必定物之本像焉，地之本像，圜體也 (In the beginning when the Creator created things, he necessarily determined the essential appearance of these things. The essential appearance of the Earth is a sphere.")[37] This statement also indicates the principal teaching at the center of Jesuit geography and its metaphysical foundation: the Creator, i.e., God. D'Elia pointed out that the European sources for Ricci's world map would be Alessandro Piccolomini's (1508-78) *Sfera del Mondo* and Christophus Clavio's (1538-1612) work also on the

[37]Although the map has Sambiasi's signature to indicate that he wrote and annotated it, this text had appeared in another Jesuit work, Sabastino de Ursis, *Biao du shuo* 表度說 *(On Gnomon)* (1614), in *Tianxue chuban*, V, pp. 2543-2544.

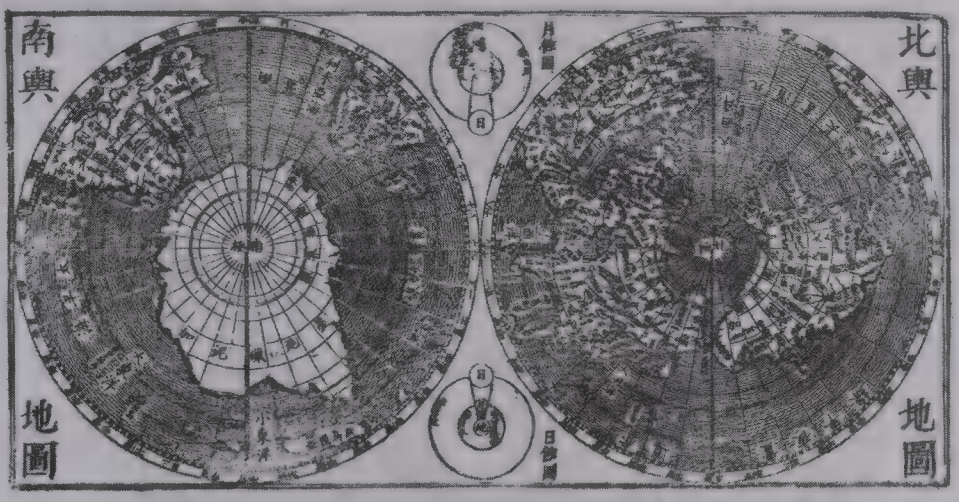

Fig. 12. *Beiyu ditu* 北輿地圖 (*Northern Polar Hemisphere Map*) & *Nanyu ditu* 南輿地圖 (*Southern Polar Hemisphere Map*), from Giulio Aleni, *Wanguo quantu* 萬國全圖 (*Universal Map of Countries*), c. 1620, woodcut on paper, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Barberini Oriente 151 (1b), © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

Earth's sphericity (*Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacrobosco Commentarius*).[38] Ricci's world map and other Jesuit geographical and cartographical works alike resorted to this tradition, and the sphericity of the Earth was the theoretical premise by which to calculate the solar and lunar eclipses, locate the celestial positions of the star, and realize the relationships between the earth and other celestial entities. These astronomical observations were important for mapping the earth; thus the calculation of the relative distances among various places and celestial objects was a three-dimensional geometrical issue rather than merely a two-dimensional problem as it had been conceived in local Chinese traditions.[39] As Aleni's *Wanguo tu xiaoyin* 萬國圖小引 (*Little Preface of the* Wanguo tu) explains lucidly, " 地與天同一圜體，度數相應，故畫地必取規於天 (The Earth and Heaven are both the same, a sphere, and their degrees correspond with each other. So mapping the Earth has to resort to the Heavens)."[40] Regarding the matter of the Earth's sphericity, Jesuit cartography was a cultural product imported as a modern concept for Chinese people. Therefore, Jesuit world maps

[38]D'Elia, *Il Mappamondo*, pp. 170-171.

[39]Foss, "A Western Interpretation of China," p. 210; Chu, "Kua wenhua zhishi," pp. 596-614.

[40]Aleni's *Wanguo tu xiaoyin*.

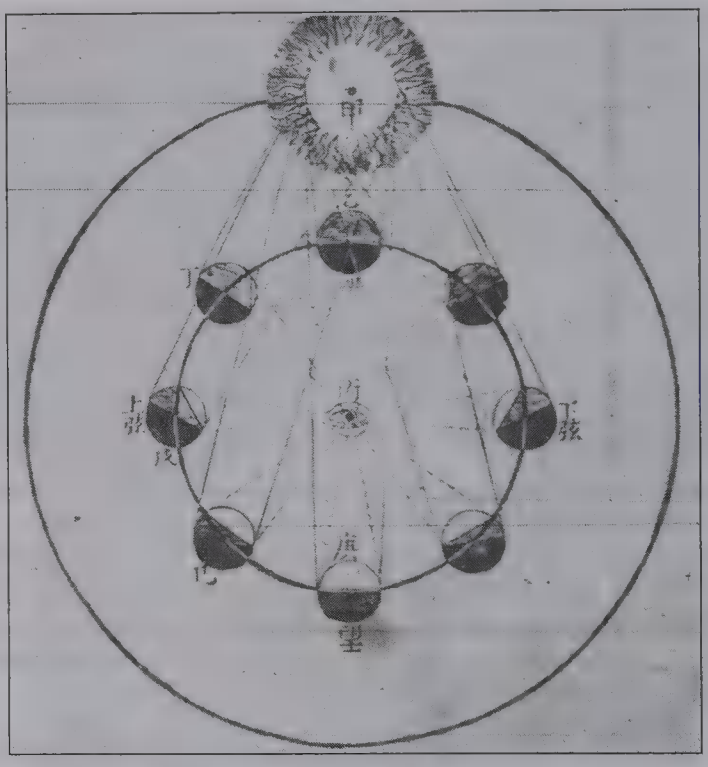

Fig. 13. Diagram, woodcut, from Manuel Diaz, Jr., *Tian wen lüe* 天問略 (*On Astronomy*), 1615, National Central Library, Taiwan, 305.2 06257, © National Central Library, Taipei, Taiwan

were not only "a visual image of geographical configuration." Various astronomical diagrams—such as those of the nine layers of the Heavens at the upper right corner of Ricci's *Kunyu wanguo quantu* (Fig. 14), of the astrolabe at the lower right corner of Ricci's (Fig. 15), as well as of the solar and lunar eclipses on Ricci's and Sambiasi's world maps, and Aleni's *Beiyu ditu* and *Nanyu ditu*—all served as illustrations of the physical studies of the Heavens, which played a crucial role in mapping the earth. In the meanwhile, they paved the way toward the comprehension of the Creator's significance.

The third difference between the two cartographical traditions revealed in the Chinese perception of European cartography concerns "time." Jesuit world maps indicate a new concept, not only of the Earth and of global "space," but also of "time." Different places on the individual lines of longitude and latitude lines observe different times—a notion also foreign to the indigenous Chinese. Thus reading the maps in the European mode entailed a new conception of time. In his preface to the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, Ricci observes:

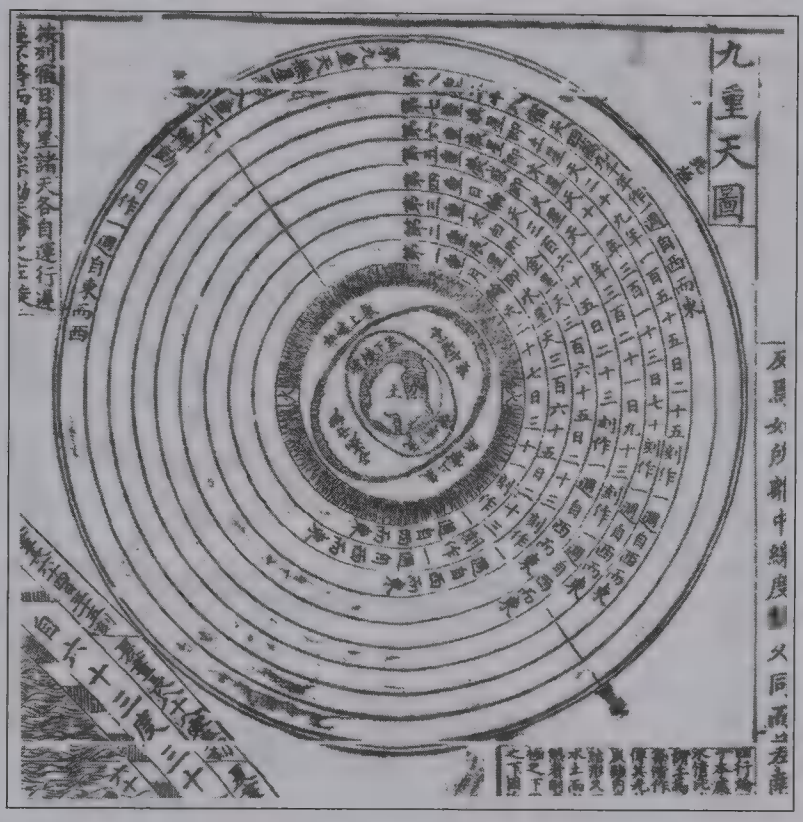

Fig. 14. *Jiu chong tien tu* 九重天圖 (*Diagram of the Nine Layers of the Heavens*), from Matteo Ricci, *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (*Universal Map of the World and Countries*), 1602, woodcut on paper, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Barberini Oriente 150 (1), © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

用經線以定兩處相離幾何，辰也。蓋日輪一日作一週，則每辰行三十度。而兩處相違三十度，並謂差一辰。

Use the longitude line to determine the distance between two places, which is called "time." It is a day as the sun turns one circle. So each unit of time runs thirty degrees. If the distance between two places is thirty degrees, their time has the difference of one unit.[41]

[41]This preface is the text under the title of the map at the right side of the work. For the texts on Ricci's maps, refer also to Wang Mianhou 王綿厚, "Lun li madou kunyu wanguo quantu han liangyi xuanlan tu shang de xuba tishi" 论利玛窦坤舆万国全图和两仪玄览图上的序跋题识 (On the Prefaces and Texts on the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* and *Liangyi xuanlan tu* of Matteo Ricci), in *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji—ming dai* 中国古代地图集—明代 (*A Compilation of Chinese Ancient Maps—Ming Dynasty*), ed. Cao Wanru 曹婉如 *et al.* (Beijing, 1994), pp. 107-111.

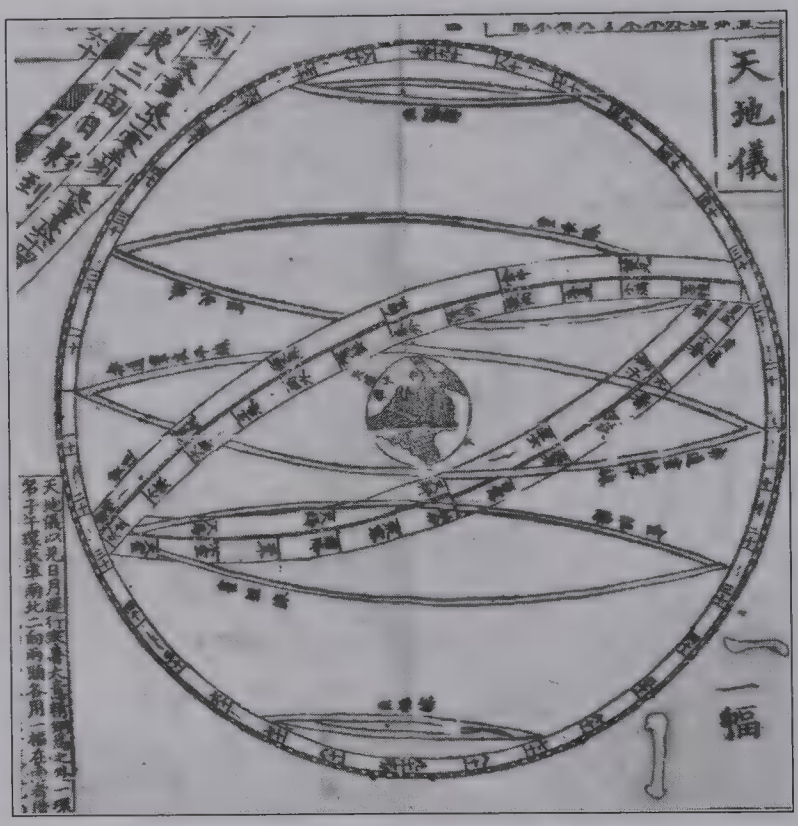

Fig. 15. *Tien di yi* 天地儀 (*Diagram of the Astrolabe*), from Matteo Ricci, *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (*Universal Map of the World and Countries*), 1602, woodcut on paper, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Barberini Oriente 150 (1), © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

One such practical example is found in Aleni's *Kou duo ri cha* 口鐸日抄 (*Daily Account of the Vocal Assertion*). By means of a map of Rome shown to Fujian's followers in 1630, Aleni explained the difference in time between China and Rome based on the various degrees related to the position of the sun striking the earth, thereby illustrating the spherical configuration of the earth. He further confirmed a false presumption held by Chinese astrologers, as is clear from the quote below:

余曰，夫星家之擇日推命也，以爲普天之下，同此時耳。今即王會之內，便已不同，若此，彼星家安所憑以定吉兇乎?先生曰，吾固謂其不足信也，而世顧惑之何哉。

I [the Fujianese adherent Li Jiubiao 李九標] said, "The [Chinese] astrologer who chooses dates and tells fortunes thinks that the world observes the same time. However, in this case (as explained by the Roman map regarding the different time zones) there are differences in time even within the [Chinese]

empire. If so, by what means can Chinese astrologers determine auspicious and ill omens? Aleni answered, "This is why they [Chinese astrologers] are untruthful, yet also why commoners are still confused by them.[42]

This is a concrete example of the use of scientific visual material, a European map, to refute Chinese astrology, which was considered a discipline of science as well as of religion in Chinese traditions. Aleni's attack shows the ridiculousness of this traditional discourse as it pertained in the areas both of science and religion. This idea of a link between time and astrology could also have legitimized the Jesuits' introduction of European clocks.[43]

The Human Body as a Universe: Understanding Heaven by Visualization and Sensibility

In the above discussion of the differences between Chinese and European cartography, as the Chinese perceived the European world maps that Jesuit missionaries brought to China, we can see how the religious message was embedded in the Jesuit explanations of the maps. In what follows, I propose to look at the matter further from the Jesuit side, arguing that for the Jesuits, the religious implications in their cartography could be concerned with a broader European context, by which their intentions for employing such visual objects may be elucidated. I suggest that the visualization, as well as sensibility, can be two primary conceptions of the religious meaning of the missionary versions of world maps.

In 1589, Richard Hakluyt made the following sharp-witted remark: "From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible."[44] This truth was also valid for Chinese Jesuit cartography as it was first presented to the Chinese.

[42]Giulio Aleni, *Kou duo ri cha* 口鐸日抄 (*Daily Account of the Vocal Assertion*), in Nicolas Standaert and Adrian Dudink, eds., 耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻: *Chinese Christian Texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus*, 12 vols. (Taipei, 2002), VII, pp. 42-43.

[43]Regarding the tools the Jesuits brought to China for time and spatial measurement, see Catherine Jami, "Western Devices for Measuring Time and Space: Clocks and Euclidian Geometry in Late Ming and Ch'ing China," in *Time and Space in Chinese Culture*, ed. Chun-Chieh Huang and Erik Zürcher (Leiden, 1995), pp. 169-200.

[44]Cited by Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. David Fausett (Berkeley, 1994), p. 6. The "he" in the quotation is his cousin who, in Lestringant's terms, "guided his reading from the planisphere to the Psalms." The original source of the remark is Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over Land. . . .* (London, 1589), fol. 2r.

In the two European sources that D'Elia pointed out for Ricci's world map, Alessandro Piccolomini's *Sfera del Mondo* and Christophus Clavio's *Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacrobosco Commentarius*, the geographical and cosmological contents indicate that European geography since the Renaissance period had to be understood by way of its cosmological associations, which were based on Christian theology.[45] Aleni's *Wanguo tu xiaoyin*, part of which was quoted at the beginning of this article, indicates that the missions, both implicitly as well as explicitly, conveyed the Christian message that was implied in a map's configuration. The key points in Aleni's statement are the human body as a universe and the comparative smallness of the human body in relationship to the greatness of Heaven. Ricci's text of 1602 on the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* expresses the magnitude of Heaven in a similar tone:

> 嘗聞天地一大書，惟君子能讀之，故道成焉。蓋知天地，而可證主宰天地者之至善、至大、至一也。不學者棄天者也。學不歸原天帝，終非學也。淨絕惡萌，以期至善，即善也。姑緩小以急于大，減其繁多以歸于至一，于學也庶乎?
>
> I have heard that the universe is a great book, and only the intelligent scholar can read it and then achieve the ultimate doctrine. By comprehending the Heaven and Earth, one would be able to testify to the ultimate kindness, greatness, and oneness of the supreme power of the lord who rules over the Heaven and Earth. Those who do not study or pursue this way neglect Heaven. Not to ascribe this study to the sovereign of Heaven is not to study in the serious sense. Abandoning absolutely any malicious ideas in order to achieve the ultimate kindness is meritorios. To put aside the little [study or faith] and turn to pursue the great one, minimizing the multitude [regarding beliefs] in order to pledge allegiance to the utmost one, is not far from the study, is it?

Both Ricci's and Aleni's statements ascribe the metaphysical realm of human intelligence and the body to the Creator, emphasizing the greatness and uniqueness of God. Ricci in particular denounced the multitude of beliefs and of deities in Chinese traditions, in contrast to God's existence as the only supreme power of the universe. Aleni points out the relationship between the human body and the universe in physical as well as in spiritual terms: that our human soul and talent are granted by God's omnipotence. People can understand the universe and should do so within the framework of this relationship, so

[45]Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World* , pp. 1-11.

as to pay esteem to the Creator. The last sentence in Aleni's statement is clever, implying that the map in front of our eyes serves as visual proof, given that the human eye "can see" it, through the faculty bestowed by the Creator. Therefore, it shows that the visual evidence provided by a map was a visualization of an understanding of God, and that it was used to point to this ultimate truth by means of the image itself and the ability of the viewer which depends on the ultimate one, both of which are inevitably interlinked. The importance of establishing the proof of God or the truth in the universe lies in the fact that the missionary had to preach the truth of Christianity to non-Christians, because the Chinese were not able to recognize Jesus Christ in their history and culture and questioned the veracity of him and his religion.

Therefore, it is not strange that Aleni's *Zhifang waiji* was categorized under the section of *li* 理篇 (literally, *li* means theory or principle; in the religious context of Christianity, it denotes "Christian doctrine") instead of *qi* 器篇 (those works on the physical studies of Heaven), in the *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函, the first book compilation of the Heavenly studies in China. It was compiled and published by Li Zhizao around 1629, who was responsible for Ricci's *Kunyu wanguo quantu*. Like cartography for the Jesuits, the *Zhifang waiji* is not simply an introduction to geographical knowledge.

However, Jesuit cartography and geography need physical studies to achieve their ends. Jesuit methods of teaching the Chinese to comprehend the Heaven and Earth proceeded from the physical to the spiritual realms, and the former, the physical studies, were an essential part of the process toward the understanding of the metaphysical field of the universe. The most important basis for physical studies was mathematics. Hence the section of *qi* of the *Tianxue chuhan* includes works and treatises on numerical theories and geometry. The mathematical disciplines and studies, as seen in the case of Venetian mapping in the sixteenth century, were understood as "being in the first degree of certainty." Based on the Pythagorean-Platonic view of the mathematical and geometrical structures of the universe, the Jesuits believed that, "mathematical reason allows us to understand the *harmonia mundi* in the created universe and further, to grasp metaphysical concepts like the Trinity: 'through the wonderful correspondence between God and the world, created on the model of divine harmony, a number becomes the means and criterion to elevate oneself from the sensible world to the invisible and

ineffable truth of God.'"[46] This "certainty" was a concept crucial to direct one to the "proof of the truth." The Renaissance tradition of cosmology and cartography and the idea of understanding nature through mathematical science are the essential framework through which the Jesuits legitimized the sciences in the China mission. Mathematics played an important part in cartography; through it the Jesuits interpreted the role of the sciences in Jesuit visual culture. It was also the fundamental physical study guiding one toward the spiritual realm, and it played a key role in regularizing knowledge to the level of certainty and truth.

In addition, it is particularly interesting to note that Aristotelian sensibility was employed in cooperation with the understanding of mathematics and mathematical practices for gaining knowledge of Heaven in the Jesuit China mission. Williem Hackmann articulated the relationship between Sense and Reason in seventeenth-century European scholarship as follows: "Reason made it possible to comprehend the new phenomena produced by science, while observations on their own could never lead to understanding." He pointed out further that the title page of the Jesuit work *Ars magna lucis et umbrae* (1646), a treatise on optics composed by Kircher, uses the telescope as an emblem for Sense as the only source of knowledge. Hackmann commented: "The Jesuits were keen to introduce science into the Vatican and they were among the most ardent diffusers of the new knowledge based on these novel instruments, but as their frontispieces indicate, they were very much concerned with the relationship between Reason and Sense."[47] These remarks are appropriately applied to Jesuit sciences in their Chinese missionary work, because as in the case of cartography, the Jesuits introduced the Chinese to the comprehension of western knowledge and of Heaven by means of the cooperation of mathematics (Reason) and sensibility (Sense).

In the Jesuit framework, the visualization is carried out by the ability of the human sense, the theory based upon the concept of per-

[46]Both quotations concerning Venetian mapping case studies are from Denis Cosgrove, "Mapping New Worlds: Culture and Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Imago Mundi* 49 (1992), 75. Here the author is talking about and citing Fra Luca Pacioli's reference to the central positions of number, geometry, and proportion in measuring all things of the universe.

[47]Willem D. Hackmann, "Natural Philosophical Textbook Illustrations 1600-1800," in *Non-Verbal Communication in Science Prior to 1900*, ed. Renato G. Mazzolini (Florence, 1993), pp. 173-174.

ception or sensibility of Aristotle. This theory can be grasped by the Aleni's statement: the human body as a universe. First, as Aleni's preface indicates, the human body, likened to a universe, is based upon that human faculty bestowed by the master of the universe, i.e., God. Also because of this understanding of the body as a microcosm of the universe, we can "comprehend the whole Heaven and Earth." For the Jesuits, the whole meaning of the human body includes both its corporality and the soul. A man is different from other beings due to God's bestowal of *anima*, the rational soul. As the Jesuit founder Ignatius de Loyola explains, *anima*, a denomination of "the rational soul," suggests the co-operation of "body and soul," and is "a compound of body and soul" and "the whole self," even though the word "soul" alone is generally used as a translation of *anima*.[48] In this sense, *anima* means the essence of a human being. This concept of an able and rational soul is completely unfamiliar to the traditional Chinese concepts of *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄.[49] These two Chinese terms, commonly used as equivalents for the word "soul" in modern English usage, do not indicate either a positive and realistic being, nor was the faculty of reason and intelligence associated with these terms. While *hun* and *po* have a metaphysical sense, they are meaningless when detached from the physical body; the body and soul in Chinese thought are not opposed in any dualistic way.[50] In addition, the Aristotelian distinction of three souls for temporal beings, and the significance of the rational soul of man, as the third and highest among the three, are explicitly explained in various works of Jesuit literature for the Chinese. In Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 (*The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, 1603), among the earliest of these works, this *anima* of human beings was translated as *ling hun* 靈魂, and Ricci said that *ling hun* is *shen* 神 (literally "spirit").[51] In the *Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng* 天主聖教啓蒙 (*Catechism for Catholicism*, early seventeenth century) and *Song nian zhu gui cheng* 誦念珠規程 (*Method for Reciting the Rosary*, first edition circa 1619), bound together in a single volume,

[48]George E. Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius—A Translation and Commentary* (St. Louis, 1992), p. 150.

[49]Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 146-150; Erik Zürcher, "Confucian and Christian Religiosity in Late Ming China," *The Catholic Historical Review* 83 (October, 1997), 625-630.

[50]For this concept in the elaboration of Daoism, see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 2, *History of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 153-154.

[51]Matteo Ricci, *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 (*The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*), in *Tianxue chuhan*, I, pp. 429-449.

and in Sambiasi's *Ling yan li shao* 靈言蠡勺 (*Treatise on Anima*; 1624), the term is transliterated as *yanima* 亞尼瑪.[52] It was read as *ling shen* 靈神 in the *Pangzi yi quan* 龐子遺詮 (*The Posthumous Work of Pantoja*) of Diego de Pantoja (ca. 1610), *shen* in the *Jiaoyao jie lüe* 教要解略 (*Brief Explanations of the Catholic Essentials*, 1615) of Alfonso Vagnoni (1568-1640), and *ling xing* 靈性 (spiritual nature) and *ling ming* 靈明 (spiritual intelligence) later in Aleni's works.[53] *Ling* 靈 and *shen* 神 are interchangeable. In order to elucidate the genuine sense of *anima*, in their Chinese works, the Jesuits explained that a rational soul has the faculty of reason and intelligence due to *shen* or *ling xing*, for instance. In other words, the Jesuits used terminology such as *shen* or *ling xing*, in order to indicate the primary feature of the rational soul. To borrow a term from Erik Zürcher, as in the late Ming period when Neo-Confucianism was popular, the idea of "soul" was marginal but human nature (*xing* 性) and mind (*xin* 心) were considered in a positive light.[54] The Jesuit appropriation of *shen* or *ling xing* were much more associated with the *xing* and *xin* of Neo-Confucianism. The Jesuits could have thought that the Chinese terms *shen* and *ling* were appropriate to point out the conception of the body and soul in their highlighting of the rational soul.

The same concept of "the human body as a universe" was also seen in Chinese metaphysics. However, it represented a different cosmology. In the writings of the Chinese philosopher Zhuangzi 莊子 (365-290 B.C.), we see that man is similar to the universe in nature and structure. Their relationship, which was furthered in the Han period

[52]João da Rocha, *Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng* 天主聖教啓蒙 (*Catechism for Catholicism*) and *Song nian zhu gui cheng* 誦念珠規程 (*Method for Reciting the Rosary*) (ARSI, JapSin I, 43), fol. 1r. A modern facsimile of this work has been published, see Standaert and Dudink, *Chinese Christian Texts*, I, pp. 503-515, 515-574; the above folio 1r is on page 515; Francesco Sambiasi, *Ling yan li shao* 靈言蠡勺 (*Treatise on Anima*), in *Tianxue chuhan*, II, pp. 1127-1268.

[53]Diego de Pantoja, *Pangzi yi quan* 龐子遺詮 (*The Posthumous Work of Pantoja*), in Standaert and Dudink, *Chinese Christian Texts*, II, p. 109; Alfonso Vagnoni, *Jiaoyao jie lüe* 教要解略 (*Brief Explanations of the Catholic Essentials*), in Standaert and Dudink, *Chinese Christian Texts*, I, pp. 301-306; Giulio Aleni, *Xingxue cushu* 性學粗述 (*On Human Nature*, Aleni's preface dated in 1623), in Standaert and Dudink, *Chinese Christian Texts*, VI, pp. 104-108; Giulio Aleni, *Sanshan lunxue ji* 三山論學紀 (*Account of Discussing Catholic Doctrine at Sanshan (Fuzhou)*), in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian* 天主教東傳文獻續編 (*Literature of Catholicism in the East, Second Series*), 3 vols. (Taipei, 1966), I, pp. 469-477; Giulio Aleni, *Dizui zhenggui* 解罪正規 (*Formal Rule and Statement of the Penitential Sacrament*), in Standaert and Dudink, *Chinese Christian Texts*, IV, p. 360.

[54]Zürcher, "Confucian and Christian Religiosity," p. 626.

(206 B.C.-220 A.D.), is revealed in the correlative thought that was entrenched in Chinese astrological and cosmological discourses, whose influence determined the emperor's deeds no less than folk religions and morality.[55] In Zhuangzi's elaboration, each being in the universe has equal status, because they are all created or resulted from *qi* 氣 (air). In other words, the Aristotelian distinction of three souls for temporal beings, with the rational soul as the third and highest, is in opposition to this cosmology. The meaning of human existence in Chinese cosmology is not to be established through the omnipotence of the real master of the universe—at least not from a Jesuit perspective—but in the indiscriminate universe.[56] Basically, this conception of the universe formed the foundation of Chinese thought throughout subsequent centuries, as revealed in the Neo-Confucian analysis of the linked relationship between human beings and nature, and of that between nature and the universe. "The human body as a universe" was not brought about through the ultimate and only Creator, but it was understood through the concept of *Tianren heyi* "天人合一" ("Heavens and humans directed towards the same one, or being homogeneous"), or as the same derivation of heavens and humans from *qi* in the *qi*-immersed and non-discriminated world.[57]

Second, due to this *shen* or *ling xing*, in the Jesuit religious context, the human body has five senses. The sense of the eye occupies the first rank in the theory of the five senses, and the human faculty or intellect depends above all on the proper functioning of vision. Ignatius'

[55]As for the correlative thought in China, refer to Du Zhengsheng 杜正勝, "Xingti, jingqi yu hunpo—zhongguo chuantong dui ren renshi de xingcheng" 形體、精氣與魂魄—中國傳統對「人」認識的形成 (Body, Spirit and Soul—The Formation of the Knowledge of Humans in Chinese Traditions), *Xin shixue* 新史學 (*New History*) 2 (3): 56-61 (September 1991); John B. Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology* (New York, 1984).

[56]About Zhuangzi's writings and philosophy, see Young-bae Song 宋榮培, "Dongfang de xiangguan xing siwei moshi han dui youjiti shengming de lijie—yi Zhuangzi han zhongyi de youjiti shengming yuanli wei zhongxin" 東方的"相關性思維模式"和對有機體生命的理解—以莊子和中醫的有機體生命原理爲中心 (The Eastern Thinking Method of Relativity and the Comprehension of the Organic Being—the Principles of the Organic Being in Zhuangzi and Chinese Medicine), (paper presented at the International Meeting of the Formation of the Cosmic Order in Early Modern East Asia, Center for the Study of East Asian Civilizations, National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan, August 20-21, 2004).

[57]For this concept of the universe in Neo-Confucianism, see Wu Zhan-liang 吳展良, "Yangming de qihua shijieguan yu qi hexin sixiang xilun" 陽明的氣化世界觀與其核心思想析論 (The Qi Worldview of [Wang] Yangming), (paper presented at the International Conference on the Development of the Worldviews in Early Modern East Asia, Center for the Study of East Asian Civilizations, National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan, August 5-6, 2005).

Spiritual Exercises takes up "the Five Senses of the Body" as one of its subjects in the First Method of Prayer, the "light exercise," that can be given to "simple and illiterate persons who are unqualified for the full Exercises."[58] Along with other subjects in the First Method—the Ten Commandments, the Capital Sins, and the Three Powers of the Soul—the Five Senses of the Body were translated and explained by the Jesuits in the earliest Chinese catechetical treatises, such as Vagnoni's *Jiaoyao jie lüe* and *Shengjing yue lu* 聖經約錄 (*Abridgement from the Bible*, ca. after 1615). The Chinese terms were employed as below:

身有五司，一目視司，二耳司聽，三口司啖，四鼻司臭，五四體司覺。

> The human body has five senses. First are the eyes for the vision or sight; second, the ears for hearing; third, the mouth for tasting; fourth, the nose for smelling; fifth, four limbs for feeling.[59]

At least until the middle of the seventeenth century, Aristotle's understanding of the human soul's sensibility, that is, the soul's capacity to perceive things by the senses leading to a comprehension of the universe, was central to Catholic epistemology and natural philosophy.[60] The prominent historian of Chinese sciences, Joseph Needham, noted that, "the world-picture which the Jesuits brought was that of the closed Ptolemaic-Aristotelian geocentric universe of solid concentric crystalline sphere."[61] In introducing this Ptolemaic-Aristotelian world picture to the China mission, the Jesuits were more concerned with its religious implication as it suited their missionary uses. Moreover, the Jesuits could use it in both symbolic and realistic senses. Their cartography based on the Ptolemaic world retained as much symbolic as scientific meaning for seventeenth-century Europe, considering the realistic pic-

[58]Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises*, pp. 96-98, 186.

[59]The quotation comes from the *Jiaoyao jie lüe*. The *Jiaoyao jie lüe* and the *Shengjing yue lu* were reprinted in full in the first volume of Standaert's and Dudink's *Chinese Christian Texts*. The texts discussing the five senses of the body are separately seen in the following pages, 110, 301-303 (the quotation on p. 301). Albert Chan attributed the *Shengjing yue lu* to Ricci, composed after 1605, see Albert Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome—A Descriptive Catalogue* (Armonk, New York, 2002), p. 106.

[60]For the Aristotelian theory of the human sense in theology, a recent discussion on this issue pertained to the Jesuit Ignatius de Loyola, is Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton, 2002), pp. 35-40.

[61]Joseph Needham, *Chinese Astronomy and the Jesuit Mission: An Encounter of Cultures* (London, 1958), p. 1. The contents of this booklet are also part of Needham's *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1959).

ture of the world already brought back by several explorers from actual navigations and from geographical expansions. However, for the Chinese as well as for the missionaries, the symbolic image of the Ptolemaic world did, to a certain extent, present a more realistic picture than the local mapping conventions in China, as explained above.

The sense of sight is usually described as a bodily function in those earliest Chinese catechistic treatises, but the ability of the eyes, shown in the sense of sight and vision, is not conceived by the Jesuits only within the realm of the physical body. Vagnoni explained the interdependence of the human body and *shen* as follows:

> 蓋神者，無形之物，不能離外物之像而自爲明。必藉外司而使接納諸像，內傳之。外五司者，無內司以神明其所傳之像，亦莫能靈通暢達以對應萬物之理。
>
> *Shen* is a non-material thing. It cannot be independently realized without the image of the material, but has to rely on various images of external things [from the five senses] to receive and transmit them inward. For the external five senses, the transmitted images can be neither enlightened without the internal faculty [i.e., *shen*], nor be animated clearly and aptly to react to the principle of all of things.[62]

Therefore, the five senses have to be completed through the capacity of *shen*, and *shen* has to be conceived by means of the five senses, as it receives the images of various external objects for a more complete perception. This Chinese description conforms to the whole meaning of the human body, that is, Ignatius' co-operation of the body and the soul.

Ling xing or *shen* has one component regarding vision: mnemonics, which links *ling xing* or *shen* to the capacity of sensory perception, pertained to the issue of visualization and imagination in its European context. The faculty of *shen*, following Vagnoni's text, has three categories: *ji han* 記含 (memory), *ming wu* 明悟 (enlightenment and comprehension), and *ai yu* 愛欲 (will).[63] These three faculties of *shen*, repeated in various Jesuit works in Chinese, derive from the three mental powers of Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*—memory, intellect, and will:

[62]Vagnoni, *Jiaoyao jie lüe*, p. 304.

[63]*Ibid.*, pp. 301-302. Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* (1603), *Shengjing yue lu* (ca. after 1605) and Pantoja's *Renlei yuanshi* 人類原始 (*Origin of Human Beings*, ca. 1610) are those earliest records of the three faculties of *shen* in Jesuit Chinese literature, see individually, Ricci, *Tianzhu shiyi*, pp. 574-577; *Shengjing yue lu*, pp. 110-111; and for Pantoja's, the edition in BAV, Borgia Cinese 350 (1), fol. 5v.

> *Spiritual Exercises* 50: *The First Point* [for the First Exercise] will be to use my memory, by going over the first sin, that of the angels; next to use my understanding, by reasoning about it; and then my will. My aim in remembering and reasoning about all these matters is to bring myself to greater shame and confusion. . . . I will call to memory the sin of the angels. . . . Next I will use my intellect to ruminate about this in greater detail, and then move myself to deeper emotions by means of my will.[64]

These three faculties have to work together for the functioning of *shen*. Sambiasi's *Ling yan li shao* and Aleni's *Xingxue cushu* 性學粹述 (*On Human Nature*, Aleni's preface dated in 1623) offer two elaborations of these three faculties in greater detail, compared with other Jesuit Chinese works.[65]

"Memory" occupies the first rank among the three faculties of *shen*, because its quality would affect the operations of the other two capacities, intellect and will. Aleni's explanation in 1634 states clearly and concisely the co-relationships between these three functions:

> 一淸記含，記含不淸，則雜物亂入腦囊，默想時遂有紛思憧擾之弊，故必蒐羅經典，取其精美者，括諸囊中，隨所抽而用之。啓明悟之機。二充明悟，悟機既啓，則觸類引伸，洞徹其隱，因揣其行爲意義，取爲法則，而愛慕之情動矣。三發愛欲，既悟斯理，遂熱心嚮慕，或發痛悔之情，或生遷改之念，堅定己志，祈 天主賜我神力，毅然行之。斯則默想之大略也。

> The first is to clean up memory. Memory is not clear; that is, miscellaneous thoughts come into brain. In this case, it will cause confusion and disturbance in meditation. So it [the memory] must resort to sacred books, adopting those good and exquisite ones and taking them into the memory, so they can be used at all times in order to inspire intelligence. Second, the fulfillment of intellect. The intellect has been enlightened, then can draw inferences in order to understand thoroughly any hidden meanings. Having pondered the action and significance [of the things or issues in question], we take it to be a standard. At this point the affection can be motivated. Third, the initiation of the affection. Once the comprehension of the principles is achieved, then the affection can be aroused. It can generate either the will of repentance or the thought of improvement. Be determined and supplicate God's grant of spiritual power, in order for firm action. This is a summary of meditation.[66]

Memory is important for its just confirmation of the contents, from which derives the smooth advance of intellect and will. In the

[64]Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises*, p. 41.
[65]Sambiasi, *Ling yan li shao*, pp. 1154-1211; Aleni, *Xingxue cushu*, pp. 283-302.
[66]Aleni, *Kou duo ri chao*, pp. 397-398.

European tradition of mnemotechnics dating from the classical period onward, imagination and visualization were the two primary methods for causing and arranging a trained memory. Thinking about the Aristotelian theory of knowledge, that he expounded in his *De anima*, formed an extremely prominent position in Jesuit thinking on the issues; as Frances Yates states, "The perceptions brought in by the five senses are first treated or worked upon by the faculty of imagination."[67] Imagination relies on the brain to generate various mental images; this point is confirmed by the above quotation of Aleni's explanation. However, the Jesuits distinguished the memory of the brain and that of the heart, emphasizing the heart as the ultimate source of a rational soul because the management of memory, such as building a visionary palace, lies therein.[68] The practical example of this building method in the management of memory in China is Ricci's *Xiguo jifa* 西國記法 (*Western Mnemonics*; 1596), a prominent booklet of western mnemonics. Ricci introduces the western theory of mnemonics, and discusses the method of constructing an imaginative house with Chinese ideographs.[69] By speaking of Chinese ideographs as signs, he simultaneously made use of the imaginative and memory-oriented characteristics of the Chinese language in order to articulate the visual function of western mnemonics for the comprehension of the Chinese people. He thus discussed the idea of *xiang* 象 (image) with many figurative samples of Chinese characters.[70] In other words, Ricci appropriates the hieroglyphic character of the Chinese language to express his concept of *xiang* and *xiang*'s significant uses, and he tries to establish a common perceptive method between the image-oriented characteristics of the Chinese language and the visualization of western mnemonics. This link between imagery and linguistics formulated by

[67]Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966), p. 32.

[68]Aleni, *Xingxue cushu*, pp. 283-302. In Aleni's term, memory housed in the brain is called *she ji* 涉記. The term *ji han* 記含 is used for memory of the heart. This theory conforms to the relevant historical discourse in fifteenth-century Europe that is stated by Paul Saenger as follows: "In the fifteenth century, cognitive function was thought to be divided between the brain, which according to Galen was the locus of sense and memory, and the heart, which according to the Bible, Aristotle, and numerous Latin patristic authorities was the intangible seat of the rational soul," see Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in *The Culture of Print—Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1987), p. 145.

[69]This booklet forms the skeleton of Jonathan Spence's well-known book, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, 1985).

[70]Matteo Ricci, *Xiguo Jifa* 西國記法 (*Western Mnemonics*), in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian* 天主教東傳文獻 (*Literature of Catholicism in the East*), 3rd ed. (Taipei, 1997), pp. 1-70.

the Jesuits entails an important observation of difference between the two cultures. As words and images could be seen as rivals in the European aesthetic traditions, both scripts and images for the Chinese could have been "undifferentiated art forms," both functioning as "graphic signs that expressed meaning."[71]

To restate simply the matter elaborated above: seeing is crucial for understanding. The sense of the eye occupies the first rank among the five senses, and the human faculty or the rational soul depends above all on the proper functioning of vision. With regard to the capacity of the human rational soul, mnemonics assigns significance to the sensed image, and thus images play a legitimate role in the fulfillment of the sensibility. The reason for the Jesuits' uses of images and visual objects in the China mission lies in this Aristotelian philosophical and Jesuit theological background. Jesuit cartography was an embodiment of the Renaissance tradition of cartography as the graphical representation of the universe, which included the idea of understanding nature through mathematical science as well as of understanding Heaven by uses of the senses, especially visualization. In this Renaissance tradition, geography was associated with cosmology that was based upon Christian theology, and Aristotle's use of the senses for the comprehension of the universe formed the core of Catholic epistemology and natural philosophy. Cartography, as a mode of the visualization of knowledge, was a practical example to use to proceed from the human ability of sight to the truth of Christianity.

The religious implications of Jesuit cartography explain how the Jesuits could have employed cartography strategically in their attempts to evangelize in China. The religious underpinning supported the use of this scientific object in the Jesuit China mission. While the Jesuits made efforts to translate a European-based map into a Chinese printed version, they also introduced new geographical knowledge of China back to Europe, to use Steven Harris' term, incorporating the knowledge of China into the geography of Jesuit knowledge. Cartography thus played quite a significant role in the dynamics of this intercultural relation. For both Europe and China, it indicates a historical process in the Early Modern period, in which each side tried to accommodate world geography and the knowledge of other countries and peoples into the individual ideological system.

[71]As for the difference in the relationship between words and images in China and Europe, see Wen C. Fong, "Why Chinese Painting Is History," *The Art Bulletin* 85 (June, 2003), 259 (for both quotations); David Carrier, "Meditations on a Scroll, or the Roots of Chinese Artistic Form," *Word and Image* 18 (January-March, 2002), 50.

AVERY DULLES, ST. BENEDICT'S CENTER, AND NO SALVATION OUTSIDE THE CHURCH, 1940-1953

By

Patrick Carey*

This essay argues that historians of American Catholicism have paid little attention to the issue of the relationship between the Church and salvation. The issue has been important in American Catholic thought since the time of John Carroll, but came to the fore most publicly in the late 1940's and early 1950's at the Cambridge, Massachusetts, St. Benedict Center where Father Leonard Feeney and his young associates taught that no salvation existed outside of the Catholic Church. And yet, few general histories of American Catholicism have examined the episode, which is important for what it reveals about the Catholic understanding of the substantive issue of salvation.

Shortly after his conversion to Catholicism in 1940, while he was still a law student at Harvard University, Avery Dulles (1918-) became one of the founders and charter members of Boston's St. Benedict Center. That gathering house of Boston's Catholic students became the hub of much theological and doctrinal controversy in the late 1940's and early 1950's because of their interpretation of the doctrinal dictum "no salvation outside the Church" (*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*).[1]

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[1]On the St. Benedict Center and the controversy, see James M. O'Toole's interview with Avery Dulles, June 22, 1982. A printed account of the interview is located in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston, and in the Avery Dulles, S.J., Papers at Fordham University. See also Catherine Goddard Clarke, *The Loyolas and the Cabots: The Story of the Boston Heresy Case* (Boston, 1950); *idem*, *The Gate of Heaven* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952); John Deedy, "Whatever Happened to Father Feeney?" *The Critic* 31 (May-June 1973), 12-24; Thomas Mary Sennot, *They Fought the Good Fight: Orestes Brownson and Father Feeney* (Monrovia, California, 1987); Mark Silk, "The Wages of Conversion (II)," in *Spiritual Politics: Religion and America Since World War II* (New York, 1988), pp. 70-86; George B. Pepper, *The Boston Heresy Case in View of the Secularization of Religion: A Case Study in the Sociology of Religion* (Lewiston, New York, 1988); and Mark S. Massa, "Boundary Maintenance: Leonard Feeney, the Boston Heresy Case, and the Postwar Culture," in *Catholics and American Culture: Fulton Sheen, Dorothy Day, and the Notre Dame Football Team* (New York, 1999), pp. 21-37. For obituaries on Feeney, see Avery Dulles, "Leonard Feeney: In Memoriam," *America* 138

Although he left Boston (to join the Navy during World War II) before Father Leonard Feeney, S.J., the primary promoter of the dictum, came to the Center, Dulles, like many other young religious intellectuals of the 1940's, was drawn to an uncompromising Catholic Church that clearly emphasized the Church's distinctive and necessary role as the medium of salvation. Leonard Feeney and his cohorts at the Center, too, reflected in an unusually dramatic and energetic way, something that was more generally characteristic of the Catholic Church of the 1940's and early 1950's. After World War II, Feeney and his young associates developed an extreme interpretation of the theological dictum that eventually got them interdicted and then excommunicated. What does this case tell us about American Catholicism in the period? This essay describes briefly the origins of the St. Benedict Center, the gradual evolution of a radical literal interpretation of the theological dictum, the reactions to that interpretation, and suggests areas that need further historical analysis.

After his reception into the Church in November of 1940, Dulles became increasingly more active in promoting religious and intellectual life among his fellow Catholic students in the Boston area. As a student at Harvard Law School, he had joined the St. Andrews Club, a group of Catholic students who met at Mrs. Frances Gray's in Boston. By the late fall of 1940 the group had increased to such an extent that it had outgrown her living room. The students needed more space and a more permanent structure for their discussions and lectures on religious, philosophical, and literary topics. In response to this need Dulles, Catherine Clarke, Margaret Knapp, and Christopher Huntington found an empty furniture building across from St. Paul's Catholic Church in Cambridge that they could rent at a reasonable price. They negotiated a low rent and moved the student group into the new building in the spring of 1941, calling the place the St. Benedict Center.

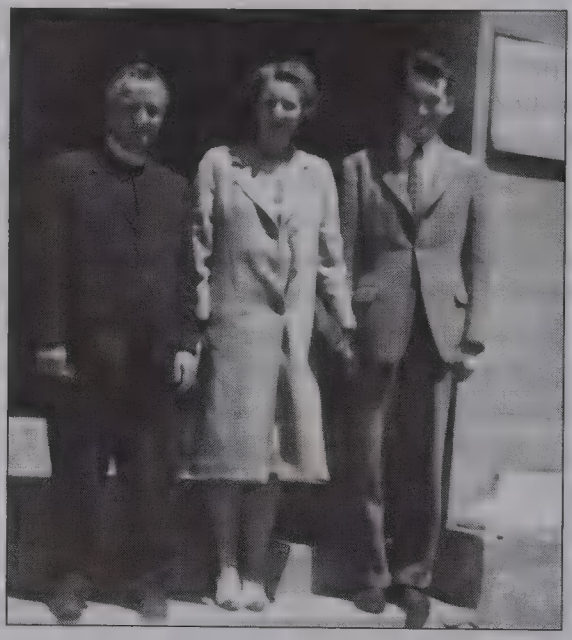
(February 2, 1978), 135-37, and "Leonard Feeney, Jesuit Priest, 80; Ousted in Dispute Over Salvation," *New York Times* (February 1, 1978), B2. On Feeney, see also "Feeney, Leonard," *American National Biography*, ed. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, 24 vols. (New York, 1999), VII, pp. 787-789. No truly comprehensive study of the St. Benedict Center and the heresy case exists, but Katherine Richman, a graduate student at Boston College, is preparing a dissertation on the subject. Although published after this article was completed, I would like to mention also a new book on the St. Benedict Center by Gabriel Gibbs, *Harvard to Harvard: The Story of Saint Benedict Center's Becoming Saint Benedict Abbey* (Still River, Massachusetts, 2006).

During the early 1940's, the Center offered enough space not only for regular lectures and large discussion groups, but also for a lending library. During the summer of 1941 Dulles spent much time and contributed some of his financial resources to furnishing the new center. Although the Center periodically supplied student volunteers to assist Catherine de Hueck's friendship house in Harlem and Dorothy Day's Catholic worker movement, it was primarily, according to Dulles, a cultural and intellectual rather than a social action club. At the beginning the Center had no overarching philosophy; it was simply a place where lay students and faculty could meet and discuss their faith. Even though the group received periodic visits from clergy, it had no permanent priest or theologian. It was primarily a lay group and movement. Nor was the Center related to the recently established Harvard Catholic Club, a student club that was reluctantly[2] but officially acknowledged by the Boston Archdiocese. During Dulles' time in Boston, furthermore, the Center had no "integral Catholic culture" that was suspicious of all values outside its own circle. It was, in fact, open to the secular education at Harvard and other places. Dulles, in particular, found no signs at Harvard of any fierce anti-Catholicism: "Certainly the people I studied under, while most of them were not Catholics, were highly respectful of the Catholic tradition."[3]

Prior to, during, and after World War II, St. Benedict's was the source of a vibrant spiritual and intellectual life for numbers of Catholic students and faculty in the Boston area. The Center also generated and fostered more than a hundred vocations to the priesthood and to religious life. Numerous young men and women who met at the Center were married there and continued discussing the implications of living their marriages as Christian vocations. Many of the college-age students, too, diligently studied the Catholic intellectual tradition, and while doing so established friendships that lasted a life time. Like many other gifted young men and women of the time, Dulles was seeking through St. Benedict's a life more spiritually and intellectually satisfying than was available through American educational institutions. To some extent St. Benedict's was a cell of Christian intellectual and spiritual perfection.

[2]The archdiocese was reluctant to give any support to secular universities, even though Catholic students were attending those institutions in increasing numbers in the mid twentieth century. Catholic universities and colleges were the ideal places for Catholic students, in the minds of most Catholic bishops during the period. The Harvard Catholic Club was a low-key operation.

[3]Dulles' views on St. Benedict Center and Harvard are available in James M. O'Toole's interview with Avery Dulles, June 22, 1982, p. 5.



Photograph of Father Leonard Feeney, S.J., Catherine Goddard Clarke, and Avery Dulles taken about 1946 in front of St. Benedict's Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts, photographer unknown. The photograph is preserved in the archives of the St. Benedict's Center, Still River, Massachusetts. Permission to use it has been granted by Abbot Gabriel Gibbs, O.S. B.

During his second year at Harvard Law, Dulles had signed up for the Naval Reserve and after Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) he was called up to active duty in the Navy. He left Boston and St. Benedict Center, but throughout the war he kept in close contact with Catherine Clarke, his godmother, Leonard Feeney, and other members of the Center. In the spring of 1946, after the war, he returned to Boston and the Center, but his stay there was short-lived because by that time he had decided that he wanted to become a Jesuit. Nonetheless during the summer of 1946, he helped to create, with the official approval of the archdiocese of Boston, a journal called *From the Housetops* that was to serve as a sounding board for the intellectual interests of the numerous students who were now associated with the Center. Before he left for the Jesuits, Dulles edited the first issue of the new journal and then turned it over to others. That journal would become the primary instrument for articulating the Center's emerging doctrine of no salvation outside the Church.

While Dulles was in the Navy, Feeney began to preside over the Center, electrifying the students with his wit, urbanity, spirituality, and

increasingly critical views of the materialistic and anti-religious directions of American cultural life—views that resonated with those of many Catholic students and faculty who joined the Center. While he was still teaching at the Jesuit School of Theology at Weston, Massachusetts, in 1941-42, Feeney came to the Center on Thursday nights to give a weekly lecture and to lead students in prayer and discussion. By 1945 he had become so popular and was in such demand at the Center that his Jesuit superiors appointed him to serve as a full-time pastor to the large number of students who came to the Center to hear the charismatic Feeney give his famous Thursday night lectures on various religious, philosophical, and literary topics.

Gradually the atmosphere at the Center began to change as Feeney and some faculty members from Boston College who were closely identified with Feeney became increasingly critical of an American culture they considered out of sync with Christian values, and moving in a direction that was distinctly secular. More and more, too, they vocalized their apprehensions about Catholics (especially those they tagged "liberal Catholics") who were capitulating to the growing secular mentality or were unwilling or unable to distinguish clearly between a Catholic and a secular American way of life.[4] Feeney and others, too, criticized Catholic parents who were sending their children to godless schools like Harvard, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and other bastions of American respectability. Catherine Goddard Clarke charged that Catholics who asserted that "the things on which we [Christians] agree are vastly more important than the things on which

[4]Juan M. Ribera, "How Do Liberal Catholics Talk?" *From the Housetops* 3 (September 1948), 5-14. Catherine Clarke defined a liberal Catholic as "one who, having taken all his cultural standards from a non-Catholic society, tries to make his Catholic dogmas square with these standards. Liberal Catholicism can occur in any country because it is a relative thing. Our battle with it is particularly as it has occurred in the United States, where non-Catholicism anteceded the advent, in large numbers, of Catholics. This situation induced Catholics to attempt to reconcile beliefs they had brought over from Europe with the humanitarian, utilitarian, pragmatic and political ideals of the new world into which they now moved. As a result, Catholics stopped being interested in Christ, and started being interested in Christianity. This term Christianity quickly became hyphenated with the various secular group movements, and it ended up by leaving Catholics with a set of relative standards as regards religion, and caused them to abandon, little by little, their dogmatic certitudes." *The Loyolas*, pp. 50-51. A large number of Catholics eventually came under this umbrella of liberalism, including Sister Mary Madeleva, president of St. Mary's College in South Bend, Indiana, and the theologian Joseph Fenton of the Catholic University of America. On these designations, see *ibid.*, p. 98, and Clarke's *Gate of Heaven*, pp. 128-129.

we differ" were simply soft-minded or indifferent to the truth.[5] St. Benedict's members also critiqued the intellectual pride in American life, a pride that failed to recognize the limits of scientific knowledge. A science that could develop an atom bomb and not consider the morality of dropping it manifested a society out of touch with basic Christian values.[6] The dropping of the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki angered many at St. Benedict's, particularly Catherine Goddard Clarke, the primary force behind the Center before Feeney's arrival. In 1950, she wrote:

> We were never quite the same, at St. Benedict Center, after the dropping of the atom bomb. It seemed to have shocked us awake. It was almost as if we saw the life around us for the first time. The scales fell from our eyes, and we beheld clearly as actualities many things which we had dreaded might one day be the outcome of our exclusively humanitarian society.[7]

The "exclusively humanitarian society" represented for her as for many at St. Benedict's the radical divorce between Christian and American life. The new atomic age, "born out of the abandonment of a Christian principle,"[8] called for a radical renewal of the Christian spirit that would permeate all of life and all of culture. St. Benedict's stood for this Christian renewal.

The Center that Avery Dulles had originally helped to establish had changed significantly by 1946. It continued to be, as Dulles and some of its other founders envisioned it, a center for the personal return to Christ and for the renewal of the inner Christian spirit, but it added to that original intent a new, more separatist dimension that was highly critical of the society around it and vigorously censorious of Catholics who called for adjustments or accommodations to American society. Without being censorious or separatist, Dulles, the veteran, shared much of St. Benedict's counter-cultural attitude once he returned from the war. In the first issue of *From the Housetops*, Dulles revealed his attitude to the difficulties of keeping the faith in modern society:

> The atmosphere of nominal Christianity and practical atheism with which we are surrounded is capable of being, in its own way, severely detrimental

[5]Catherine Clarke, "Common Objectives," *From the Housetops* 2 (March 1948), 17-24.

[6]On this, see, for example, Fakhri Maluf, "The Dangers of Scientism," *From the Housetops* 1 (December 1946), 33-43.

[7]*The Loyolas,* p. 45.

[8]*Ibid.*

to our faith. . . . The precious principles for which we stand, although not presently under the stress of physical assault, are being constantly subjected to the incursions of an alien culture. Every culture which is not Catholic is in some degree anti-Catholic . . . we are experiencing the impact of social pressures to conform our behavior to standards very different from those of Christ. . . . Due to the infiltration of falsehood into the lower levels of our consciousness, our view of the universe tends to become half Christianity and half miscreant . . . we must resolutely refuse to expose ourselves unnecessarily to the contagion of false doctrine and false values. The belief that one can with impunity consort constantly with heretics and atheists, and casually exchange ideas with them, is a dangerous product of modern liberalism.[9]

Keeping the faith meant not only being aware of the dangers posed by modern culture; it meant a constant attempt to exercise the virtue of faith for the progressive personal development of faith. Faith, being a virtue, cannot long survive if it is not from time to time placed in act. Like other habits, it quickly atrophies through disuse, and becomes strong through exercise. Each act of faith renders the next not only easier but also more complete and acceptable . . . gradually, under the tutelage of the Church, we become instructed in the specific doctrines which follow from these central [creedal] truths. As these implications are spelled out in our minds, there occurs in each of us something comparable to the development of doctrine experienced by the Church as a whole. This process is not only healthy but, in a sense, obligatory. . . . The progressive realization in our souls of the Christian vision can be furthered in any of a number of ways.[10]

In the 1980's, many years after he left the Center, Dulles acknowledged that it was developing into a monastic-like sect in the mid 1940's,[11] a tendency that he did not share in later years but one that was closer to his own sensibilities in the mid 1940's. Dulles' opposition to the secular culture, however, was personal; he did not foster a corporate or integral Catholic opposition to that culture even in the early 1940's. St. Benedict's was for him primarily a place where he could personally develop his faith and understanding of the Christian tradition.

After Dulles left for the Jesuits, the Feeneyites became more and more critical of the secular direction of American society and the "liberal Catholic" capitulations in that direction. Under the leadership of Father Feeney, moreover, they became increasingly rigorous in their interpretation of the Catholic doctrine of "no salvation outside the

[9]"On Keeping the Faith," *From the Housetops* 1 (1946), 60-62.
[10]*Ibid.*, pp. 63-66.
[11]James O'Toole's Interview with Dulles, 1982, p. 20.

Church." Feeney had been teaching that doctrine to students during the war and he was frequently asked about what that doctrine meant for those who were not in the Catholic Church. In response, as Catherine Clarke reported, he outlined his position:

> I don't say that being in the Catholic Church alone saves you. I say that it is a 'conditio sine qua non'. If you just go over and stand on the road to New York, you won't get there. You have to go along the road. But, if you get on the wrong road to New York, it doesn't make any difference whether you go along it or stand on it. It is just the wrong road. It is not the road to New York.[12]

Feeney's position was shared by about sixty-five to seventy of his closest associates.

It was not until 1947, however, that the young Feeneyites began to publish articles on the Catholic Church as the exclusive means of salvation. In "Sentimental Theology" Fakhri Maluf, a philosophy professor at Boston College, blasted those liberal Catholics whose "sentimentalism" led them to assert a kind of universal salvation "by sincerity" or who allowed for all kinds of exceptions and qualifications in their interpretation of the dictum. There was one way to heaven, and "this way is the Catholic Church, established by Christ and led by His vicar on earth." Those who were in "any way severed from the unity of the Church and without the divinely established and infallible guidance of the Holy Father" were not to be saved.[13]

The theological criticisms of Catholics and other Christians on the issue of salvation mounted over the next two years. In December of 1948, Raymond Karam, another Feeneyite and at the time a graduate student in philosophy at Boston College,[14] published "Liberal Theology and Salvation," a devastating critique of the liberal or sentimental or minimalist Catholic understanding of *extra ecclesiam*. He mustered a catalogue of warrants from the Bible and tradition for a literal interpretation of the doctrine. What was needed was a clear and unambiguous assertion of Catholic dogma.

> Our age is witnessing a terrible defection of Christ's word in the minds of innumerable Catholics. Infected with liberalism, surrendering their minds

[12]Catherine Goddard Clarke, *The Loyolas*, p. 97. For some of Feeney's sermons on the subject between 1942 and 1952, see his *Bread of Life* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952).

[13]*From the Housetops* 2 (September 1947), 4, 7, 8.

[14]On Karam, see Catherine Clarke, *The Loyolas*, pp. 143-144.

> to teachers of error and heresy, they minimize the importance of dogma and of Catholic unity, and they distort the meaning of Charity, changing that sublime supernatural virtue into a sentimental shadow which, at best, can be termed mere charitableness.... The eternal salvation of man is achieved by adhering to the word of Christ, by abiding in the vine. Those alone bear good fruit who have been faithful to the word of Christ.... It is part, therefore, of the doctrine of Jesus Christ that no man can be saved outside the Catholic Church.[15]

Karam's interpretation was supported by a host of sources, including the "ex-cathedra" assertion of Pope Boniface VIII's *Unam Sanctum* (1302) that it was "wholly necessary for the salvation of every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."[16] He dismissed those Catholics who pleaded for exceptions on the grounds of invincible ignorance (which he called a "sheer fiction") or those who asked "what of those who had never heard of Christ?" The doctrine of the mercy and justice of God, which was behind the liberal Catholic objections to a rigorous interpretation of the dictum, could never conflict, Karam claimed, with the doctrine of "extra ecclesiam" because of the fundamental harmony of all dogmas in the Catholic tradition. God indeed willed the salvation of all creatures, and, Karam asserted, where God willed the end he also provided the means. If some people could not believe, it was because they would not believe. In other words it was their own blindness and willful rejection of the Church that would be responsible for their damnation.[17]

The St. Benedict Center's interpretation of *extra ecclesiam* created a strong reaction in the Boston Catholic community. It eventually led to the interdiction of St. Benedict's, the firing of Boston College professors who had supported the Center's position on salvation, and Father Feeney's removal from the Jesuits and his subsequent excommunication. The archbishop of Boston, Richard James Cushing, a fellow student with Feeney at Boston College High School, became increasingly upset with the attitudes that were developing at St. Benedict's as well as with the interpretation of *extra ecclesiam*. As an auxiliary bishop in 1940 he had enthusiastically patronized the St. Benedict Center and in 1946, as archbishop, he had given his approval for the publication of *From the Housetops* and told Feeney, Dulles, and others who had requested ecclesiastical approval for the journal

[15] *From the Housetops* 3 (December 1948), 6.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

that Feeney himself should censor the articles. But by the beginning of 1948 he showed signs that he was uneasy with a strident attitude that tended to break the interreligious peace of the immediate post-war American world. Cushing was, as James Garneau has pointed out,[18] an inclusive Americanist—that is, like many of his episcopal colleagues and many other Catholics in the post-war period, he saw little or no inconsistency between his avid patriotic Americanism and his Romanism. He had his own religious belief, which he held with absolute and uncompromising conviction, but he was tolerant of other beliefs; like some other religious Americans he accepted a strict internal discipline in the Church but acknowledged diversity outside of it. By the late 1940's he began to believe that Feeney and his associates were unnecessarily breaking the bonds of an American religious toleration that did not always degenerate into doctrinal relativism or indifferentism. In February of 1948 he called for "an end of feuding over religious dogmas and a resurgence of tolerance and magnanimity." Without reference to St. Benedict's he asserted that though one could not compromise one's religious doctrines concerning the next world, one could not afford the luxury of fighting one another over them. Christians should unite to save what was worth saving in this world.[19] By August of 1948 he was clearly more upset by what was happening at St. Benedict's. In a speech at Milton, Massachusetts, he is reported to have denounced Catholics who had verbally assaulted other religions, and promised that he would remedy such prejudice in his diocese. He added that some of the diocese's best benefactors were non-Catholics.[20]

The Jesuits, too, were becoming upset with Feeney and his leadership. In August 1948, the Jesuit Provincial, John J. McEleney, S.J., reassigned Feeney to Holy Cross College. Eventually Feeney refused to leave, arguing that the students at the Center were counting on his courses for the fall semester and he could not be replaced with such a short notice of his removal. Neither he nor his associates saw his refusal as a violation of his vow of obedience. They appealed to St. Thomas Aquinas to support their contention that obedience was not

[18]"Cardinal Cushing of Boston (1895-1970)," unpublished paper delivered at the American Catholic Historical Association's Winter Meeting, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 7, 2006, pp. 5-7.

[19]"Archbishop Asks End to Feuding Among Religions," *Boston Daily Globe* (February 16, 1948), 5.

[20]"Abp. Cushing Asks Catholics to End Any Religious Bias," *Boston Daily Globe* (August 9, 1948), 1, 9.

to be given to superiors in all things. In the *Summa Theologica*, Aquinas, interpreting Acts 5:29 ("We ought to obey God rather than men"), argued that "Now sometimes the things commanded by a superior are against God. Therefore superiors are not to be obeyed in all things."[21] Feeney was needed, Clarke and other members claimed, to continue to foster the spiritual life. In September the Feeneyites wrote the Jesuit Provincial protesting the reassignment order.[22] In the midst of this controversy with the Jesuit Provincial, moreover, they met with Archbishop Cushing and Auxiliary Bishop John Wright to try to iron out what they considered unjustified orders on the part of religious superiors. But they received no satisfaction in those ecclesiastical quarters.

Feeney continued to serve at the Center and to reject orders from his ecclesiastical superiors. Members of St. Benedict's now considered episcopal leadership itself to fall under the "liberal" label. They compared themselves to St. Athanasius and St. Thomas More, both of whom suffered persecution from ecclesiastical authorities when they upheld orthodoxy. St. Athanasius was in fact exiled five times for upholding right doctrine.[23] Like St. Athanasius and St. Thomas More, the St. Benedict's group was being persecuted by a hierarchy influenced more by liberal than by Catholic doctrines. Under such circumstances, on January 1, 1949, after the publication of the Karam article, about seventy members formed a new religious congregation called the Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and took vows that bound them to a religious life, whether married or celibate. They would maintain orthodoxy in spite of ecclesiastical disapproval. They believed that they may have to suffer for their orthodox cause, as did the Saints Athanasius and More, but, they asserted, history would eventually vindicate their cause as it did that of those two saints.

[21]Text cited in Clarke, *The Loyolas*, p. 117.

[22]Letter republished in Clarke, *The Loyolas*, p. 113.

[23]Clarke, *The Loyolas*, p. 118. The appeal to St. Athanasius as a model of orthodoxy in spite of persecution was very much a part of St. Benedict Center from the earliest days. Like many at the Center, Avery Dulles was interested in studying the fathers and doctors of the Church and had planned to write a book on the Church doctors. He had prepared four chapters of his book before he abandoned the project when he entered the Jesuits. See "Chapter I. St. Athanasius" (April 1946); "Saint Ephrem," *From the Housetops* 1 (December 1946), 50-60; "Chapter III. Saint Hilary" (May 1946); "Chapter IV. Saint Cyril of Jerusalem" (May 1946). The unpublished texts are in the Dulles Papers at Fordham University. Dulles' paper on St. Athanasius underlined Athanasius' courage and steadfastness in holding on to orthodox doctrine in the midst of a world that was very much against him.

While St. Benedict's was organizing itself into a religious community at the beginning of 1949, Philip J. Donnelly, S.J., a professor of dogmatic theology at the Jesuit seminary at Weston, Massachusetts, was preparing a position paper, "Some Observations on the Question of Salvation Outside the Church" (January 29, 1949) for Boston College. The paper was a direct response to Karam's December 1948 article.[24] The thesis of the brief paper was indicated in the opening sentence: "The first point to be made is that the formula 'extra ecclesiam nulla salus' must not be understood in the sense that salvation is impossible for any one who does not believe explicitly in the Catholic Church, and does not accept all the revealed truths proposed by her for belief." Donnelly went on to support his argument by citing the Church's traditional teachings on a baptism of desire and the possibility of invincible ignorance as grounds for acknowledging the possibility of salvation for those outside the Catholic Church. Donnelly's attitude to the Center came out clearly. He asserted that "It is quite one thing to maintain that Protestants or pagans are just as favorably situated with regard to salvation as Catholics, and quite another thing to maintain that they are in bad faith and are to be spurned because they do not submit to a distorted interpretation of Catholic doctrine." The spirit behind St. Benedict's, Donnelly asserted, not only alienated Protestants but was also a "positive scandal to Catholics." He ended his brief "Observations" with an attack on "some Catholics, whose zeal outruns their knowledge of Catholic truth." Those Catholics "fall into the state of mind that they condemn so bitterly, namely, a spirit of smug Protestant righteousness, of arrogating to oneself the prerogative of judging others with the mercilessness of a Lutheran or Calvinistic God, and of superficial private judgment in a totally unfounded interpretation of the subjective state of Protestants generally, and in a corresponding depreciation of authority, which borders on contempt." This retort was not calculated to bring peace to the Boston Catholic community. And it did not. Karam responded with a seventy-page reply to what he called this "perfect expression of liberalism,"[25] an article that lined up again all the sources for his restricted view of *extra ecclesiam*.

Karam's initial article on "Liberal Theology and Salvation" had disturbed the Boston episcopacy to such an extent that it had decided to shut down *From the Housetops*. Accordingly, Monsignor Augustine F.

[24]The brief paper was published by Karam in "Reply to a Liberal," *From the Housetops* 3 (Spring 1949), 1-70. See pp. 5-7 for "Some Observations." The paper is also in the archives of Boston College.

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

Hickey, pastor of St. Paul's Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was ordered on January 17, 1949 to tell Father Feeney that the chancery had suspended the journal. The order had little effect. The magazine continued to publish in defiance of the "liberal" archdiocese.

By the end of January 1949 the contest between the Center and Boston College was reaching a point of no return. Three Boston College professors (i.e., Fakhri Maluf, James R. Walsh, and Charles Ewaskio) and a teacher of German at Boston College High School (David D. Supple), all of whom were members of St. Benedict's, wrote a letter to the President of Boston College, William L. Keleher, S.J., on January 24, 1949 protesting against those professors at Boston College who were teaching heresies on salvation.[26] That charge got the three professors in trouble with Boston College. The President, after an investigation of the charges, warned the three that they were in danger of being fired if they continued to make unsubstantiated charges. The three, with support from other members, wrote Keleher protesting that their academic freedom was being violated. They also wrote to Archbishop Cushing and then appealed to Pope Pius XII on February 11, 1949, protesting against the "false doctrines" on salvation being taught in Catholic colleges and seminaries in the United States and dangerous practices of interfaith meetings being conducted by some American Catholics. Such doctrinal laxity needed to be investigated, the letter implied.[27] The three professors continued to push their case before the Jesuit Provincial, the Superior General of the Jesuits in Rome, as well as the President of Boston College. Finally, in April the President called the three in and presented them with an ultimatum: retract their charges or be fired. They would not retract and were summarily fired.[28] The President claimed that all four teachers were

[26]Letter in Clarke, *The Loyolas*, pp. 154-155.

[27]Letter in Clarke, *The Loyolas*, pp. 159-161.

[28]The first dispute over academic freedom in Catholic colleges, according to Philip Gleason, arose in 1965 at St. John's University in Jamaica, New York. For Gleason's assessment of the St. John's academic freedom case, see his *Contending With Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1995), pp. 308-310. Gleason did not consider the Boston College case. The fact that the Boston controversy has not received much attention as an issue of academic freedom may say something about the general sensitivities of Catholic college professors in the 1940's for whom the issue of academic freedom was not a high priority. Professors at Boston College who apparently were unsympathetic with the fired professors did not protest against the president's decision. It was clear to Father George A. O'Donnell, S.J., dean of Boston College's Graduate School, however, that the issue was one of academic freedom. He was reported to have said: "It is very strange that the first time that the question of academic

removed from their positions because of "ideas leading to bigotry and intolerance."[29]

St. Benedict's appeals to Pope Pius XII put the Vatican machinery into operation. The pope sent the Feeneyite letter to the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office, the Vatican congregation that decided issues of faith and doctrine, for a determination. The Holy Office met in July of 1949 and issued a decision, *Suprema haec sacra* (August 8, 1949), which was sent to Archbishop Cushing, communicated to members of St. Benedict's, and then excerpts of the declaration were published in the *Boston Pilot*.[30] The "unfortunate controversy" over the axiom "no salvation outside the Church," the Holy Office declared, arose from the fact that it "was not correctly understood and weighed, and that the same controversy was rendered more bitter by serious disturbance of discipline arising from the fact that some of the associates of the institutions [St. Benedict's and Boston College] ... refused reverence and obedience to legitimate authorities." The axiom, the decree continued, contained an "infallible statement" (*infallibile effatum continetur*)[31] that the Church had always and would never cease to preach, but "this dogma must be understood in that sense in which the Church herself understands it. For, it was not to private judgments that Our Saviour gave for explanation those things that are contained in the deposit of faith, but to the teaching authority of the Church." The Holy Office then proceeded to interpret the axiom, declaring that "no one will be saved who, knowing the Church to have been divinely established by Christ, nevertheless refuses to submit to the Church or withholds obedience from the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ on earth." This interpreta-

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liberty arises here we should be to the 'left' against an extremely 'right' position." On this, see Clarke, *The Loyolas*, p. 150. Perhaps a more thorough examination of the Boston case can tell us something about the slow development of sensitivities to academic freedom in American Catholic colleges and universities.

[29]"Jesuit Defends 4 in 'Heresy' Case," *New York Times* (April 18, 1949), 25.

[30]See "Holy Office Condemns Teachings and Actions of St. Benedict's Center," *Boston Pilot* 120 (September 3, 1949), 1. In what follows I am quoting from the *Boston Pilot*'s 1952 English translation of the entire text. See "Suprema Sacra Congregatio Sancti Officii," *Boston Pilot* 120 (September 6, 1952): 1. See also "A Letter From the Holy Office," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 127 (October 1952), 305-315. The Holy Office's decision was eventually published in Denzinger, see *Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum*, edited by Henry Denzinger and Adolf Schönmetzer, 33rd edition (New York, 1965), nrs. 3866-3873.

[31]When excerpts from the decree were translated in 1949, this passage was translated as an "incontestable principle." See "Holy Office Condemns Teachings and Actions of St. Benedict's Center," *Boston Pilot* 120 (September 3, 1949), 1.

tion, however, was not meant to exclude from salvation all those who did not belong to the body of the Church.

The Holy Office made it clear that it did not agree with the rigorous interpretation. "That one may obtain eternal salvation, it is not always required that he be incorporated into the Church actually as a member, but it is necessary that at least he be united to her by desire and longing. However, this desire need not always be explicit, as it is in catechumens; but when a person is involved in invincible ignorance, God accepts also an implicit desire, so called because it is included in that good disposition of soul whereby a person wishes his will to be conformed to the will of God." There were those, as Pius XII indicated in *Mystici corporis* (1943), who were related to "the Mystical Body of the Redeemer by a certain unconscious yearning and desire." Those with a certain "implicit desire" could not be excluded from salvation as long as that desire was "animated by perfect charity." Taking these qualifications of the axiom into consideration, the Holy Office declared that the teaching found in the Karam article, was "far from being" the "genuine teaching of the Catholic Church" and was "very harmful both to those within the Church and those without."

The document also singled out Father Feeney, saying that it was "beyond understanding" how he could consider himself a "Defender of the faith" and at the same time "not hesitate to attack the catechetical instruction proposed by lawful authorities, and has not even feared to incur grave sanctions threatened by the sacred canons because of his serious violations of his duties as a religious, a priest, and an ordinary member of the Church." In the past, Feeney had attacked a revised edition of the *Baltimore Catechism*,[32] as a "liberal" document because of

[32]In 1949, the American Catholic bishops published a revised edition of the *Baltimore Catechism*, entitled *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine, No. 3* (Paterson, N.J., 1949). The catechism interpreted the *extra ecclesiam* doctrine: "When we say, 'Outside the Church there is no salvation,' we mean that those who through their own grave fault do not know that the Catholic Church is the true Church or, knowing it, refuse to join it, cannot be saved. 'Outside the Church there is no salvation' does not mean that everyone who is not a Catholic will be condemned. It does mean that no one can be saved unless he belongs in some manner to the Catholic Church, either actually or in desire, for the means of grace are not given without some relation to the divine institution established by Christ." Feeney protested that this interpretation "contradicts the dogma which has been defined repeatedly by the Catholic Church, namely that there is no salvation outside the Church." In view of the episcopal teaching, Feeney is reported to have said that he and others were appealing to the pope for an *ex cathedra* papal pronouncement against this episcopal teaching. On Feeney's assertions, see "Papal Rule Asked on New Catechism," *New York Times* (April 23, 1949), 9.

the qualifications it had placed on the *extra ecclesiam* dictum. The Holy Office concluded by calling upon the St. Benedict's associates to abide by their own principles and submit to the teaching of the Catholic Church and to the Sovereign Pontiff, a submission that "is required as necessary for salvation."[33]

After receiving the Vatican document, Archbishop Cushing called Feeney to come to his home to hear the decision, but Feeney refused to do so. Cushing then sent his Vicar General and two clerical representatives of the diocese to inform Feeney and others of the decision, but they all refused to listen. They were convinced that Rome could not have decided against them. Even prior to this encounter, on April 18, 1949, Cushing had suspended Feeney and interdicted St. Benedict's. After repeated attempts to get Feeney to respond to his Jesuit superior's entreaties to recant and obey, the Jesuit General in Rome finally, on October 10, 1949, dismissed Feeney from the Jesuits. After being notified of his dismissal, Feeney told reporters that he was being treated unjustly and that leaders of the Boston archdiocese were "notably ignorant in the field of Catholic theology."[34]

Despite the suspension and the interdict, Feeney continued to serve at the Center, in opposition to Archbishop Cushing's orders and in defiance of the Vatican declaration, which he and his associates considered a manifestation of the extent of liberalism within the Church. Nonetheless, Feeney felt vindicated to some extent by Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Humani generis* (August 21, 1950), which clearly upheld the *extra ecclesiam* doctrine. The pope declared, though, that "Some reduce to a meaningless formula the necessity of belonging to the true Church in order to gain salvation. . . . These and like errors, it is clear, have crept in among certain of our sons who are deceived by imprudent zeal for souls or by false science. To them we are compelled with grief to repeat once again truths already well known and to point out with solicitude clear errors and dangers of error."[35] The *New York Times* and other newspapers and journals across the country saw these statements as a clear vindication of Father Feeney's position, and asked him to comment on them. He, of course, happily

[33]Because of ongoing conflicts between the archdiocese and St. Benedict's, the full Latin text and the English translation were published in 1952. See "Suprema Sacra Congregatio Sancti Officii," *Boston Pilot* 120 (September 6, 1952), 1.

[34]"Expelled By Jesuits, Father Feeney Says," *New York Times* (October 29, 1949), 30.

[35]*Humani generis*, nrs. 27-28. See Claudia Carlen, ed., *The Papal Encyclicals 1939-1958* (Raleigh, 1990), p. 179.

responded that the pope was giving the same kind of warning about lax and dangerous and liberal interpretations of that doctrine that Feeney had himself been giving for years. "I am positive the encyclical (on dogma) upholds our stand on doctrine," he announced to newspaper reporters.[36]

After the publication of *Humani generis*, Catholic newspapers continued to interpret the doctrine *extra ecclesiam* with the traditional qualifications. The "liberal" Father Fenton of the Catholic University of America published two articles on the encyclical in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* in February and March 1951, charging that Father Feeney, Karam, and others were those the pope had identified as reducing "the doctrine to a meaningless formula." The Feeneyite interpretation, he implied, was "a mask or an excuse for disobedient and schismatical conduct towards legitimate ecclesiastical authority." For Fenton the *extra ecclesiam* doctrine meant that no one could be saved "unless he is within the Church either *in re* or by either an explicit or an implicit *votum* [desire]." Such was the "standard terminology of most modern theologians on this subject."[37] The doctrine of *extra ecclesiam* was taught not only in *Humani generis*; it was at the heart of Pope Pius XII's *Mystici corporis* (1943), and had been asserted in Vatican I's first schema on the Constitution on the Church.

The Boston heresy case came to a head in 1952, more than three years after the suspension and interdict, when the Holy Office examined the St. Benedict case again in response to repeated requests to do so. After considering the case, the Holy Office simply reaffirmed its decision of 1949 and asked Archbishop Cushing to publish in its entirety the 1949 Latin text with its English translation. Both texts were published in the *Boston Pilot* on September 6, 1952. The Vatican also made one final attempt to bring about a reconciliation with Feeney. The Holy Office wrote him, ordering him, under pain of excommunication, to come to Rome to explain his actions. The effort, however, was of no avail. On February 13, 1953, therefore, the Vatican

[36]On Feeney's responses, see Clarke, *Gate of Heaven*, pp. 22-24, 34-35. "Absolved of Heresy by Pope, Feeney Says," *New York Times* (August 23, 1950), 38.

[37]"The Meaning of the Church's Necessity for Salvation," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 124 (February 1951), 124-143; (March 1951), 203-221. See pp. 126-129, 141-142, 203 for Fenton's comments on the Feeneyites. For Clarke's reaction to Fenton's interpretation, see *Gate of Heaven*, p. 24. Later in his career, Fenton published a monograph on the subject; see *The Catholic Church and Salvation: In the Light of Recent Pronouncements of the Holy See* (Westminster, Maryland, 1958).

excommunicated Feeney.[38] He was excommunicated, though, for a disobedience that caused scandal and disunity in the Church. The extreme interpretation of *extra ecclesiam* was at the center of his disobedience. He continued to hold on to that interpretation for the remainder of his life, and found comfort in the fact that the Vatican itself had reasserted the doctrine of no salvation outside the Church even after he had been suspended and excommunicated.

The doctrinal dictum would again be proclaimed at Vatican II. *Lumen Gentium*, Vatican II's document on the Church, clearly articulated the ancient teaching: "Basing itself upon Sacred Scripture and Tradition, it [the Council] teaches that the Church, now sojourning on earth as an exile, is necessary for salvation. . . . Whosoever, therefore, knowing that the Catholic Church was made necessary by Christ, would refuse to enter or to remain in it, could not be saved."[39] After the Council the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1994) reaffirmed the teaching, providing the standard qualifications of the doctrine.[40]

Avery Dulles, S.J., as a theologian and a major interpreter of Vatican II, repeatedly referred to the *extra ecclesiam* axiom, but never in the Feeneyite sense. In fact, he argued against that interpretation in his doctoral dissertation and affirmed *Suprema haec sacra*'s qualifications of the doctrine.[41] By the mid 1960's he took a more radical approach

[38]On the excommunication, see "Feeney Reported Excommunicated," *New York Times* (February 20, 1953), 13.

[39]*Lumen Gentium*, art. 14; see also arts. 18, 24, 26. *Lumen Gentium*, art. 16, adds in new language the traditional qualifier: "Those also can attain to everlasting salvation who through no fault of their own do not know the gospel of Christ or his Church, yet sincerely seek God and, moved by grace, strive by their deeds to do His will as it is known to them through the dictates of conscience." See *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter M. Abbott (New York, 1966), pp. 32-34.

[40]*The Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Washington, D.C., 1994), nos. 846-848.

[41]Dulles had referred to the Holy Office's 1949 *Suprema haec sacra* decision against St. Benedict's in his doctoral dissertation, "Protestant Churches and the Prophetic Office," S.T.D. dissertation, Pontifical Gregorian University, 1960, pp. 82-86, 92. He argued that Protestants could not only have the virtue of faith, which *Suprema haec sacra* affirmed, but the act of faith. In that dissertation, an excerpt of which was published in 1961, Dulles had also appealed to the Vatican document's understanding of the implicit desire (*votum*) for baptism, arguing that the votum could be applied to other sacraments, including the sacrament of orders. Why could one not see in the Protestant rites of ordination an implicit desire for sacramental ordination? Could there not be, he asked, an "ordination in desire?" He was here extending the traditional modifications of the *extra ecclesiam* dictum well beyond traditional application, developing what John Courtney Murray had called the growing edge of the tradition. On this, see Dulles'

to the axiom, asserting that the "formula must be changed because in the mental and social structures of the contemporary world there is no longer any room for an exclusivist concept of the church."[42] He reinforced this interpretation in his *Survival of Dogma* (1971), where he advised interpreters of the doctrine to allow for "sociological factors that may have led to narrowness. . . , exorbitant claims (the bull *Unam sanctam!*), harshness toward adversaries and the like"; such claims were unconscious of the various factors that frequently influenced the human formulations of Catholic doctrine.[43] In his *Models of the Church*, Dulles acknowledged the doctrine in his treatment of the institutional model of the Church. Speaking of Vatican I's assertion of the doctrine, Dulles comments that "Subtle distinctions are made to mitigate the apparent harsh consequences of this position without lessening the motivation to join and remain in the 'true Church.'" In Dulles' institutional model, the Catholic Church tends to "become a *total* institution—one that exists for its own sake and serves others only by aggrandizing itself."[44] In describing his understanding of the sacramental model of the Church, the model he seems to prefer, Dulles notes that the sacramental model has an advantage over the institutional model in that "without neglecting the importance of the visible Church, [it] give[s] ample scope to the workings of divine grace beyond the limits of the institutional Church."[45] That interpretation would not have been acceptable to the Feeneyites.

Later in his career as a theologian, though, Dulles reaffirmed the axiom, acknowledging that it had been taught in the Second Vatican Council and the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. By 2000, moreover, he wanted to counter a trend among some Catholics who held that the Catholic Church no longer taught the necessity of Christian faith for salvation. Vatican II, he told his readers, confirmed the doctrine of *extra ecclesiam*, "adding explanations that had become common in theology and papal teaching since the sixteenth century." Such Catholic teaching,

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Protestant Church and the Prophetic Office (Woodstock, Maryland, 1961), pp. 40-41. St. Benedict's, of course, would not have been happy with this ecumenical development. Repeatedly in later works Dulles appealed to *Suprema haec sacra* as a step on the way to official Catholic recognition (in Vatican II) of the ecclesial reality of non-Catholic churches.

[42]"Dogma as an Ecumenical Problem," *Theological Studies* 29 (September 1968), 407.

[43](New York, 1971), pp. 181-182.

[44]*Models of the Church* (1978; New York, 2002), p. 34.

[45]*Ibid.*, p. 65.

though, held that "persons who are not in a position to recognize the necessity of believing in Christ and joining the Church may be saved, but only if they are positively related to Christ and the Church."[46] Dulles' interpretation of *extra ecclesiam* reflected the view of the majority of Catholic theologians in the twentieth century.

Dulles never supported Feeney's and St. Benedict's interpretation of *extra ecclesiam* and in fact separated himself from them as soon as they took up their stance, breaking off his previous extensive correspondence with his godmother Catherine Clarke and Feeney.[47] Nevertheless, Dulles had a warm regard for Feeney, Clarke, and a number of the St. Benedict's associates. Feeney was reconciled to the Church in 1972 and two years later a large segment of St. Benedict's Center was also reconciled. When Feeney died in 1978, many of the press obituaries focused on his conflict with the Church and his excommunication. Dulles, however, wrote a memorial that highlighted his charismatic qualities as a priest, poet, teacher, and preacher. Most of his teachings were based on "solid doctrine."[48] Two years after Feeney's death, moreover, Dulles went to the reconciled St. Benedict's Abbey in Still River, Massachusetts, to visit Feeney's and Clarke's graves and to celebrate with members of the community the fortieth anniversary of his own entrance into the Church, an entrance made easier with the assistance of his godmother Catherine Clarke, "a woman of charismatic charm and contagious enthusiasm."[49] He also returned to St. Benedict's in 1990 to celebrate his fiftieth anniversary. Dulles did not reduce Feeney's and Clarke's lives to the doctrinal controversy, and he did not focus on the blunders of the past but on the positive contributions of Feeney and the St. Benedict's Center. Despite his extremes, Feeney resisted "any dilution of the Christian faith" and passed it on "entire, as a precious heritage, to the generations yet to come." He was "the great apostle of salvation within the church."[50]

CONCLUSIONS

What does this doctrinal conflict over salvation within the Church tell us about post-war American Catholicism? In some ways, Feeney

[46]*The New World of Faith* (Huntington, Indiana, 2000), p. 109.

[47]The extensive correspondence between Dulles and Clarke is located in the archives of St. Benedict Abbey, Still River, Massachusetts.

[48]"Leonard Feeney: In Memoriam," *America* 138 (February 2, 1978), 135-137.

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 135.

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 137.

and his group reflected a tendency in post-war American Catholicism to develop a distinctive Catholic culture and to emphasize, without compromise, the beliefs of the Church. In other ways the Feeneyites were out of step with a tendency they saw in American Catholicism to minimize doctrine and especially to neglect the central importance of the doctrine of salvation. They protested repeatedly against an emerging all-inclusiveness with respect to salvation—a tendency that made salvation cheap, a matter of sentiment and/or of sheer will power. An American Catholic tendency to religious inclusiveness and toleration seemed to them to be a capitulation to the American tendency toward doctrinal indifferentism. What was needed was absolute consistency. They were not willing to play by the American rules of religious toleration and inclusiveness which they saw as sentimental religiosity—a religion without substance.

Mark Massa has interpreted the Feeney episode as "the irony of the 'boundary redefinition' between Catholicism and American culture."[51] The Feeneyites' cultural deviance, that is, their extravagant interpretation of *extra ecclesiam*, supplied a focus for American Catholic group identity in the post-war period. Their protests against a "seemingly uncritical embrace of all things American" ironically led to their ouster from the Catholic Church, out of which there was, in their view, no salvation. They established rigorous boundaries that the larger Catholic community could not accept. So, in Massa's interpretation, the Catholic community used the Feeneyites in 1949 "to define itself vis-à-vis American culture."[52] Massa's interpretation has much to recommend it in terms of cultural history.

One can agree with Massa that St. Benedict's case was significant historically because it reflected postwar tensions in Catholicism as it moved more and more to accommodate elements of American culture. The Feeney group, as Dulles suggests, clearly sensed what was going on, and its extreme counter-cultural reaction to what it considered a capitulation to the dominant cultural values tells us something about what was at stake in the postwar years. St. Benedict's was clearly disturbed by Archbishop Cushing's ecumenical activities and those of other "liberal" Catholics and they saw a certain softening of Catholic doctrines to foster an ecumenical spirit in the postwar years—a trend in American Catholicism that is generally unaccounted for in the history texts that

[51] *Catholics and American Culture*, p. 23.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

focus so much on the conflicts of the Paul Blanshard years. Historians of John Courtney Murray have identified Paul Hanley Furfey's and Francis J. Connell's opposition to intercreedal cooperation in the immediate postwar years, but few have paid any attention to the more radical critiques of the issue by the Boston Feeneyites. More work needs to be done on this very early anti-intercreedalism, a movement consistent with some Anti-Americanists of the late nineteenth century.

Feeney's reaction to the ecumenical trend was extreme, and extreme cases, as William James once taught, can tell us much about a subject because they yield "the profounder information."[53] The extraordinary reveals something of the ordinary, the abnormal something of the normal. The case of St. Benedict's can tell us much about American Catholicism in general at mid-century. The St. Benedict's group indicates something of the counter-cultural reactions of the general Catholic ethos of the times, and it reveals much about the differing options presented to that community in the immediate post-war years. The group was also one of the first to designate a new phenomenon in American Catholicism, the presence of a "liberal" Catholicism. The fact that almost everyone outside St. Benedict's fell into their "liberal" category should not detract from the historical significance of their designation of an emerging trend in American Catholicism. Their charges, moreover, reflect something of a recurring theme in American Catholicism. Not unlike the charges of capitulation to democracy brought against Bishop John England in the early nineteenth century, the Anti-Americanist charges of the late nineteenth century, and the anti-modernist charges of the early twentieth century, the anti-liberalism charges of the Feeney group discloses a theme in American Catholic history that has not received sufficient attention from historians. The Feeneyite critique of capitulation to American values, moreover, seems to me to be comparable to some American Catholic critiques of 1960's—in style if not in substance. These similarities, too, need further historical assessment.

The more substantive issue, however, is that of the American Catholic notions of the relationship between the Church and salvation. This doctrinal issue, too, has not received from historians the kind of analysis it deserves. The issue of salvation, a topic so central in

[53]*The Varieties of Religious Experience. A Study in Human Nature, Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion Delivered at Edinburgh in 1901-1902* (London, 1902), p. 486.

Protestant theology since the Reformation, has been given little attention in the histories of American Catholicism, and one wonders why? John Carroll addressed the issue of exclusive salvation in his first major published address (1784) to Catholics in the United States, John Thayer did so in 1792, and Orestes A. Brownson interpreted the *extra ecclesiam* dictum in a way analogous to the Feeney group in 1847 and 1874. I think we need a monograph on the history of the doctrine of salvation in American Catholicism. The United States did contribute something to the rethinking of the *extra ecclesiam* dictum, as the Boston heresy case reveals; that doctrinal issue in American Catholicism needs more careful historical analyses.[54] The Boston heresy case needs to be put in a much larger context of the changing Catholic conceptions of the relationship between the Church and salvation in the twentieth century (especially between *Mystici corporis* in 1943 and the Second Vatican Council). Such a study could tell us much about the history of Catholic theology and much about the changing relationship between Catholics and Protestants in the United States. The issue of salvation is significant, too, because it is again a controversial issue in American Catholicism. We need to situate the current debates in a wider historical context.

[54]Louis Capéran, *Le problème du salut des infidèles*, vol. 1, *Essai historique*, rev. ed. (Paris, 1934), Jerome P. Theisen, *The Ultimate Church and the Promise of Salvation* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1976), and Francis A. Sullivan, *Salvation Outside the Church? Tracing the History of the Catholic Response* (New York, 1992), have examined the longer history of the phrase, and Theisen and Sullivan have included some reference to the St. Benedict case, but they have not focused on the American Catholic understanding of the doctrine.

MISCELLANY

MY LIFE OF LEARNING

By

John W. O'Malley, S.J.*

Aunt Annie, Uncle, and their grown son Paul lived next door to us. They were Easthoms, my mother's family on her mother's side. The Easthoms were supposedly Methodists, but they smoked, drank, carried on, and never were known to darken a church door. I liked them a lot. They got along marvelously well with the Gallaghers, mother's family on her father's side. The Gallaghers were Catholics, but the difference in religion was taken in stride through several intermarriages of the two families.

Aunt lived with mother, dad, and me. She too was an Easthom, Uncle's sister. We had Easthom relatives all over that little easternmost plot of Ohio right on the Ohio River. One of my favorites was my great-uncle Noble Easthom, brother to Aunt and Uncle. I liked him as much for his neat name as for anything else. Although the Easthom women had not the slightest inkling of it, they were DARs, but of the underachieving variety. The whole clan lacked ambition and was intent simply on enjoying life as much as possible, as long as not too much exertion was required in doing so.

In that regard the Gallaghers could hardly have been more different. They were energetic, ambitious, and intellectually curious. They were also social climbers. Michael Gallagher, my mother's uncle and her legal guardian after her parents died, made a modest fortune for himself in mining and railroads, and he rose to prominence in the inner circle of his fellow Ohioan, that great American president Warren G. Harding. To the relief and somewhat to the surprise of the family, Uncle Mike escaped unscathed in the Teapot Dome Scandal. Yes, except for the Easthoms, all my relatives, including my father's family, were staunch Republicans. The Easthoms were as unpolitical as they were unchurched, except that they for good reason kept a wary eye on local elections to see who might be elected sheriff.

I assume it was my grandfather's ambition for my mother, his only child, that motivated his sending her off at age ten to Mount de Chantal Academy, a rela-

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tively near, highly esteemed convent boarding school, whose curriculum I described in my *Four Cultures of the West*—six years of French, four years of Latin, several sciences, et cetera, and of course a strong program in vocal and instrumental music. Besides my mother, five of my female cousins went to the Mount, loved it, and never got together without talking about it, which meant that the ethos of the school had a profound influence on my life.

The six years of French, for instance, stuck with my mother, and we were therefore Francophiles. Even before I could read, mother taught me snatches of French verse, which in subtle ways opened vistas for me of life more exotic than Tiltonsville, Ohio, population 3,000. I was about ten when I discovered in the library of my grammar school a little book entitled something like *The Kings of France*. I devoured it, could not get enough of it, went back to it again and again. Not only was it about France, but it was about KINGS - about the good old days. I now see that my passion for *The Kings of France* was an early sign I was headed for no good.

Despite my father's surname, his family was in language and spirit German. His parents died in an influenza epidemic before he was a year old, and he and his two sisters were raised by their maternal grandparents, German immigrants. Hard to believe, but the O'Malleys spoke German at home! My dad's two sisters married men of 100 per cent German background, which meant that that side of my family had decided Teutonic sympathies, only slightly tempered by the Great War and the rise of Hitler. They all lived in the big city of Wheeling, West Virginia, ten miles away, which is where my father also had his business. This side was as Catholic as Catholic could be, much stricter in their outlook and practice than either of my parents. I suspect that it was from my father's family that I somehow picked up my early interest in the Reformation.

That interest was also sparked, I am sure, by having so many Protestant relatives and by going to a public school where my classmates were about 50 per cent Methodist and 50 per cent Catholic. The two churches were the focal points for the social life of the town. In that regard the Catholics had a decided advantage in that their church sponsored bingo and card parties and at church picnics sold beer and wine. Long before anybody in our milieu had heard the word ecumenical, we kids were altogether ecumenical in our social relationships. Of my two best friends, one was a Methodist and the other, as best I could tell, casually agnostic. I can't recall that we ever once had a conversation about religion.

In any case, I was from a tender age a confirmed and irredeemable history addict. My mother was as much responsible for my addiction as anybody. When I was about eight I began piano lessons, and mother insisted with two successive teachers that I was to learn the history of music as well as keyboard skills. She herself picked the texts the teachers were to use. In high school, even though history courses were miserably taught by coaches and intended as easy-pass options for the football team, I took every one of them. I lapped them

up, and therefore I'm sure that, totally unawares, I was roundly hated by the jocks for whom the courses were designed.

In my first year in high school I had two remarkable teachers. Miss Funari taught Latin. Her course was certainly one of the most important intellectual experiences of my life. Under her tutelage I for the first time came to understand language and how it works. Mr. Kerr taught English. Every Friday he made us produce a different kind of paper—an essay, a poem, a story. He took me aside several times for encouragement about my writing, which meant a lot to an impressionable fourteen-year-old.

By the end of high school I was fairly sure I wanted to be a priest, and I think I wanted to be so for the right reasons—but that is a story for another occasion. In my voracious but undisciplined reading, I'd often come across the Jesuits and knew that they were teachers, a vocation to which I was also attracted. Although I'd never laid eyes on a Jesuit in my life, I wrote away (as they say) toward the end of my senior year. If I were serious about joining, I was told in reply, I should go to Cleveland, about 100 miles away, to be interviewed. That's what I did. In retrospect I marvel that my parents, otherwise level-headed, went along with this madcap venture of their only child—once I took the trouble to tell them what I had perpetrated in my correspondence.

The Jesuits put me off for six months, ostensibly to give me time to do a crash course in Latin, but I'm sure it was also to give them a chance to look over this naive eighteen-year-old who appeared out of nowhere and knocked at their door. After I was admitted, the person who supervised my first two years in the order at the novitiate in Milford, Ohio, the Master of Novices, was a remarkable man, William Young. He had studied theology in Spain, read classics at Oxford, and went on to translate into English selections from the correspondence of Ignatius of Loyola and other important works related to Jesuit history. In that last regard he was a pioneer. Learned himself, he insisted with us novices that learning was an ideal of the Society of Jesus toward which every member should strive. I was not yet twenty, happily susceptible to this indoctrination.

I moved through the Jesuit training, which included three years of teaching history at St. Ignatius High School in Chicago, an invaluable experience for me in making complex issues comprehensible. The final phase of the training was four years of theology at West Baden Springs, Indiana, which included ordination to the priesthood. During that phase I had several wonderful teachers. In fact, the general outlook of the faculty was, for Catholics in the United States in the late 1950's, remarkably "progressive" and *au courant* with what was happening theologically in France and Germany on the eve of the Second Vatican Council.

By this time there was no doubt in my mind or in the mind of my superiors that I would do a doctorate in history and do it in a university of my

choice. Although I knew precious little about the sixteenth century and the Reformation, I was attracted to it for reasons I suggested earlier, but now also because of the growing interest of Catholics in the ecumenical movement.

For my final year of training as a Jesuit, I set off to Austria where I would perfect my German. Before I left the States, however, I visited three universities to which I would apply for my doctoral program—Ohio State, Princeton, and Harvard. My fourth and perhaps best option was to study at the University of Bonn with Hubert Jedin, the great historian of the Council of Trent. Once arrived in Europe, I went to see Jedin, who received me graciously. I therefore also applied there.

The year in Austria proved extremely difficult for me emotionally. It was a total-immersion experience and culture-shock in capital letters. I was, moreover, often bored to utter distraction in this small village of Sankt Andrä im Lavanttal in Carinthia where the ten months would never end. Nonetheless, this was one of the great transforming experiences of my life, as I realized in a depth no book could ever teach me how difficult it is to empathize with and understand a culture not one's own, whether those were cultures of the sixteenth or of the twentieth century.

I was accepted at the schools to which I applied. Since I was interested in church history, the logical place for me was Bonn, the most illogical Harvard, which is of course where I decided to go. As ungrounded a decision as my decision to enter the Jesuits, it turned out to be, like the Jesuit one, inspired. Even at this early stage I had a half-formulated goal of integrating my church history into secular history, and I am sure that at some level that goal influenced my choice of Harvard. As the years have rolled on, the integration of religious history with cultural history has become ever more important to me and guided my scholarship at the deepest level.

But first I had to get from Austria to Cambridge, Massachusetts. The only other American that I knew in Austria went to work persuading me to travel with him for a week in Italy on the way home—Venice, Verona, Florence, and Rome. I resisted. I did not want to go. I had no interest whatsoever in Italy, and the only word of Italian I knew was pizza. Finally, desperate to get my friend off my back, I agreed to make the trip.

We arrived in Venice on a glorious day in July. I could not believe my eyes—the sheer physical beauty of the architecture and the people. Then the food! Venice was thrilling in a way no other city I had visited was thrilling. Then Verona, and then Florence, where we arrived at mid-day. That afternoon I ventured out alone and strolled toward the cathedral. I'll never forget the moment my eye caught Giotto's *campanile*. It took my breath away.

Something was happening to me, and I liked it. Meanwhile that afternoon I kept walking past *gelaterie*, where the ice cream offerings were cleverly displayed so as to tempt the weak. Desire welled up within me. But I knew no

Italian. Then I remembered: fortune favors the brave. I walked into one, pointed, got two dips, managed to pay for them, and walked out into the sunshine. As I licked away at my ice cream cone, I said to myself, "This is a good country." Then, like a bolt of lightening out of the heavens, the fateful question struck me. Why don't you go into Italian history? Yeah, why not, was the fateful answer to the fateful question. And thus it came to pass. I put it this way: Luther had his Tower Experience, I had my *gelateria* experience.

At Harvard I met Myron Gilmore, my academic adviser, who also happened to be an Italophile. I also met Heiko Oberman, and my first semester I enrolled in his seminar on late-medieval Nominalism. Oberman, young, feisty, determined to prove himself and to test every student in the fiery furnace of his blunt Dutch criticism, shaped me like no other teacher up to that point. I learned in a new (sometimes painful) way what evidence was, how not to move beyond it, how important it was to examine one's presuppositions and to discard them when the evidence proved them unfounded. Suffering bonded us students in the seminar together, and I formed friendships that have endured through the years. I fortunately had a good background in medieval Scholasticism and my Latin was fluent, so I was able to hold my own.

Second semester was challenging in a different way in Gilmore's seminar on Machiavelli, which I had no choice but to take. Just four students, no place to hide, and I knew nothing about the Renaissance, about Humanism, and of course nothing about Machiavelli except that he was a bad guy. For three and a half months every Monday evening I pasted a knowing smile on my face to try to conceal that I had absolutely no idea what anybody was talking about. Somehow I got through it, finished the year, and then sailed into preparation for the general examination to be taken at the end of the next year. In this preparation Giles Constable played an important role as one of my mentors, and I still marvel at how generous he was with his time for me.

Meanwhile my thoughts turned to a dissertation topic. Myron suggested Giles of Viterbo, of whom of course I'd never heard before. I pasted that faithful old knowing smile on my face and said it sounded like a good idea. One day I noticed a poster in the office of the History Department announcing a new pre-doctoral Fellowship for research at the American Academy in Rome. That sounded like something worth trying for, because I had found out that most of Giles's manuscripts were in Rome. So once again I wrote away, giving Myron Gilmore of course as a reference.

A few weeks later Myron accosted me. "John, did you apply for a fellowship to the American Academy in Rome?" "Yes." "Do you have any idea what the American Academy in Rome is?" "No." "You'd better make an appointment to see me."

I got the fellowship, which led to two of the happiest and most formative years of my life. Distinguished scholars, guests of the Academy, regularly joined

us fellows at table. It was stimulating and fun. It was as transforming an experience on a happy note as my year in Austria had been transforming on a painful one. An added bonus was that Myron and Sheila Gilmore, of whom I had grown very fond, were in Rome my first year.

The Academy had a strong art history component. I had never taken an art history course in my life, but in conversation at table I began to get a first-rate art history education. My appetite was whetted and made all the sharper by having so many masterpieces just a few hundred yards away. I was hooked, but of course never expected to have any professional relationship to the field.

O happy days! O delicious months! O sweet years! Yet there *was* a little cloud on the horizon, the dissertation. Practically nothing of Giles's large corpus had been printed, so without any training in paleography I was stuck with trying to decipher his manuscripts. My heart sank when I saw the first one, some 650 pages. That day I got through about half a page. I became more proficient with practice, but then I realized I could not make much sense of what I'd deciphered. This went on day after bleak day, month after increasingly desperate month.

One day I bumped into Myron at the Academy. After a few pleasantries he asked the question I dreaded, "How's the dissertation going?" I could not bear to tell him the depths of my despair. "All right," I lied. "Oh, I'm so relieved to hear it," he replied. "I was a little worried. A student of Sir Isaiah Berlin tried to write a dissertation on Giles. He had a terrible nervous breakdown." Well, the good news was that I knew where I was headed.

Bit by bit things got better and by March of my second year I was able to deliver a draft to Gilmore, who meanwhile had become director of Villa I Tatti, the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies in the former home of Bernard Berenson outside Florence. Myron liked the dissertation, and that was that. Things were simple at Harvard in those days, and I did not have to face a committee.

I need to mention that while I was at the Academy the Second Vatican Council was in session not more than a mile or so away. Through the Academy I had tickets to two of the great public sessions, and through some clerical contacts I managed to slip into a number of the press briefings that occurred every afternoon. I was of course keenly interested in the council because I was a priest and knew that the decisions of the council would probably affect that side of my life.

I also had a more specific, professional interest in it. My work on Giles focused on his activities as a reformer of the Augustinian order when he was prior general, 1506-18. The council had taken *aggiornamento*, updating, as one of its leit-motifs, and I understood *aggiornamento* as a soft word for reform. The council provided me with a good foil for understanding aspects of the sixteenth century, and the sixteenth century provided me with a foil to

understand some things happening in the council. What I was learning was that everything is grist for the historians' mill, including their personal experiences and the events they are living through.

This was exciting and stimulating, but I did not dream at the time that within a few years I would begin writing about the council on a professional basis or that I would continue to do so through the next thirty-five years. Truth be told, I am right now trying to write a book on the council. I had from the beginning of my doctorate, of course, wanted to contribute to scholarship, but I also hoped that I would be able to bring that scholarship to bear on contemporary issues. Somehow or other I've never been able to shake a preoccupation with the "so-what" question, a trait I inherited from my father. My interest in the council provided me my first opportunity to publish along that line, which in a modest way I have been able to do ever since on various topics in both professional and more popular media.

When my time at the Academy drew to a close, my superior in the Jesuits assigned me to the University of Detroit. I had never been there before and soon came to, well, detest the place. I was rescued. Heiko Oberman had asked to read my dissertation. He invited me to publish it in a new series he was editing with Brill. I was delighted and honored. I felt, however, that the dissertation had been done in great haste and that I needed time to double-check and revise it. My dean, not so impressed with the invitation from Oberman as I was, said that the university had no provisions for a leave and, besides, had no money for one, but maybe in three or four years things might change. That pronouncement did nothing to warm my feelings toward him or toward the institution for which he spoke.

I wrote to Myron telling him what had transpired and asked him if, possibly three or four years from now, he thought my project might be suitable for I Tatti. I tried to be clear I was speaking of the hypothetical future. Gilmore—bless him!—thought I was asking for the next year and replied that, yes, he had a fellowship for me. (As I mentioned, things were simpler in those days!) The very morning I got the letter, I announced it to the dean and told him in no uncertain terms that I was accepting it. Miracle, he was able immediately to come up with a leave from the university. I was on my way.

The two years I spent at I Tatti were the icing on the cake. More wonderful conversations with top-notch scholars, many of whom of course were art historians, surrounded as we were every day with Berenson's marvelous art collection. Most important, the years came at just the right time in my career; dissertation finished, a year away from it that provided distance and a change of pace, then back to it before it got stale, and finally time to get a head-start on other projects.

Back to the University of Detroit. Shortly after I returned there, my book on Giles was published. During my absence the race riots had occurred, and much

of the city was in shambles—a tragedy from which Detroit has never recovered. Something else had happened while I was away. Despite tragedy in the city, the atmosphere in the university and the Jesuit community had changed for the better with a new president. Moreover, a number of my Jesuit contemporaries, fresh from first-rate PhDs, had arrived on the scene. It was a much happier, more stimulating place, and I a much happier person.

By some process I do not recall, I got to know Tom Tentler, the author of *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, and Charles Trinkaus, the author of *In Our Image and Likeness*, both of whom were teaching at Ann Arbor. Charles invited me to give a paper at a conference he was organizing on religion in the Renaissance and late Middle Ages. I readily accepted and only later realized I did not have the slightest idea for a topic since I could not simply rehash Giles. I spent the summer before the conference in Rome, working desperately in the Vatican Library trying to find material on some new topic that would move me beyond Giles.

I passed three or four frustrating weeks, racing through all kinds of materials, which simply by chance included some sermons preached before the popes in the Sistine Chapel. I paid no attention to them—preaching was a dull subject, after all. I was, however, getting frantic and thought of withdrawing from the conference. Then one day I stopped dead in my tracks. Wait a minute! Those sermons! They are completely different from what I had been led to believe preaching was like in this period before the Reformation. They were neither the tightly organized and cerebral Scholastic sermons, filled with citations from Aristotle and other learned sources, nor were they the popular or penitential sermons, those grab-bags of miracle stories and long-winded calls to conversion and penance. These sermons were short, inspirational pieces couched in elegant yet easily comprehensible Latin. During the time left to me in Rome I located about fifty of them in print, and practically all of them conformed to that pattern.

Paul Oskar Kristeller participated in the conference at which I gave my paper, and he encouraged me to pursue the topic, but this time paying as much attention to the rhetorical form of the sermons as to their content. I had no interest in doing anything more with the sermons, let alone delving into the esoteric (for me) subject of rhetoric. Nonetheless, Helen North, professor of classics at Swarthmore, a great friend from Academy days and a specialist in the history of classical rhetoric, gradually interested me in the subject. I was prepared, therefore, when in the Vatican Library three years later I by accident ran across a passage—an aside, really—in a Renaissance treatise on epistolography describing the sermons in the Sistine Chapel and the style of rhetoric that shaped them. Eureka! All at once I saw how the sermons were put together and why in their aims, their tone, their vocabulary, and their uplifting spiritual message they were so different from medieval sermons. It was the rhetorical form that did it. The form framed and affected everything in them.

I immediately cast aside the project I was working on and set to work on a book that was published under the title *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome*. The book sent me into a period in which writing about rhetoric and preaching is what especially occupied me, but something more profound had happened to me that has only deepened with the passing of the years. Working on the book got me to realize in a new way that in understanding texts, discourses, and people as much attention must be paid to form and to style as to anything else. Style, I realized more deeply and experimentally, is not a mere ornament of thought but an expression of meaning. It both manifests deep value systems and helps form them. That is indeed a basic premise of my recent *Four Cultures of the West*.

At the very time I was working on *Praise and Blame*, John Padberg, a Jesuit friend of mine, had become president of the Weston School of Theology in Cambridge, Massachusetts, whose purpose was to give basic and advanced training in theology to Jesuits and to any others who were interested in church service or theological careers. I at first resisted John's blandishments, but gradually became more attracted to the idea, and finally I asked for permission to go to Weston. It was another happy decision, as the fact that I remained on the Weston faculty from 1979 until 2006 testifies.

Like my book on Giles, *Praise and Blame* caught the attention of some Renaissance art historians because it provided a theological context for their research. At a certain point Leo Steinberg initiated a correspondence with me about sermons preached in the Sistine Chapel on January 1, the feast of the Circumcision of Christ. A fair number of such sermons survived, and I tried to answer Leo's questions as best I could. Shortly thereafter I received an invitation from Columbia University to act as a respondent to a lecture by Steinberg entitled "The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion." THE SEXUALITY OF CHRIST! Anticipatory shades of *The Da Vinci Code*? Did I want publicly to comment on "the sexuality of Christ"?

Curiosity overcame cowardice. As it turned out, I liked Steinberg's lecture and gave it two thumbs up. When Steinberg later published a book on the subject, my comments were included as a "postscript." Reviews of the book were mixed, with Catholic publications generally favorable, but with others sometimes more reserved or even negative. For myself, I'm proud of my little postscript, which some people said served as Steinberg's *nihil obstat* or *imprimatur*. Meanwhile, John Shearman, the great expert on Raphael, became chair of the Fine Arts Department at Harvard and we soon struck up a friendship. I thus found myself more and more drawn into the art historians' circle. I like being there.

When I first began my doctorate, I had a vague idea of someday writing on the early history of the Jesuits, but I never quite got around to it. Just after I arrived at Weston I received an invitation to join an ongoing, in-house seminar that the Jesuits were running for themselves on their history and spirituality. I

accepted the invitation. At that very moment the Society of Jesus experienced a severe and unprecedented crisis. Pedro Arrupe, the order's beloved superior general, had a bad stroke, and it soon became clear that, though he would survive it, he would never be able to return to his position. The Jesuits have had from the beginning of the order clear provisions for such an emergency: a vicar is always standing by to move in when necessary and to set in motion the procedures for the election of a new superior general. In this instance the vicar was Father Vincent O'Keefe, an American Jesuit, a friend of mine, and a close collaborator of Father Arrupe's.

Out of the blue, however, Pope John Paul II intervened. Without warning he set aside Father O'Keefe and appointed his own vicar to manage the affairs of the Society into the indefinite future. The intervention, obviously an act of profound distrust of the Society, was a terrible shock and left us all wondering "what next"? For several meetings of the seminar the papal intervention dominated our conversations. Should we publish something on the matter? If so, what? One question kept coming back. What in this situation is the import of our so-called "Fourth Vow"? Besides the usual three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, Jesuits have another, which is to obey the pope "regarding missions." Should the seminar take a look at that vow and say something about its relevance—or its irrelevance—in the present crisis? All eyes in the seminar were, unfortunately, turned to me.

With considerable reluctance I agreed to try my hand at something. Once I began the research I was stunned at how little had been written about it and how sloppy most of the talk about the vow had been. I worked hard and was able to show that the vow was essentially a vow to be on call as missionaries and, as such, had nothing to do with the present crisis. Thanks to the prudent management of Father Paolo Dezza, the Jesuit whom the pope appointed as his vicar in place of Vincent O'Keefe, the Society was able within two years to resume its normal procedures. John Paul II apparently expected a mass rebellion on the part of the Jesuits and, when that did not happen, realized he had badly misread the situation. In 1983 I was elected to the meeting that elected the new general, Peter-Hans Kolvenbach. More important for my life of learning, the work in the seminar got me into the Jesuit sources in an intense, urgent, yet professional way, and it turned out to be the doorway that led to my spending the next decade working largely on Jesuit subjects.

At about the same time, however, James McConica and Ronald Schoeffel, who had recently launched with the University of Toronto Press the project of translating into English the works of Erasmus, contacted me and asked me to help. Myron Gilmore was a great fan of Erasmus, and he had sparked the same interest in me. I had and still have a large print of Holbein's portrait of Erasmus hanging in my office. I readily accepted the invitation, pitched in with some odds and ends connected with the series, and eventually edited three volumes, which only increased my admiration of "the Prince of the Humanists." I found in Erasmus a kindred soul.

As I was working on Erasmus and dabbling in Jesuit history on the side, I became aware that 1990-91 would mark two big anniversaries for the Society of Jesus—the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ignatius of Loyola (we think!) and the four-hundred and fiftieth of the official founding of the Society in 1540. I wanted to contribute something to the celebration. After several false starts I conceived the idea of writing a sort of "basic book" about the early years of the Jesuits. For years I'd been annoyed at how off the mark most accounts were, whether from friend or foe, and how they located the story in misleading frameworks.

The anniversaries came and went without my book seeing the light of day. The project was of course bigger and more complicated than I anticipated, and I often felt overwhelmed by it. Ah, me! The Jesuits were into everything, it seemed, and I had to try to school myself in subjects about which I knew nothing—and in a few about which nobody seemed to know anything. This was a very different experience from writing *Praise and Blame*. I had a contract with Harvard, but deadline after deadline passed. One day panic, the next day despair, the next day exaltation, the next day writer's block. Then the cycle repeated itself. Sound familiar?

The moral of the story: hang in there, and try to write something every day no matter how banal or stupid you think it is going to sound. When you come back the next day, you might be able to salvage a paragraph or two, and thus, agonizing paragraph by agonizing paragraph, the book gets written. *The First Jesuits*, for instance, was finally published in 1993, and it went on to do well with critics and even at the box office. I was happy, but I took a mighty oath, repeated again and again to anybody who would listen, that I would never, never, never, never ever again—no, NEVER—try to write another book.

The oath didn't work. I have since *The First Jesuits* edited some volumes and produced two more monographs. Father Young, the Master of Novices, used to tell us that once you got printers' ink on your fingers you could never get it off. How right he was! In 2000 I published *Trent and All That*, a book about what to call the Catholic side of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Counter Reformation, Catholic Reform, or what? It is an honest book in that it developed out of a number of real-life dilemmas I found myself in, as for instance what entries to suggest from the Catholic side for the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*. I began to see how right Whitehead was when he said that names are the most important part of a subject because they are short-hand definitions of it. I suppose what I was really trying to do with the book was to shake thing up a little bit, make us take a look at some received wisdom—or maybe received cliches—and then to question some conventional patterns of dealing with sixteenth-century Catholicism. To give a pedestrian but revealing instance: why do the Jesuits appear on the syllabus only after all the lectures on the Reformation? It's neat, but is it right?

I published *Four Cultures of the West* two years ago. I was talked into writing it by my editor at Harvard after a casual mention I made of the cultures at a lunch we had together. Nobody in this room is probably more wary of such grand schemes than I am, and that kind of book is certainly about as unfashionable in academe today as it is possible to be. Yet I'm glad I wrote it because it tried to make historical scholarship relevant beyond professional historians and also because it drives home what has become one of the ongoing themes of my life of learning: style and content cannot be separated. We fail to understand content at its deepest level if we fail to take style into account.

* * * * *

As I look back, several things strike me about my life of learning. The first is the purifying or transforming aspect of the learning process. When I finished the dissertation I said to myself, "You will never be the same again." I now knew what it was to know something that had taken me to the edge where nobody had been before. Ah, yes, a razor-thin little edge, but nonetheless I was alone there. What I said on that edge was not an act of faith in what others had said, but an affirmation of what I myself had discovered and now put out to the world as my stance. I felt that in a new way I knew what it was to know. The process of getting there had tried my soul and, I think, purified it by making me constantly reexamine my assumptions, even my values, and putting me through the painful process of reassessing them. It had shaped me up by forcing me into a physical and psychological discipline I had never known before to such a degree.

I have to take issue with Saint Paul. Knowledge, he said, puffs one up. That is not my experience. The dissertation revealed to me how little I knew and how very much I did not know—and would never know. In the process of writing it, I soon came to realize that I had to humble myself to ask great scholars what I knew were naive questions. The questions were naive because I did not know enough to ask any other kind. I soon came to realize that good scholarship perforce takes scholars into unknown territories, which they enter, if they have any sense, with fear and trembling and with the sure presentiment that they will soon have to cry out desperately for help. We get no place in scholarship without one another.

Why have I—or now let me say, why do we stick it out? The short answer is because, despite the costs, we enjoy it. Learning is fun. As is often said, it's great to get paid for pursuing your hobby. But there's something more involved than the thrill of eureka. There is for us historians the satisfaction of getting some glimmer as to how the world we know got to be the way it is. And then there is the satisfaction of helping others get some glimmer of how we got to be the way we are.

That last is an aspect of our life of learning I have not yet mentioned, yet for most of us it is the part that takes up most of our time and energy and perhaps gives us most satisfaction. I mean teaching. In the classroom and outside

the classroom we see students light up, and we light up with them. The experience satisfies our souls. Teaching, we realize, is broader than the subject we teach and the purveying of intellectual comprehension. When we enter the classroom we realize we are dealing with minds and hearts, sometimes with neuroses and psychoses, but always with human beings who are in front of us because they believe we have something to give them . . . and maybe something more than a passing grade.

Our first task of course is to teach the discipline, which day-to-day is pretty low-down, as for instance how the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre happened, or what's special about Shakespeare's sonnets. That's crucially important, but we know from study after study that that is not what most of them will remember even six months later. There is therefore something deeper and further that we try to communicate, which is surely specifically different for each discipline. In almost every case, though, it boils down to something like being able to recognize evidence, learning methods for organizing and testing it, and acquiring similar skills that are pertinent beyond the course and even beyond the classroom. We are trying to impart useful skills and beyond that to spark little mental or even spiritual transformations that will stick for a lifetime and make their lives more satisfying.

There is more. We know that *we* are in the classroom, even more impressively than is our discipline. Students will probably remember the former longer and more vividly than they do the latter, and the former may have more profound impact on them. My litany, in its most severely abbreviated form, goes something like this: Myron Gilmore, Heiko Oberman, Giles Constable, Paul Oskar Kristeller, Helen North, Father Young, Miss Funari, Mr. Kerr. Students see in *us* what the discipline means on a human plane and, indeed, what effect a life of learning has had on us as human beings. In a few minutes, they figure out our style—fair, kind, honest, selflessly concerned for the good of the students—something like that, we hope. My point: our life of learning, when taken in its full amplitude, is a life that takes us beyond learning and, indeed, beyond ourselves. It takes us into hearts and minds and souls. It is a vocation that is worth dedicating one's life to.

REVIEW ESSAY

ENGLISH CATHOLICISM UNDER MARY TUDOR

By

Colin Armstrong

Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza. Edited by John Edwards and Ronald Truman. (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xx, 235. $94.95.)

The Church of Mary Tudor. Edited by Eamon Duffy and David Loades. (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2006. Pp. xxxi, 348. $99.99.)

The reign of Mary Tudor remains the Cinderella subject of early modern English history; England's last Catholic Queen regnant, the "Bloody Mary" of popular opprobrium, has been neglected as much as she has been traduced. There has been but one comprehensive scholarly treatment of her reign in modern times, and but one thorough academic biography (both of them by David Loades). Mary's Church has suffered as much as any other aspect of her reign from this neglect. The appearance of two scholarly symposia dealing with various aspects of Marian Catholicism is therefore much to be welcomed. These two volumes complement each other, and at times overlap; indeed, they share a number of contributors—Professor David Loades, Professor Thomas F. Mayer, Dr. John Edwards, Dr. Lucy Wooding, and Father William Wizeman appear in both.

With the other contributors including Father José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, Father Dermot Fenlon, Dr. Ronald Truman, Dr. C. S. Knighton, Professor Ralph Houlbrooke, and Professor Eamon Duffy, these volumes gather for the most part a formidable force of scholarship. There can be little doubt that *Reforming Catholicism in the Reign of Mary Tudor* and *The Church of Mary Tudor* are considerable works both individually and together, and are the best accounts we possess of Catholicism in Queen Mary's reign. It should be stressed that in general they offer a positive view of their subject. Their broad approach takes to a further stage the 'Revisionist' school of Reformation history which has endeavored to draw attention to the social and intellectual vigor of English Catholicism in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Professor Mayer, the leading modern biographer of Cardinal Reginald Pole, Mary's Archbishop of Canterbury, is unambiguous in the title of his essay in

The Church of Mary Tudor: "The success of Cardinal Pole's final legation." He calls his proposition that Pole succeeded "counterintuitive" (p. 149). It may be doubted whether he proves that Pole succeeded, but he certainly demonstrates that Pole received a high number of appeals as Legate. He has found that 315 were submitted (as against a previously calculated total of 45), and concludes (p. 174) that by the end of the Queen's reign—Pole and Mary died almost simultaneously—"a good deal had been done and an administrative and legal framework put in place that would have allowed a good deal more. . . ." Professor Duffy in his "Cardinal Pole preaching: St Andrew's Day 1557" (again in *The Church of Mary Tudor*) acquits Pole of the faults sometimes imputed to him: inattention to preaching and a lack of realism. Concerning the challenges facing the Marian Church (p. 200), Associate Professor Gary G. Gibbs (once again in the collection edited by Professors Duffy and Loades) notes how the chronicler Henry Machyn composed "frequently positive and celebratory representations of the reign" (p. 296).

Not all of the contributions to the two volumes are of equal merit and some contain considerable deficiencies; others are thoroughly vitiated by the approach taken by their authors. The faults to be found in some essays must be dealt with before the stronger articles are considered. Professor Patrick Collinson's essay in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, "The persecution in Kent," is characteristically opaque and mannered. It is of some interest that Professor Collinson notes that even though Kent saw more executions of Protestant martyrs than any other region outside London (p. 310), Protestantism was not the dominant religious force in the county in Mary's reign (p. 316). It is unfortunate that Professor Collinson twice refers to the executions in Kent, which numbered at most sixty-seven (pp. 310-311), as a "holocaust;" the use of a term properly applied to the extermination of six million European Jews in this context is inappropriate if not indeed insensitive.

Other contributors display a poor command of the theological problems which exercised early modern Catholicism. Professor Loades's statement in his essay in *The Church of Mary Tudor* on "The personal religion of Mary I" contains the following baffling statement concerning Mary's Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor Stephen Gardiner: "Gardiner was a lawyer, not a theologian, and whereas he could find arguments to justify the royal supremacy, he could find none to attack such fundamentals as transubstantiation" (p. 27). Professor Loades is rather at sea here: Gardiner was both theologian and lawyer—perhaps the most distinguished English Catholic theologian between Fisher and Harding; and far from wanting and failing to attack transubstantiation (as Professor Loades appears to believe to have been the case), he was a redoubtable advocate of that doctrine. In his essay on "The Marian Episcopate" in the same volume, Professor Loades claims that Cuthbert Tunstall, the Bishop of Durham, published nothing during Mary's reign (p. 49); in fact he published two books during that period. Writing of "The English Church during the reign of Mary Tudor" in *Reforming Catholicism in the Reign of Mary Tudor*,

Professor Loades blunders again on the subject of eucharistic doctrine: "the question remains why a Church which was in many respects so Humanist and flexible in its pastoral and theological ministry should have insisted on defining itself by a crude interpretation of transubstantiation about which many of its own leaders had reservations" (p. 45). No senior Marian churchman is known to have had serious reservations on the subject of transubstantiation; the interpretation of the doctrine they espoused was hardly crude; and humanist scholarship and scholastic theology were perfectly compatible. Nor is it true (as Professor Loades asserts in the same essay) that Gardiner "did not take Protestantism seriously as a religious movement" (p. 37). Gardiner's numerous anti-Protestant polemical works should prove the opposite of this proposition.

Professor Claire Cross in her essay in *The Church of Mary Tudor* on "The English Universities, 1553-58," underestimates the strength of opposition at Cambridge during the reign of Mary's predecessor Edward to the teaching of the Protestant Reformer and Regius Professor of Divinity, Martin Bucer (p. 60). She is, however, correct in arguing that the shortness of Mary's reign "constituted the primary reason for Mary's failure to secure a permanent restoration of Catholic scholarship at Oxford and Cambridge" (p. 76).

The weakest contributor of all appears in both volumes. Dr. Wooding is the author of a much-read and highly controversial work on early modern Catholic theology, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000). Since both her essays are closely linked to the earlier book it is most regrettable that Dr. Wooding has failed properly to take into account the criticism of the basic approach of her work, in particular those made by this reviewer in his article "English Catholicism Rethought?," which appeared in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (54 [2003], 714-728) in time for her to make some response—something she has neglected in fact to do.

The first of Dr. Wooding's two articles is "The Marian Restoration and the Language of Catholic Reform" in *Reforming Catholicism in the Reign of Mary Tudor*. Her argument is that the reformist rhetoric of Mary's reign "was progressive while remaining Catholic" (p. 51) and she concludes, "If Mary did not discover the Counter-Reformation, it was in large part because she was still pursuing the Henrician Reformation" (p. 64). This is to ignore the most fundamental difference between the religious policies of Mary and her father: he broke with Rome and she restored the link. This essay has other faults: her claim that Bishop Bonner's Marian formulary *Profitable and Necessary Doctryne* (1555) was based on Henry's King's Book of 1543 is true only in part. In fact the differences between the two books are marked as this reviewer has already observed elsewhere ("English Catholicism Rethought?," p. 721). Her claim that Richard Smyth was anti-scholastic (pp. 63-64) misrepresents that theologian. Dr. Wooding's "The Marian Restoration and the Mass" in *The Church of Mary Tudor* is also remarkable for its faults. She notes the incorporation of some Edwardian Homilies into the volume of sermons issued by Bonner in 1555; again she has failed to observe the differences between the

two collections (for which see "English Catholicism Rethought?," pp. 721-722). Her claim that Thomas Watson hardly gave the papacy a central position (p. 239) is undermined by the passage she herself cites, which refers to the pope as the successor of St. Peter to whom Christ "did comyte the cure and chargye of his universall churche throughout the worlde." She is also wrong in thinking Watson anti-scholastic (pp. 245-246). She writes that Marian theologians tended to dwell more on the real presence than transubstantiation (p. 253); but she is wrong in thinking that this was because the real presence was thought to have "far greater reformist credentials"; it was the case that one doctrine was logically prior to the other.

It is especially unfortunate for Dr. Wooding that many of her views are undermined implicitly or explicitly by some of her fellow contributors. Professor Mayer in his essay in *Reforming Catholicism in the Reign of Mary Tudor*, on "Cardinal Pole's concept of *Reformatio*: the *Reformatio Angliae* and Bartolomé Carranza," has a more sophisticated concept of the early modern Catholic idea of reform than she does; for Pole the purpose of Trent was *Reformatio* (p. 67) (Wooding's ideas of reformism are narrowly Anglocentric). Father Fenlon in the same collection writes of "Pole, Carranza and the Pulpit"; he notes that Pole's *Reformatio Angliae* "became in the closing stages of the Council of Trent, the point of departure for the worldwide provision of a vocationally motivated clergy" (p. 97). Father Wizeman's article, "The Pope, the saints and the dead: uniformity of doctrine in Carranza's catechism and the printed works of the Marian theologians" which appears also in *Reforming Catholicism in the Reign of Mary Tudor*, argues (*pace* Wooding) that Marian theologians had a highly positive view of the papal role (pp. 116-123). Dr. Andrew Hegarty's "Carranza and the English Universities" demonstrates the importance of scholasticism in Marian theological teaching (pp. 157-158, 166, 169, 172) and argues for the long-term influence of the Spanish Dominicans de Soto and Villagarcía. Professor Duffy in his contribution to *The Church of Mary Tudor* notes the importance of papal authority to Pole and other Marian writers (pp. 191-192). In the same symposium Father Wizeman writes of "The Theology and Spirituality of a Marian Bishop: the pastoral and polemical sermons of Thomas Watson." He observes the importance to Watson of scholastic theology and the papacy—again *pace* Wooding. He also notes that (in contrast to Wooding's Anglocentrism) Watson made use of Trent (p. 270). He concludes (p. 279) that Watson's "theology and spirituality were significant because they were nothing new" (a comment which is less dismissive than it may appear).

The other essays not already referred to deserve mention. First those in *Reforming Catholicism in the Reign of Mary Tudor* will be noted. Dr. John Edwards' introduction to the volume and Father Tellechea Idígoras's essay "Fra Bartolomé Carranza: a Spanish Dominican in the England of Mary Tudor" are useful outlines of the Spaniard's career. Patrick Preston provides a workmanlike account of "Carranza and Catharinus in the controversy over the bishop's obligation of residence, 1546-52." Dr. Edwards gives a detailed insight into the

subject of the eucharist in his "Corpus Christi at Kingston upon Thames: Bartolomé Carranza and the eucharist in Marian England." In his "The Ghostly after-life of Bartolomé Carranza," Dr. Anthony Wright deals with the archbishop's posthumous influence. The final essay in the collection, Dr. Truman's "Pedro Salazar de Mendoza and the first biography of Carranza" considers Carranza's reputation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The essays in *The Church of Mary Tudor* not already mentioned comprise Dr. C. S. Knighton's "Westminster Abbey Restored," which considers the Benedictine restoration at the abbey; Professor Houlbrooke's "The clergy, the church courts and the Marian Restoration in Norwich," which argues that a striking feature of the Marian Restoration "was the submission of the foremost Protestants active in the city during Edward's reign. This was by any reckoning a notable success for the diocesan authorities" (p. 143). In "Spanish Religious Influences in Marian England" Dr. Edwards considers the much-neglected subject of the influence of Carranza and his colleagues.

Some other factual mistakes are worth noting. In his introduction to *Reforming Catholicism in the Reign of Mary Tudor*, Dr. Edwards writes of Lord William Paget (p. 3); Lord Paget is the correct form. In his essay in the same volume Professor Loades writes of William Campion (p. 35); this must be a mistake for Edmund Campion. In her article in the same collection Dr. Wooding cites her own book incorrectly (p. 49): it is *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England*, not "*Rethinking Catholicism in Marian England*." Dr. Wooding is incorrect in her assertion (p. 61) that three alleged supporters of papal supremacy were burned by Henry VIII in July 1540; the three men in question, Thomas Abell, Richard Fetherstone, and Edward Powell, were indeed executed but not by burning; they were rather hanged, drawn, and quartered. The sole religious conservative burned by Henry—as opposed to execution by some other means—was in fact the friar John Forest. In their introduction to *The Church of Mary Tudor* the editors give a wrong place and date of publication for Professor Mayer's biography of Pole (p. xx); it should be Cambridge, 2000, not Yale, 2002. In her essay in the same work Professor Cross writes of Thomas Barnes (p. 59); this should be Robert Barnes.

As has already been suggested, the quality and importance of the essays in these collections are uneven but together their contribution to our understanding of the Marian Church must not be underestimated; and some contributors, most especially Professor Mayer, Father Wizeman, Dr. Hegarty, and Professor Duffy have written essays of outstanding quality. It is unfortunate that some essays have advanced our understanding not at all. The Marian Church, however, awaits its definitive history.

Belfast, Northern Ireland

REVIEW ESSAY

LAICIZATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY FRANCE

By

Richard Francis Crane

Le Grand Exil des congrégations religieuses françaises, 1901-1914: Colloque international de Lyon Université Jean-Moulin-Lyon-III 12-13 juin 2003. Edited by Patrick Cabanel and Jean-Dominique Durand. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2005. Pp. 489. €59 paperback.)

Les paroisses parisiennes devant la Séparation des Églises et de l'État, 1901-1908. By Jacques Sévenet. (Paris: Letouzey & Ané. 2005. Pp. 316. €31 paperback.)

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the position of the Catholic Church in France underwent dramatic and lasting changes. Renewing the drive for laicization begun in the 1880's, the Third Republic enacted a series of laws abolishing the vast majority of religious congregations and ending the Napoleonic Concordat which had both privileged and constrained the Catholic Church within France for a century. The legislation included the law of July 2, 1901, which legally recognized associations but closed the establishments of non-authorized religious congregations; the law of July 7, 1904, which effectively barred the remaining congregations from teaching; and the Law of Separation on December 9,1905 abrogating the Concordat, which terminated clerical salaries and subjected the state-owned Catholic churches throughout France to compulsory inventories. Although only two of the thousands of protestors were killed in the sporadic clashes that erupted in early 1906 during the *inventaires*, the spectacle of *les deux France*, most recently evoked during the bitter, protracted Dreyfus Affair, reinforced itself as an image of a modern French nation at war with itself. While historians have avoided taking at face value the simplistic trope of "two Frances," one cannot deny the enduring presence and volatile power of this concept in French national discourse in the early part of the century. The moderate premier René Waldeck-Rousseau overreached himself on the rostrum at the time, throwing before the crowds such shibboleths such as the *milliard* (referring to the alleged wealth of the congregations) and *les deux jeunesses*. As the 1902 election results materialized, Waldeck-Rousseau faced figures indicating a leftward shift in the Chamber

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favoring Radicals and Radical-Socialists. *"Il sont trops,"* he said, as his majority escaped him. "Opportunist" premiers had long balanced rhetorical anticlericalism and limited social reforms, but the ex-seminarian Emile Combes' more sincerely aggressive reading of *la laïcité* proved crucial in the final escalation of the anticlerical campaign. Any representation of a France divided in two therefore has to coexist with a narrative explanation of how shifting coalitions, changing perceptions, and unforeseen consequences shaped the national debate over the future of church-state relations. Two new books, joining an overdue handful of studies marking the centennial of the anticlerical legislation of 1901-1905, promise to advance scholarly reflection on the contemporary complexities and long-term impact of what the author of the preface to one of these books calls the "veritable psychodrama" of the times.

In *Le Grand Exil des congrégations religieuses françaises,* Patrick Cabanel and Jean-Dominique Durand gather twenty-five contributions from a 2003 conference. Dealing with legislation, expulsions, and places of exile, the book devotes approximately half its pages to the third subtopic. The international thrust of this collection is reflected in the diverse locations of the scholars involved, mostly French, but also others from Belgium, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Israel, Canada, and the United States. It is clear from the outset that a global approach will come to bear as an overarching theme throughout the book, as indicated in Cabanel's introduction. *Le Grand Exil's* articles range in length from ten to twenty-nine pages, and include both works of sometimes impressionistic synthesis and archival studies occasionally offering statistical tables. The first chapter deals with the laws of 1901 and 1904, complementing and expanding upon another *colloque* collection, edited by Jacqueline Lalouette and Jean-Pierre Machelon, *Les congrégations hors la loi? Autour de la loi du 1er juillet 1901* (Paris, 2002). *Le Grand exil* extends beyond 1901, and further contextualizes the drama of 1901-1914 in the light of historical forces traceable back to the eighteenth century. In this last regard Bernard Hours furnishes a longitudinal analysis of previous expulsions of religious orders from France, beginning with the Jesuits in 1764. From the French Revolutionary era through the maturation of the Third Republic in the 1880's, waves of suppression of various congregations gave way to periods not only of recovery but vitality and expansion. An efflorescence particularly of female religious provided a continuing pool of primary and secondary school teachers and other publicly visible contradictions to the republican vision (or visions) of *laïcité.* Given that members of female orders in France vastly outnumbered their male counterparts—128,000 to 30,000 in 1901—most of the articles that follow Hours' give some attention to the *religieuses* pictured on the cover of the book. Bernard Delpal points out how the teaching congregations, especially females ones, undercut their own survival potential by the alacrity with which they requested authorization: "The number of requests submitted by the women was greater than the number of establishments known to the state authorities" (p. 70). In Chapter II, dealing with implementation of the legislation, Sarah Curtis demonstrates clearly how public protests—typically dominated by lay

women—used the republican language of rights to confront state power. Far from exhibiting the expected reactionary impulses, these "demonstrators had assimilated revolutionary and republican concepts" and had adapted "the rhetoric of the anticlericals and republicans to their own sentiments" (p. 173).

The idea of exile, indeed the very word itself, receives attention and prompts some debate within these pages, as some authors emphasize that the members of the congregations were not forced to distance themselves from France *per se*, but chose to leave the country if they insisted on remaining in a now illegal order. André Lanfrey, however, expands the concept of exile to include an interior mode, namely the *pro forma* secularization undergone by those who chose neither expatriation nor an abandonment of religious life. Lanfrey further asserts that the congregations, resting outside of episcopal jurisdiction, suffered both from the attentions of the *pouvoirs publics* and the indifference, if not the resentment, of other parts of the Catholic Church in France, arguing "that the State was able to easily destroy the congregations because large sectors of the Catholic world were for all practical purposes its allies" (p. 194). Lanfrey has written elsewhere about the *guerre scolaire* that followed the 1901 and 1904 laws, and how the episcopate took control of Catholic schools as the teaching orders officially dispersed. This global diaspora, and not the *guerre scolaire*, forms the third through fifth chapters of *Le Grand Exil,* with articles devoted to *espaces de l'exil.* Neighboring countries differed in their domestic politics. Also, local Catholic clergy varied in their level of welcome for the French. Generally, French religious orders found a better reception where facilities were available and when they brought their own, i.e., French, students. Two national examples serve to elaborate. François Python points to the legacy of Switzerland's 1870's *Kulturkampf* to explain the hostility that greeted French religious exiles, but illustrates how some sectors of Swiss officialdom accommodated them, in one case, actively recruiting hundreds of qualified nuns and monks to save the foundering University of Fribourg, particularly its medical school and hospital. Sofie Leplae discusses how a Belgian government more or less "homogeneously Catholic" feared that the arrival of French clergy *en masse* would put "oil on the fire" (p. 252) by uniting liberals and socialists in an anticlerical coalition.

Exile in North America presented less political hurdles, but constituted a more likely permanent rupture with the homeland. Guy Laperrière finds that in Québec members of French religious orders projected an alternate view of France, and rather than dwelling on current politics, extolled "the Catholic France of Clovis, of Saints Louis and Joan of Arc" (p. 277). Thomas Kselman describes how orders such as the Congregation of the Holy Cross played a constructive role both in Catholic education and in mediating cultural differences among various Catholic ethnic groups in the United States. Latin America and the Caribbean presented special challenges for the exiled orders, be they governmental obstruction in parts of South America or the grinding poverty in Haiti that prevented French missions from Guadeloupe (itself affected by the

anticlerical laws) from establishing schools on a permanent basis. And in North Africa and the Middle East, the predominance of Islam, the troubles of the late Ottoman Empire, and Great Power rivalries all made the activities of French religious orders controversial and precarious. Ironically, the Third Republic continued to support Catholic missions overseas, given their acknowledged contribution to France's *mission civilisatrice,* while hounding thousands of monks and nuns from the metropole. This is not to say that laicization did not have its adherents in the Empire, but Léon Gambetta's dictum a generation earlier that "anticlericalism is not an item for export" still held true in the early 1900's. Even so, a lack of home bases and the reconciling (and repatriating) effect of the wartime *Union Sacrée* eventually depleted the missions and reduced France's overseas influence, a point made most convincingly in Dominique Trimbur's article on Palestine.

Three essays conclude the book. Jean Baubérot questions the "quasi-identification between the anti-congregationist struggle and the Separation" (p. 417), for while many anticlericals sought a conclusive break between the Republic and the Catholic Church, not all did so, some even fearing a resurgent Catholicism freed from state tutelage. Moreover, the expulsion of congregations, leaving the rest of the Catholic Church in France intact, and regulated by the Concordat, might have led to another kind of separation: that of the French Catholic Church from Rome, and its nationalization "according to the Anglican model" (p. 420). Andrea Riccardi emphasizes how in some ways the anticlerical offensive targeted not a declining institution but a rising one, describing a resurgent post-1815 Catholicism "more and more oriented to this fundamental intuition of 'movement'" (p. 478). Finally Durand poses the question of how the struggle of the *les Deux France* presented republicans with the pitfalls of suppressing religious liberties in the name of political freedom. He suggests that the restraint shown by interior ministers Aristide Briand in 1906-07 and Louis Malvy in 1914 in applying the anticlerical laws "tends to confirm that those republicans who certainly could not be suspected of clericalism had taken consciousness of the consequences, if not disastrous, at least very negative, of so aggressive a policy" (p. 446). *Le Grand Exil* thus takes a multifaceted approach to the history of the 1901 and 1904 laws, arriving at detailed conclusions and posing further questions. The book also contains English-language summaries of each article, though most of these are awkwardly and problematically translated. That minor quibble aside, Cabanet and Durand offer a valuable collection, which, along with the Lalouette and Machelon volume noted above, as well as Christian Sorrell's *La République contre les congrégations* (Paris, 2003), serves to enrich our understanding of an understudied subject.

The 1905 Law of Separation has received far more attention than the earlier laws, both because of its apparently conclusive severing of church-state ties in modern France, and because of the public spectacle of the forced opening of Catholic churches by the public authorities. Jacques Sévenet's book *Les paroisses parisiennes devant la Séparation des Églises et de l'État*, originally

a doctoral dissertation, traces the responses of the Paris Catholic community to the challenges of the Separation, with special emphasis on, and empathy for, the priests of Paris' seventy parishes. Based on extensive archival research, *Les paroisses parisiennes* occupies a unique vantage point and clarifies or modifies a number of generalizations about church-state relations during this period. The author begins with a structural analysis of the religious geography of Paris, and introduces its archbishop. Like the other bishops of France, Cardinal François Richard had been nominated by the state, in accordance with the Concordat. Ostensibly, the government paid clerical salaries and otherwise fiscally supported the religion of "the majority of Frenchmen," but in reality the *budget des cultes* defrayed only some ecclesial expenses. By 1905, the Paris diocese received 512,576 francs in annual state subsidies, to be added into a general budget of about six million francs, so "contrary to what went on in the provinces, the great majority of priests received neither salary nor pension from the *ministère du culte*" (p. 25). But the episcopate by and large clung to the Concordat and the official recognition it afforded, defending the state subsidy as recompense, however partial and insufficient, for the dispossession of church properties during the Revolution. Richard and others feared that with the end of the Concordat, these properties, officially state-owned, would fall into the hands of lay-dominated (and not necessarily fully Catholic) *associations cultuelles*.

The promulgation of the 1905 law brought these and other apprehensions to the fore. Sévenet highlights the role played by parish priests such as Roger Soulange-Bodin, who refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Separation but even so acknowledged "the boost that this gave to the Catholic Church in terms of closing up the ranks and revitalizing evangelization" (p. 73). Reinvigorating the Church's approach to the urban masses correlated with the emerging force of social Catholicism, and offered an alternative to the intransigence that led many Catholics to subscribe to the monarchist and anti-Semitic *Action Française*. Sévenet takes pains to explain the nuanced attitudes on both sides of the Separation debate, pointing to a variety of positions taken by the anticlerical but not necessarily antireligious proponents of the law. Given the fluidity of opinions, stances, and alliances, the Separation must be seen as a live issue, not a "closed chapter in the long history of the relations between the Churches and the State" (p. 117). The *inventaires*, for example, exhibited the reworking, not the end, of this relationship. Aside from formalized protests, almost all *curés* allowed the state representatives to enter churches that were often surrounded by crowds of angry parishioners. Sévenet has only found five cases of "violent refusal" (p. 158), and mob violence constituted as much a threat to the clergy's control of the faithful as to the government's need to preserve order.

The questionable future of French Catholicism had less to do with properties and stipends than with the undercutting of its residual claim to be the religion of the "majority of Frenchmen." The suppression of the *budget des cultes*

in turn reflected the removal of a symbol that "legitimized the social role of the priest" (p. 180). But for Sévenet, this disrobing of the clergy had the salutary effect of lifting "the veil on what was in the process of becoming the dechristianization of Paris" (p. 244), leading the Church, beginning with parish priests, "to another vision of evangelization" surpassing "a role of sacramental functionary" and ministering to "another public" (p. 245). Arguably, the high tide of anticlericalism under Combes gave the *libres penseurs* their victory but led to a loss of control over the Catholic Church in France, rendering a so-called *pacte laïque* both a fact of life and something that never quite "gelled" (p. 254). In 1906 Pope Pius X condemned both the unilateral Separation (*Vehementer Nos*) and the prospective *associations cultuelles* (*Gravissimo Officii Munere*). According to Sévenet, papal defensiveness set the stage for the next crisis within Catholicism, involving Modernism. But the impasse in implementing the 1905 law also presented a problem to the civil power, with pragmatic republicans such as Briand feeling the pressure to make the law more flexible; hence they enacted the January 1907 law in effect allowing the Catholic hierarchy to administer Church properties without recourse to the *associations cultuelles*. So, far from resolving the question of the role of religion in the public sphere once and for all, France's politicians embarked on a journey that still has not reached its term, to judge by the tortuously titled *Loi n° 2004-228 du 15 mars 2004 encadrant, en application du principe de laïcité, le port de signes ou de tenues manifestant une appartenance religieuse dans les écoles, collèges et lycées publics*.

Les paroisses parisiennes is a thoroughly researched and at times quite insightful study, appropriately modest in its claims to speak for religious and political changes in all France, but always keeping in mind the centrality of Paris for the rest of the country. Sévenet underlines the complexity and diversity of both "sides" in the conflict, even as he focuses on the Catholic Church and its Parisian clergy. Especially in his analysis of how the Separation helped transform vocations, one sees an implicit anticipation of the changes wrought in the mid-century "worker-priest" experiment and the more lasting reforms of the Second Vatican Council. Arguably, the author's judgment that the Separation gave the Catholic Church in France a "new dynamism," by confronting its priests with "the necessity of nourishing and deepening the act of Trinitarian faith in the face of a world in open evolution, in which Christians must live and witness" (pp. 267-268), evokes the heady atmosphere of Vatican II as much as it does the first decade of the twentieth century. Given that Sévenet was ordained a priest of the Paris diocese in 1964, such language is understandable, and in this case welcome, as a sign of one historian's participatory relationship with a subject—the interplay between religion and politics in a pluralistic society—still very much alive today in France and other western democracies. His book joins *Le Grand Exil* and the others noted above in making a worthy contribution to a timely debate.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Reforming the Church before Modernity: Patterns, Problems, and Approaches. Edited by Christopher M. Bellitto and Louis I. Hamilton. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Aldershot, England and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2006. Pp. xxiv, 224. $94.96.)

This book, the product of a conference, *Ecclesia semper reformanda*, held in 2002 at Fordham University in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the opening of the Second Vatican Council, is devoted to ecclesial reform from the late ancient to early modern worlds. Some of its authors are concerned with institutional reform, others with cultural approaches to their subject, and some are interested in the characterization of reform. Louis Hamilton introduces the book with a poorly written and not-always-precise essay, which nevertheless makes a number of shrewd historiographical observations.

The book is divided into four parts, the first on "Social Change and Religious Reform." In the first of two articles in this part, Robert A. Markus explains the implication for all subsequent history of the late antique Church's understanding of itself as primarily mystical rather than institutional, and of reform as primarily personal. Markus' is an essay in ambiguity, holding that, on the one hand, the Church should be judged by a standard external to itself, and on the other hand, that it should always be critical of whatever society it finds itself in. In the second article John Howe thoughtfully concentrates on recent scholarship on the eleventh century, which tends to demote such turning points as "the year 1000" in favor of centuries-long shifts and a society of great variation. Howe gives monasticism a central role in change and reform.

Part II, on "The Idea of Reform and the Intellectuals," begins with a well-informed and substantial, if modish, article by Wayne J. Hankey on "Self and Cosmos in Becoming Deiform," studying "Reform by Self-Knowledge from Augustine to Aquinas." Here the argument is that the Neoplatonisms of Augustine and Aquinas have often been opposed to each other and to a modern "turn to the subject" in a way which in the case of the two medieval thinkers obscures a shared "conversion to deity" and in the case of the medieval thinkers contrasted to "the modern," obscures commonalities. The idea that there had been many "turns to the subject" before the modern period is suggestive, but also seems equivocal. Marcia Colish emphasizes the variety of early scholastic thought about and practice of reform, and especially stresses "reform as improvement," rather than simply as recapture of earlier practice. Colish's excellent article is followed by a satisfying essay by John

O'Malley on the differences in style and substance between the approaches to reform of Luther, Trent, and Erasmus.

Rita Lizzi Testa begins Part III, on "Clerical Reform," with "Clerical Hierarchy and Imperial Legislation in Late Antiquity," mostly in the fourth century, and more detailed than the other essays in this book tend to be. Then Louis Hamilton examines Peter Damian's and Bruno of Segni's commentaries on the dedication of a church and the promotion by Bruno, first of papal authority, and then after his relations with Paschal II had soured, of a more episcopal-centered idea of authority. Giuseppe Alberigo turns to the *Libellus ad Leonem X* for a humanist notion of reform.

Part IV examines "The Processes of Reform." Claire Sotinel gives a fine study of how, without much reform vocabulary, change was effected in the Church from the third century. Martha Newman subtly uses manuscripts from the 1110's to suggest a solution to recent debate about the Charter of Charity. She compares the original charisma of the Cistercians with their later legal reality, showing how Stephen Harding's understanding of the Benedictine Rule carried the Cistercian charisma. Susan Dinan details how, much later, the Daughters of Charity avoided claustration, in the process illustrating how one "negotiated authority" in the Tridentine Church.

University of Utah, Salt Lake City GLENN W. OLSEN

Six Hundred Years of Reform: Bishops and the French Church, 1190-1789. By J. Michael Hayden and Malcolm R. Greenshields. [McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, volume 37.] (Montreal, Kingston, London, and Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 604. $80.00.)

Hayden and Greenshields investigate bishop-initiated reform within the French church using synodal statutes and pastoral visitation records from the late twelfth century to the French Revolution. They bring new rigor to the exploitation of these well-known sources and propose a new chronology and a new geography of reform in France.

The authors quantified the catalogue of synodal statutes compiled by André Artonne and Odette Pontal (*Répertoire des statuts synodaux*). This creates our first aggregated serial database revealing the frequency of promulgations covering the entire period 1190-1789. The study finds that "changes in content [in synodal statutes] appeared exactly where the analysis of volume of promulgation predicted (p. 13)." This information on the long-term evolution of promulgations is then combined with a qualitative analysis of changes in visitation questionnaires. On this basis, the authors present their view of 600 years of continuity in church reform punctuated by periods of disruption and slowdown.

They argue for two 300-year cycles (1190-1489 and 1490-1789), characterized by enough consistency of aim (purification and universalization of doc-

trine and practice) to constitute "a continuous reality in the history of Christianity" (p. 7). Within these cycles, they emphasize a "First Catholic Reformation," at its height from the 1490's to 1560, and a "Second Catholic Reformation," at its height from the 1640's through the 1690's, with two distinct phases: 1590-1689 and 1690-1789. The interpretation of their data is shaped at least in part by their critique of the vogue of "discontinuity" as a world-view and more importantly by their desire to lay to rest the Protestant monopoly of the term Reformation.

This work is most useful in remedying critical problems of method, chronology, and geography in the existing standard treatments of visitation records provided in the CNRS *Répertoire des visites pastorales* and the *Atlas de la réforme pastorale en France de 1550 à 1790* by the Froeschlé-Chopards. They revise the ecclesiastical geography of the CNRS studies, creating two consistent geographic areas for comparison: an "ecclesiastical France" of sixteen dioceses where the French king had the right to make episcopal appointments and a "border lands." This clarifies the role of French kings in appointing "reform-minded" bishops in distinct periods and shows the role of limiting factors such as the Thirty Years' War in border areas. The authors also usefully identify "cohorts of reforming bishops" for whom collective biographies and prosopgraphical studies are needed (p. 110).

Problems arise, however, if one wishes to use the authors' sources to discuss broader questions of reform within the French Church and within the larger society. The reform they document is in part an administrative procedure perilously akin, at times, to modernization theory in the cadre of the developing nation-state. Complex factors shaping reception and the desire and ability to "purify" and "systematize" religious practice do not really enter into consideration. Why, for example, should systematization constitute "reform" in an earlier period but become mere "bureaucratization" and "routinization" in the later period ?

The bulk of this work is given over to appendices which present their data and to a methodological essay, intended to be read either on its own or following the text. This material explains the difficulties in applying the CNRS data to the problem of the long-term evolution of reform within the French church. This is essential reading for historians who plan to work with these particular sources and for researchers who wish to develop methodological strategies for coping with asymmetrical and missing data. Specialists in the history of pre-modern Catholicism will not be surprised by the chronology presented here, but they might become more attentive to the daunting problem of developing probative global indicators of reform.

Esopus, New York ANN W. RAMSEY

The Sheed and Ward Anthology of Catholic Philosophy. Edited by James C. Swindal and Harry J. Gensler, S.J. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group. 2005. Pp. xvi, 585. $90.00 clothbound; $35.00 paperback.)

In a foreword to a volume honoring the British philosophers Peter Geach and Elizabeth Anscombe (*Moral Truth and Moral Tradition* [1994]), Cardinal Daly of Armagh, himself a philosopher, writes, "They have demonstrated that there is a Catholic way of philosophizing, which is still wholly philosophical, at once totally faithful to the laws of reason and the norms of philosophy and to the rigorous demands of logic, and also uncompromisingly loyal to divine Revelation and the teaching of the Catholic Church. They have shown that one can be intellectually as well as spiritually happy, indeed proud, though never arrogant, about one's Catholic faith, while still commanding respect from one's peers in terms of their own philosophy and language and logic."

The honrands well deserved the tribute, but it sets a high standard, and bypasses the prior question of what it means to be "a Catholic philosopher." On one reading this suggests two attributes; on another, a single nature. Geach and Anscombe sometimes wrote on issues of no direct relevance to religion but often addressed matters of Catholic faith and morals, and they never knowingly wrote at odds with orthodoxy. That places them far toward one end of a spectrum, the terminus of which would be close to dogmatic theology itself. Running in the other direction would take one to points where philosophy and faith make no connection.

The selections in the present volume, which include pieces by Geach and by Anscombe, are spread across the range. Occasionally they also reach out beyond Catholicism (e.g., Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Avicenna, Averroes, Maimonides), and beyond philosophy (mostly to scripture, theology, and spirituality). There are eighty-two readings ranging from a cluster of biblical passages to a useful survey of contemporary Catholic philosophy in the United States; authors from God to Arthur Madican of Boston College, respectively.

For the most part the selections are well-chosen, but the quality and relevance vary as one approaches the present. It is useful for the classroom purposes for which the book is designed to have short extracts from the likes of Irenaeus, Clement, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Boethius, Bonaventure, Aquinas, Eckhart, Scotus, Ockham, Suarez, Gassendi, Descartes, Malebranche, Newman, Kleutgen, Blondel, Scheler, Maréchal, Maritain, Gilson, Marcel, Stein, Rahner, Lonergan, Popes Leo XIII and John Paul II, Alasdair MacIntyre, and Charles Taylor.

On the other hand some inclusions are hardly merited by quality, and others seem out of place. Alfred Tarski was a great mathematical logician famed among analytical philosophers for his semantic theory of truth. This is important both in conception and in technical implementation, but the selection of a fragment whose significance is unclear is further strained by the identification of Tarski

as a Catholic philosopher. The motivation for him and his brother in 1920's Poland to convert (from Judaism) and change their name was practical, and he was almost certainly an atheist. None of Tarski's writings show any interest in Catholic thought.

The editors pose and very briefly discuss the question, "what is Catholic philosophy?" but come to no clear conclusion. Since this is again a live issue, and one critical to the task of selecting examples, it would have been wise to address the matter more extensively and to include selections exploring it. It would also have been useful to provide a guide to further reading. As it is, we have a useful source for reference, teaching, and occasional dipping into.

University of St Andrews JOHN HALDANE

Les jésuites à Lyon XVI^e^-XX^e^ siècles. Edited by Etienne Fouilloux and Bernard Hours. [Collection Societe, Espaces, Temps.] (Lyon: ENS editions. 2005. Pp. 274. €32.00 paperback.)

The thirteen studies on Jesuit history presented here, papers given at a conference held in Lyon in September 2002, all show a high level of scholarship, offer a wealth of information drawn from extensive research, and are interestingly written, from the introduction by Bernard Hours to the conclusion by Etienne Fouilloux.

Part I, consisting of five studies on "L'ancienne Compagnie," the Society of Jesus before the Suppression in 1773, begins with Yann Lignereux's "Une implantation difficile: controverse religieuse et polémiques politiques (1565-1607)." This first stage of Jesuit presence in Lyon, after a few years of tensions mainly with King Henri IV, seems to have resulted in general feelings of esteem among the Lyonnais for the Jesuits. Annie Regond's article tells of a very gifted and famous Jesuit architect at the Collège de la Trinité, Brother Etienne Martellange. Stéphane van Damme's insightful article, "Le corps professoral du college," offers much information on the stress on scholarship and the way the Jesuit province of Lyon consistently devoted resources to the school. Sophie Roux offers a very interesting article on another very gifted individual Lyon Jesuit, Father Honoré Fabri (1607-1688), who in his day was well known in the field of philosophy of nature. Yves Jocteur-Montrozier's "Des jésuites et de la bibliothèque municipale de Lyon," is an especially valuable report on the role of the Jesuits in the building of their large, much-admired library, confiscated by the city at the Suppression.

Part II, "Le temps des collèges," moves into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Philippe Rocher very competently traces significant developments in teaching in Jesuit education in Lyon from 1850 to 1950. Bruno Dumons, in "Jésuites lyonnais et catholicisme intransigeant," offers an extremely interesting study of the role of a number of Jesuits in supporting and inspiring Catholics of the traditionalist, anti-liberal, anti-Third Republic viewpoint. The strongly anti-

clerical Republic outlawed Catholic schools in 1901, and Patrick Cabanel's article tells how the Lyon Jesuits managed to re-create one of their schools in exile in Bollengo, Italy. Bernard Delpal's study of Lyon Jesuit work in Lebanon focuses on their major printing house and their Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut, both of which became very influential in spreading not only Catholicism but also French culture in the Near East. Both Jesuits and anti-Jesuit government officials, as he notes, wanted to advance French civilization there.

In the third part, "Les défis de la modernité," Lyon Jesuits are shown to have been prominent in some social and religious controversies. Pierre Vallin, S.J., in "Les jésuites à Lyon et la question sociale," offers much specific information on the involvement of some Jesuits in inspiring activism for social justice from the mid-nineteenth century on.

A most interesting and detailed article by Bernard Comte, "Jésuites lyonnais résistants," tells of some thirty Jesuits of Lyon who participated in the resistance to Nazi and Vichy rule during World War II. Henri de Lubac was prominent among them. In the longest (twenty-five pages) and most timely study in the volume, Claude Prudhomme and Oissila Saaïdia tell of Lyon Jesuit work in the Near East to promote understanding of the Arab Muslim world through research in Muslim literature and history. Both the French government and the papacy from Pius IX on supported these efforts. Also most interesting is Dominique Avon's article on the Jesuit theological school at Fourvière (Lyon) which in the 1940's-1950's incurred the suspicion of the Vatican. Would that there were more space here for the names (e.g., again de Lubac) and other specifics of this regrettable eve-of-Vatican Council II event. Etienne Fouilloux's concluding essay on the French Jesuits' progress in the last two centuries from anticlerical hostility to general esteem is full of insightful comment. This whole volume provides a wealth of specific information and very scholarly discussion of significant people and developments.

Loyola University of Chicago RICHARD F. COSTIGAN, S.J.

Ancient

Der Ursprung des Apostolikums im Urteil der kritischen Forschung. By Markus Vinzent. [Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Band 89.] (Göttingen:Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2006. Pp. 480. €79,90.)

Markus Vinzent has distinguished himself with a number of original studies of the earliest history of the Apostles' Creed. His contribution to the three-author volume *Tauffragen und Bekenntnis* (1998), "Die Entstehung des 'römischen Glaubensbekenntnisses'," was hitherto the most important. To these has now been added an impressive monograph on the various views and arguments, from late antiquity into the twenty-first century, on the origin of the Apostles' Creed.

The author has collected together an almost overwhelming amount of learned contributions, and endeavours to offer a concise evaluation of every single one. To have accomplished this is a major feat in the historiography of patristic scholarship, and Vinzent's book will be a great help to students of the Apostles' Creed for years to come. As a result, the reasonably reliable but totally outdated studies by Kattenbusch (1894) and De Ghellinck (1946) may now safely be laid aside. Anyone who has had to work with either or both of these will recognize the relief that at last someone has actually done what many longed to see done, but no one dared to do.

Vinzent's work is more than just bibliographical and evaluatory in nature, however. The author rightly points out that with regard to the origin of the Apostles' Creed, various arguments appear, disappear, and reappear time and again. Nor is this remarkable, as although the Apostles' Creed is a text that is known to practically every Christian, virtually no hard and fast data are available concerning its origin. When everything that can be studied has been studied, scholars are left with a number of choices for which they only have their intuition about what is probable and what is not to guide them. Did the Apostles' Creed originate in a dogmatic, catechetical, or a liturgical context? What exactly is its relationship with the so-called *regula fidei*? Whence does the term *symbolum* spring? What did the ancient authors actually intend to convey when they said that the Apostles' Creed "had always faithfully been preserved" in Rome, and were their claims justified or not? Vinzent shows in a convincing way that most of the answers to these questions that can be formulated today were already posited in the eighteenth century or even earlier, and that these answers were influenced to a large extent by the respective scholars' own positions in the ecclesiastical questions of their times.

Vinzent's account of the history of this scholarship is particularly valuable for the period down to the first half of the twentieth century (pp. 22-266). For the subsequent period, even he seems at times to stagger under the burden of a stream of publications of very mixed standards and purposes. In the last section of the book (pp. 312-395), the author presents his own position together with the criticism that it elicited from the writer of the present review, and endeavors to take the discussion a step further. This review is not the place to enter into this discussion; suffice it to say that Vinzent offers an intelligent and straightforward summary of Westra's arguments, and that the questions that he asks him are indeed the ones that matter.

The main question that remains after perusing this invaluable contribution to creedal scholarship is this: is Vinzent right in claiming (pp. 10-11) that the current positions on the origin of the Apostles' Creed are marked too much by reliance on "Forschungsgeschichte" rather than "Forschungsliteratur," and if so, can this indeed be remedied by "die Quellen zu bemühen und die riesigen Anstrengungen der Älteren mit größtem Respekt und eingehendem Bemühen zur Kenntnis zu nehmen, ihre Arbeiten und Ergebnisse zu studieren und sie möglichst unter Absehung der eigenen Einsichte zunächst einmal zu verstehen

und darzulegen" (p. 20)? In my opinion, the present disagreement is less a question of which model should be followed to explain the sources (as seems to be suggested by the author in his conclusion, p. 394), but of interpretation of the relevant Greek and Latin texts, and any progression in our understanding of the origin of the Apostles' Creed, if attainable at all, should be sought by means of textual analysis rather than historiography. Also in this respect, Vinzent's work contains many important stimulants.

Lollum, The Netherlands LIUWE H. WESTRA

Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300-800. By Maribel Dietz. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 270. $50.00.)

In this study, Maribel Dietz assesses the implications of travel in its various forms to European Christianity during a crucial period of social, political, and cultural change. The volume opens with a general discussion of mobility and migration within late Antiquity in which she argues rightly that models of "pilgrimage" derived from later Christian centuries do little justice to the wide variety of religious mobility evident in late Antiquity, from the peripatetic monks berated by the early monastic founders, to the penitents and religious sightseers familiar from the writings of Palladius and Rufinus. Of the subsequent chapters, two deal specifically with the Hispanic provinces—one on religious travelers from the region in the fourth and fifth centuries, the other on monasticism within the Visigothic kingdom. The remainder considers the hostility to peripatetic monks in many late antique texts, the importance of travel as a mode of religious expression for women (the highlight of the study), and finally the peculiar importance of the Holy Land pilgrimage within the Anglo-Saxon and Hibernian missionary movement of the seventh and eighth centuries.

As will be apparent from this summary, the volume has an admirable breadth, both chronologically and geographically. At its best—as in the discussion of the great journeys of Helena, the two Melanias, and the anonymous Piacenza pilgrim in chapter 4—the study clearly demonstrates the role that Christian travel played in the emerging Christian *Weltbild* of the late Roman world. By embracing such a variety of source material, moreover, Dietz does an impressive job of illustrating the many different kinds of travel that the new faith generated. But this catholicity also has its drawbacks, and at times the study lacks a rigorous focus. At times, the author seems drawn by the idiosyncrasies of her texts, rather than by any overarching thesis. The *Vitae sanctorum patrum Emeritensium*, for example, has little to say on either long-distance "pilgrimage" or itinerant worship, and yet is discussed for a full seven pages (pp. 168-175). Conversely, several subjects of central importance would seem to have been neglected. Brent Shaw has convincingly deconstructed the infamous *circumcelliones* of North Africa as a figment of the heresiological tradition, but the very popularity of these "wandering monks" within the imagi-

nation of sedentary writers surely deserves closer investigation. Some of these issues are hinted at in the discussion of pre-Benedictine monastic law in chapter 3, but much remains unsaid.

There are also one or two errors of fact within the text. The Vandal occupation of North Africa took place in the fifth century (from 428 to 439 A.D.) and not the sixth (p. 23), and Egeria's travels may be dated to a couple of generations *after* the journey of the Empress Helena, not "just a generation before" as stated on page 109. These are surely simply slips of the pen, but a more serious error is apparent in the discussion of the context of the monastic rules of Fructuosus of Braga during the mid-seventh century. The suggestion at page 183 that general social instability was caused by "[t]he invasions and battles between the Germanic tribes" hardly applies to Visigothic Spain in the seventh century. Here, as elsewhere, migrating barbarians are cast as a major cause of social and religious instability—a model which owes more to the apocalyptic pronouncements of writers like Hydatius (who appears frequently in chapter 1) than to contemporary scholarship on the political and social world of the late antique period.

Despite lacking a precise focus, there is much here to be commended: not least the sensitive analysis of some neglected texts. It represents a thoughtful and idiosyncratic contribution to an important field.

University of Leicester A. H. MERRILLS

The Manichean Debate. Introductions and notes by Roland Teske, S.J. [The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, Part I: Books, Volume 19.] (Hyde Park, New York: New City Press. 2006. Pp. 424. $44.00.)

The writings of Saint Augustine of Hippo against the Manicheans comprise the earliest of any he wrote against specific unorthodox groups. The choice is understandable, since he belonged to Mani's religion for at least nine years. Besides, then, supplying an account of Manicheism from a firsthand perspective, we have in the treatises collected here an overview of Augustine's theological, exegetical, and spiritual progress from 387 until at least 404.

The present volume, the latest in the helpful and accessible new rendering into English of Augustine under the auspices of the Augustinian Heritage Institute, offers eight of his anti-Manichean works: *The Catholic Way of Life and the Manichean Way of Life* (*De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum*), *The Two Souls* (*De duabus animabus*), *A Debate with Fortunatus, a Manichean* (*Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum Disputatio*), *Answer to Adimantus, a Disciple of Mani* (*Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum*), *Answer to the Letter of Mani known as the Foundation* (*Contra epistulam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti*), *Answer to Felix, a Manichean* (*Contra Felicem Manichaeum*), *The Nature of*

the Good (*De natura boni*), and *Answer to Secundinus, a Manichean* (*Contra Secundinum Manichaeum*). These titles do not, of course, exhaust the list of Augustine's literary activity against Manicheans; besides the lengthy *Against Faustus* (to appear as a separate volume in this series), there is, for example, *On Genesis: A Refutation of the Manichees* (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos*), that recently appeared in this series.

Three of the works in this volume (*Answer to Adimantus*, *Answer to Felix*, and *Answer to Secundinus*) are rendered here into English for the first time, and all have been translated anew. Besides the brief general introduction to the whole volume, each treatise is introduced in terms of its setting and a succinct summary of its contents. The general introduction briefly presents Manichean doctrine and Augustine's attraction to it, and lists publications of the Latin texts and translations of the eight writings. For seven of the works, the critical edition of record is still to be had in Volume 25 of the CSEL (1891); but an important omission is J.B. Bauer's edition of the two *De moribus* treatises in Volume 90 of the same series (1992). Teske's translations do not slavishly follow the Latin of the critical edition; he sometimes chooses the reading of the earlier *Patrologia Latina*, or a variant, or even occasionally offers his own conjecture. The translations also avoid too much literalism, which makes for an easily readable (but, in my opinion, faithful) transmission of Augustine's meaning. The notes are most often references to Augustine's own sources (biblical and otherwise), although they sometimes contain helpful explanations as well.

The volume finishes with indexes of scriptural (but not pseudepigraphical) references and topics. These are broken down according to the individual Augustinian works, a tactic that certainly aims at helping the uninitiated reader to navigate the individual treatises, but that means having to check eight different places for a word, theme, or biblical allusion. In addition, a bibliography of select modern works would be helpful. All in all, though, this volume makes for a useful collection of Augustine's writings, crucial for appreciating Augustine's Manichean experience and for making it known to a wider English-speaking readership.

Saint Paul University, Ottawa, Canada J. Kevin Coyle

Saint Augustine and the Fall of the Soul: Beyond O'Connell and His Critics. By Ronnie J. Rombs. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. xxviii, 228. $64.95.)

Robert J. O'Connell, S.J., was arguably the most prominent interpreter of the thought of Augustine of Hippo in the last decades of the previous century, and at the heart of his reading of Augustine's thought was the influence of Plotinus and in particular the doctrine of the fall of the soul. Most other Augustinian scholars during this period have been either ardent fans or strong opponents of O'Connell's interpretation, especially of his position on the fall of the soul.

In his study Rombs tries to move the world of Augustinian scholarship beyond its present state in which the two sides have become firmly entrenched. Previous scholarship has, as Rombs argues, posed the question about the fall of soul in either-or terms, that is, whether the fall is to be understood as Plotinian or non-Plotinian.

Rombs' study has two principal parts. In the first he sets out to present clearly the positions of Plotinus and of O'Connell of the fall of the soul, and he succeeds admirably in this endeavor, especially with regard to the fall of the soul in the later works of Augustine. In the second part he attempts to work out a reconciliation between O'Connell and his critics by showing where and to what extent O'Connell's interpretation of Augustine was correct. Basically Rombs claims that O'Connell correctly interpreted the early Augustine, but was mistaken in his interpretation of the later Augustine.

Key to Rombs' position is the distinction between three senses of the fall of soul in Plotinus and in Augustine, namely, a cosmogonic, an ontological, and a moral sense of the fall. The fall is moral insofar as it is sinful. The fall is ontological insofar as it entails the soul's individuation and composition with the body. The fall is cosmogonic insofar as it is the efficient cause of the coming to be of the lower or sensible world by giving it form. Rombs argues that all three senses of the fall are found in the early Augustine, as they were in Plotinus, and clearly shows this in Augustine's first commentary on Genesis, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*.

O'Connell held that Augustine had abandoned the doctrine of the fall of the soul around 417 when he came to realize the import of Romans 9:11, but he also held that Augustine returned to a modified doctrine of the fall in his later works, such as *De Genesi ad litteram* and *De trinitate*. Rombs argues quite persuasively that O'Connell misinterpreted the later Augustine, who according to Rombs had definitely abandoned any cosmological or ontological sense of the fall, but retained much of the Plotinian language of the fall to present a psychology of sin. In the later writings, as Rombs argues, individuation and embodiment are in no sense the result of the fall, a view quite incompatible with the Christian doctrine of the goodness of creation, as Augustine came to realize. The amazing thing is that the greatest of the Western Fathers of the Church held in his early writings the fall of the soul in all three senses.

Rombs' book clarified for me O'Connell's views and persuaded me that the bishop of Hippo did not return in his later writings to a fall understood in the ontological sense. Rombs agrees with O'Connell on the fall in the early writings, and that I suspect will be too much for many of O'Connell's critics to swallow.

Marquette University ROLAND J. TESKE, S.J.

Augustine of Hippo: Instructing Beginners in Faith. Translation, introduction, and notes by Raymond Canning. [The Augustine Series, Volume V.] (Hyde Park, New York: New City Press. 2006. Pp. 173. $13.95 paperback.)

In late 403, Augustine got a letter from Deogratias, a deacon of the church in Carthage. Deogratias was in charge of instructing of new converts and had real talent: a good knowledge of Scripture and a flair for teaching. But his lectures had, by his own admission, gotten a little boring, and he was struggling with burnout. So he sought Augustine's advice. Augustine answered with a brief, but brilliant treatise, *Instructing Beginners in Faith* (*De catechizandis rudibus*). This minor masterpiece is the latest volume translated for the "Augustine Series," an offshoot of New City Press's multi-volume (and generally excellent) *Works of Saint Augustine*. It is the first new English translation of the work since J. P. Christopher's 1946 version in the "Ancient Christian Writers" series and the first to take advantage of the critical edition in the *Corpus Christianorum*.

Instructing Beginners is a unique document in the surviving literature from the ancient catechumenate. No other text details so vividly that first life-altering rite of passage from pagan inquirer to apprentice Christian. In the treatise, Augustine focuses on three matters: the types and motives of inquirers; the structure and content of the catechist's evangelical address; and the emotional attitude of the catechist himself. Augustine notes that many converts came haunted by ominous dreams or visions. Some newcomers were highly learned and earnest, others humble and illiterate, still others haughty and half-educated, prone to judge catechists more by their rhetorical embellishments than by the character of their content. Augustine takes on problems familiar to veteran teachers. What if the person lies about his motives? Well, use a shrewd psychology: "you must make . . . the lie itself the starting point" not to unmask it, but to "bring him to the point that he actually enjoys being the kind of person that he wishes to appear" (p. 74). What if the audience starts yawning? Say something clever, humorous, or awe-inspiring. What if the person is not very bright? Well, "we should say much on his behalf to God rather than saying much to him about God" (p. 100).

Ancient North African churches gave converts only a single evangelical talk before welcoming them into the catechumenate. That talk, Augustine advised, should survey salvation history, and the biblical episodes that one focuses upon should be woven together by the "golden thread" of a twofold love of God and of neighbor (p. 77). Augustine was deeply concerned about a catechist's attitude. One needed *hilaritas*, "cheerfulness" (p. 88), and should approach inquirers "with a brother's love, or a father's or a mother's" (p. 97). This created a sacred empathy: "when our listeners are touched by us as we speak and we are touched by them as they learn, each of us comes to dwell in the other, and so they as it were speak in us what they hear, while we in some way learn in them what we teach" (p. 97).

The volume's translator, Raymond Canning of Australian Catholic University, provides a helpful introduction and solid notes. Following Pierre-Marie Hombert, Canning suggests redating the work from 400 to 403. He counters the stock view about the delay of baptism in the fifth-century Church and cites Eric Rebillard's judgment that "there is nothing in Augustine's preaching that justifies thought of crowds of indifferent Christians waiting until the hour of their death to be baptized" (pp. 20-21).

Augustine's highly crafted Latin, full of intricate wordplay and contrapuntal phraseology, poses great challenges for any translator. Canning favors a highly literal translation that reproduces Augustine's fondness for the passive voice and tries to mirror his long-lined and ornamented sentence structure. This approach comes at a cost. Canning's English has a less poetic and more abstract feel than Augustine's original.

This work should be required reading not only for pastors but also for catechists of all stripes, especially those engaged in the contemporary renewal of the catechumenate.

Creighton University WILLIAM HARMLESS, S.J.

Stewards of the Poor: The Man of God, Rabbula, and Hiba in Fifth-Century Edessa. Translations and introductions by Robert Doran. [Cistercian Studies Series, 208.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2006. Pp. xx, 204. Paperback.)

This work provides modern English translations of five important documents that have significant hagiographical and theological value for understanding Edessa, a strategic city in the Syriac part of the Byzantine Empire. For the most part, they highlight the lives and religious attitudes of the city's two bishops during the first half of fifth-century: Rabbula (c. 411-c. 436) and Hiba (perhaps better known as Ibas, c. 436 to 449 and 451-457). The first three works, two Syriac and a Greek version, are variations in the legendary story of an early popular ascetic known as the "Man of God." His saintly life, even in its variants, captivated the minds of Syriac, Greek, and Latin Christians and inspired them to care for the poor as visible manifestations of Christ. This "Man of God" eventually became linked with the name of St. Alexius. The two remaining translations are the *Life of Rabbula* whose life as bishop was totally dedicated (if one can believe the accounts) to being a caring steward for the poor. He was also an uncompromising opponent of both Hiba and the School of Antioch's theological approach to Christ. The final work contains the *Acta of the Second Council of Ephesus* (449) that records the condemnatory statements made against Hiba, his controversial letter to Mari, and the reasons why he was deposed as bishop and imprisoned.

If I may judge from the emendations that Doran offers to the Syriac text I know first-hand, his translations of the Syriac and the Greek originals can be considered close and accurate. He offers a general and then individual introductions to each work that are well researched, informative, and critical in a truly balanced way. In his commentary, Doran stresses the views of Rabbula and Hiba, especially as they confront each other regarding the religious governance of Edessa and their estimation of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Only the first version of the "Man of God" mentions Rabbula by name, but it helps to support the rather extravagant account of his *Life* that portrays Rabbula as a man whose energies were fully committed to caring for the poor. Rabbula's *Life* reveals how sternly he ruled his diocese, supported Cyril of Alexandria and the Council of Ephesus in 431 against many of his fellow Syrian bishops, and strenuously opposed Hiba because he supported Theodore and Nestorius. The final text contains the minutes of the Second Council of Ephesus in 449 (dubbed the "Robbers' Council") that condemned Hiba as a heretic and an expropriator of church wealth.

I have three minor observations. First, the book's title *Stewards of the Poor* is ambiguous, as this is difficult to apply to Hiba in light of the commentary. Second, Hiba's letter to Mari needs a fuller treatment, noting how Hiba insisted on having it read at Chalcedon as a sign of his orthodoxy. Since he praised Theodore there as a man of the Church, the non-Chalcedonians took this and the Antiochene wording of Chalcedon's dogmatic formula as evidence that it was Nestorian. The emperor Justinian at Constantinople II insisted on the condemnation of Theodore and what he called the "so-called" letter of Hiba as wholly necessary if the non-Chalcedonians were to accept Chalcedon as ecumenical. Finally, the brief condemnatory statements of various ecclesiastical figures in the *Acta* of Ephesus II demanding Hiba's death are too repetitious. A reader may give up, missing the major points: Hiba's letter to Mari and the reasons for his condemnation.

In brief, this is an invaluable, well researched work that makes available important fifth-century texts and a succinct depiction of what is now known of Christian Edessa.

St. Louis University FREDERICK G. MCLEOD, S.J.

A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief under Theodosius II (408-450). By Fergus Millar. [Sather Classical Lectures, 64; The Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature.] (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xxvi, 279. $49.95.)

Fergus Millar has had considerable influence on the way we view the Roman empire from its inception to late antiquity. In his latest book he returns to a long-standing interest, the Roman Near East. Here, as part of a larger study of its social and religious history to the sixth century, he focuses attention on

the reign of Theodosius II. Spanning the two councils of Ephesus, the lead-up to the Council of Chalcedon, and the production of the Theodosian code, the period provides Millar with rich material for an examination of how public documents can constitute a literature of self-justification and persuasion.

Chapter 1 sets the stage for viewing Theodosius' empire as one of twin empires, Greek-speaking and—writing in contrast to—its Latin twin. It details the administrative context, important literary forms (lawcodes, acts of church councils, letters), the major players in relations within and between church and state, and the extent to which Latin and Greek were employed in civil administration. Chapter 2 focuses on the eastern frontiers, public communication in both directions between center and periphery, and the role the frontiers played in imperial ideology. Chapter 3 takes up the question of lingua franca in greater detail, arguing for a facility in Latin among administrators, positing a Greek identity for those who lived in the east as a whole, while discussing the role (minimal) of local languages in public communication and persuasion. The concluding sections, on groups of religious deviants as a threat to imperial authority, leads into Chapter 4, an examination of imperial and spiritual authority in the context of church and state. The dominant theme, as the background to the various councils is explored, is how the rhetoric of persuasion, self-justification, and command operated in relation to the enforcement of imperial will. Here the contesting by church and state of each other's boundaries, the role of heretics in the rhetoric of imperial ideology, and the introduction to the mix of independent monks are factors brought into the analysis. Chapter 5 examines the documents that relate the fates of Nestorius and his ally Irenaeus. The corpus is offered as singular evidence of "the discourse of government," "the transmission and reception of imperial commands," and "the functional relations of Latin and Greek within the imperial system." Chapter 6 explores further the deployment of persuasion directed to the emperor and the role of intermediaries and written submissions (*suggestiones*). The book concludes with two appendices designed to help the reader to navigate the complexity of the councils' Acts.

Each chapter is filled with subtle detailing and analysis of communication and persuasion in various directions and at various levels in relation to imperial response. How this was effected, who influenced it, what role civil, military, and ecclesiastical administration played in it are all questions that are answered as each chapter unfolds. In the process, a new perspective on the reign of Theodosius II and the Councils of Ephesus is carefully exposed. If there is one caveat, it lies with Millar's occasional equation of the global use of Greek with "Greek" identity (pp. 93ff.). His thesis about the Greekness of the eastern empire in the domain of public communication at all levels of church and state obscures some important facts. Speaking and writing Greek did not preclude regional influence on cultural identity (e.g., being functionally Greek, but conceptually Syrian), nor did the propensity of bishops to write their letters in Greek preclude regular public communication by presbyters (preach-

ing) in native languages. His thesis works at the level of church and state administration and interaction. Outside of those parameters, as he would himself acknowledge, the role of Greek is less distinct.

This is a book that will almost certainly become a standard reference for students of late antiquity and church history. It also contains much of interest for scholars of canonical developments, the Theodosian code, and developing relations between church and state.

Australian Catholic University WENDY MAYER

Sacred Images and Sacred Power in Byzantium. By Gary Vikan. [Variorum Collected Studies Series.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Co. 2003. Pp. 246.)

Beginning in the late 1970's, Gary Vikan began to publish a series of articles that fundamentally altered the way many of us understand the relationship of the sacred and its physical manifestation in objects and images. The present volume brings together fifteen papers, which appeared between 1979 and 1995 in a variety of venues, many of which scholars of the Late Antique and Byzantine periods will already know. Vikan has spent most of his career in the museum world—he is currently the director of the Walters Art Museum—and the studies have in common the author's perceptive observations of material culture as a reflection of spiritual concerns in the Late Antique and Byzantine world. Eschewing the hermeneutical approach that has dominated much of the writing on Byzantine religious art, Vikan's method is both common-sensical and appealing, best represented in his Study V, "Byzantine Pilgrimage Art" (1998), an updating of a booklet he prepared to accompany an exhibit at Dumbarton Oaks in 1982 (and now available on-line through Dumbarton Oaks' web site). Indeed, many of the studies included here are devoted to pilgrimage art, and to the souvenirs pilgrims took with them from holy sites. As the author notes, "Ultimately each pilgrim was driven by the same basic conviction: namely, that the sanctity of holy people, holy objects, and holy places was somehow transferable through physical contact" (Study IX, p. 66), and many of the studies examine the role of visual imagery in the process of transfer.

The approach to the Byzantine icon is similar, and in Vikan's formulation, "Relics have helped to give birth to icons" (Study I, p. 10), and they are similarly capable of creating a sacred presence. In several studies, the *Lives* of St. Symeon the Elder and his namesake Symeon the Younger are brought into the discussion. Pilgrims' souvenirs were imprinted with the image of the saint and the differences between icon and token are elided: "Therefore take this *eulogia* of my dust, depart," the younger Symeon instructs a clinging pilgrim, "and when you look at the imprint of our image, it is us that you will see" (Studies I, p. 7; V, p. 247; VI, p. 381; IX, p. 73). In a *tour-de-force* article, "Ruminations on

Edible Icons" (Study III, 1989), Vikan moves with ease between the reproduced Byzantine image and ads from the National Enquirer for linen copies of the Shroud of Turin. "The ad itself bears a replica of a replica, a copy of a copy," he notes, adding that the devout Byzantine "would have been satisfied with the newspaper clipping." And from modern consumer culture, he turns to Byzantine consumption and edible icons. Again, the Symeon tokens take center stage: the faithful are instructed to break them up into water, to drink it or bathe with it, "and you will see the glory of God" (p. 8).

The author's fascination with the similarities between contemporary popular religious culture and Early Christian devotional practices lies behind the least well-know of Vikan's *oeuvre*, "Graceland as *Locus Sanctus*" (Study IV), which originally appeared in *Elvis + Marilyn: 2 x Immortal* (New York, 1994). Here he traces the development of the cult of "Saint" Elvis, the sanctification of Graceland as a Holy Land, and similarities between modern tourism and Early Christian pilgrimage.

The collection also includes studies of Byzantine marriage rings, the iconography of a peculiar ivory plaque, and Coptic funerary sculpture. All are thought-provoking and to the point, and many should be standard features on undergraduate reading lists. These are the sorts of writings that can spark the interest of undergraduates, graduates, and mature scholars alike.

University of Pennsylvania ROBERT OUSTERHOUT

Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium. By Bissera V. Pentcheva. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 302. $60.00.)

The generality of the title of this book, evocative of the titles of recent epic exhibitions ("Byzantium: Faith and Power" and "Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art"), suggests a broad, sweeping view of Byzantine icons of the Virgin. In fact, it is a highly focused investigation of the cult of the Virgin in Constantinople and is based on the development and function of relics and icons at three specific sites in Constantinople: the monasteries of Blachernai, Hodegon, and Pantokrator, taking us, therefore, from the fifth to the twelfth centuries in an intricately developed narrative on the capital, its emperors and empresses, its wars and its religious practices. Extensive supplementary material, textual and visual, supports the argument, which has two strands: the manipulation by the imperial family of the Virgin's cult and the public, processional manifestation of fidelity to the Virgin. The first part of the book looks at the relation of the Virgin and imperial power, and at the origins of the civic cult in which the Virgin took on the role of earlier female protectors of the city, such as Tyche and Nike, thus protecting imperial power and leading to state backing for her cult as well as appropriation of it to assert legitimacy. Pentcheva then looks at the role of the Virgin in sieges of the city, such

as by the Avars in 626, showing that relics rather than icons of the Theotokos were used at this time to ward off the enemy. Her icons were not carried in public ceremonies until the late tenth century and not until the eleventh were they wielded by emperors in war. Pentcheva then explores the sustaining power of the Virgin's "motherhood" during times of war and her selfless love in giving Christ to the world. The second part of the book focuses on the Hodegetria icon, the most renowned icon in the city and used extensively in processions, on the Blachernai icon and its miraculous effects, and on the use of the Hodegetria by the emperors at the Pantokrator monastery. It has been a longstanding view that the Virgin's cult arose in the fifth and sixth centuries, but Pentcheva shows how the Theotokos's reputation was given a legendary past in the eleventh and twelfth centuries at the time when the cult was truly formulated.

The book is well written in good and precise prose and laid out with logical clarity in combination with well-chosen and beautifully produced illustrations on at least two-thirds of the pages. Pentcheva is in command of many texts (chronicles, hymns, sermons, poems) used to deepen her arguments and draws on extensive supplementary material such as coins, seals, ivories, and paintings.

I have some unease with the westernization of terminology, such as "Marian" and "Victoria" (in place of "Nike") in a book on this subject, but presumably this is intended to widen its audience beyond those interested in Byzantium and Eastern Orthodoxy. Indeed, it should be of value to anyone concerned with religious cults, devotion, and the relation of rulers to religious symbols.

Christie's Education London CECILY HENNESSY

Medieval

Byzantine Christianity. Edited by Derek Krueger. [A People's History of Christianity, vol. 3.] (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 252.)

In introducing these ten articles, Derek Krueger emphasizes that this volume proposes to study Byzantine Christianity, not from the usual perspective of doctrinal disputes, ecumenical councils, and theological tracts, but rather from a consideration of how lay Christians in Byzantium from the emperor to simple villagers actually practiced their faith. In place of summarizing each essay, I will mention a few important points.

Perhaps the most original of the articles is Sharon Gerstel's discussion of rural Greek churches. Her survey reveals that modern Greece preserves approximately 2000 churches from medieval times, but most of these were built between 1204 and 1453. More specifically, of 900 Cretan churches, only five percent were built before the Venetian occupation (1204). Gerstel provides fascinating descriptions of these churches and their frescos, illustrations

of biblical events, and images of uniquely Orthodox saints. These frescos totally covered the internal walls of most structures. She also describes important Orthodox customs which grew up in and around these churches during these late Byzantine centuries: for example, the lively ceremony of the Epiphany when the bishop or priest throws a cross into a nearby body of water for young swimmers to retrieve. Gerstel locates the earliest reference to this practice in a Genoese document from Caffa on the Black Sea, dated 1440. What Gerstel does not explain is why so many churches survive from these late Byzantine centuries, when supposedly hostile Latin regimes ruled much of Greece and the islands. Gerstel no doubt addresses this key question in her forthcoming monograph on Byzantine churches in Greece.

James Skedros stresses the large number of religious holidays in the Byzantine calendar by discussing a law of Manuel I (1143-1180) limiting the number of days when the law courts closed to seventy-three per year. Skedros emphasizes that Manuel had reduced the number. Under earlier emperors the courts had observed even more holidays. In view of these religious festivals, one wonders how Byzantine judges managed to litigate as many cases as the records show that they did.

Jaclyn Maxwell and Vasiliki Limberis combed the speeches of John Chrysostom and the Cappadocian Fathers for details about fourth-century Byzantine congregations. Chrysostom described how Christian women wore amulets just as the pagans did, though their good-luck charms contained scripture verses rather than magical formulas. Gregory of Nyssa attacked the practice of pilgrimages, on theological grounds because such practices assumed that the action of the Holy Spirit was limited to a sacred place, and on moral grounds because some pilgrims masked immoral behavior behind the anonymity of traveler. Chrysostom also criticized excessive grief at funerals as inappropriate in view of Christ's promise of eternal life.

Several other articles discuss funerals. Georgia Frank's essay on Romanos the Melodist refers to women's ritual lamentation, a pagan custom which easily passed into Byzantine funerals. In his essay devoted entirely to death and dying, Nicholas Constas mentions charitable societies which provided funerals for poor people in the ninth century. Such burial societies belonged to a class of institutions in Byzantium often classified as confraternities. In her article on Byzantine women, Alice-Mary Talbot found that both men and women belonged to a confraternity in central Greece. Talbot here refers to a key article by John Nesbitt and John Wiita, which describes a lay confraternity in twelfth-century Thebes. Such confraternities evolved from urban monastic groups of the fifth and sixth centuries and represent an important element of lay piety. Unfortunately, no author in this volume directly addresses this fascinating topic, but neither have scholars who have studied the Byzantine ascetic movement from which these lay organizations clearly evolved.

Salisbury University TIMOTHY S. MILLER

Les croix-reliquaires pectorales byzantines en bronze. By Brigitte Pitarakis. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard. 2006. Pp. 446. €65.00 paperback.)

The author makes available in an intelligent format and with crisp illustrations a large mass of cult objects of interest to art historians, students of religion, museum curators, and the larger public. The volume is essentially a catalogue of pectoral cross-reliquaries in bronze (pp. 187-390) preceded by a lengthy introduction and followed by a supplement. The catalogue section essentially consists of two parts: cross-reliquaries cast with relief decoration (nos. 1-197) and cross-reliquaries with engraved decoration (nos. 221-651). There is also a small section listing cross-eliquaries with niello decoration (nos. 206-20). A typical entry begins with identification of the collection in which the object is conserved and its inventory number. Such data are then followed by a far more subjective description, namely, the cultural milieu in which the object was produced (for example, "Constantinople," "Constantinople or Anatolia") and at what general date. The entry continues with specification of the item's dimensions, next its provenance, and then its state of preservation. In the introduction to the catalogue the author clearly defines the principles behind the catalogue's structure. It unfolds according to "groupings of related pieces" (p. 187). At the base of such groupings is chronology. In pinpointing dates the author has employed considerations of the technique behind an object's decoration and its iconography, elements, the author asserts, that provide, along with archaeological considerations, the required chronological clues. A goal of the exercise is to try to isolate individual workmen. To achieve this, one would begin with materials that fall into the same time period and proceed from there to peculiarities (or outright mistakes) in epigraphy, iconography, or style. The author fully admits that a number of unknowns might enter into play. For example, although two crosses might be very similar, this could be the result of one workshop copying the style of another. Still, it seems to this reviewer that in the final analysis the author has proceeded to organize the catalogue in a proper, time-honored manner: placing like with like.

In Chapter 1 the author discusses with superb photographs the varying shapes of reliquary crosses worn on the chest. The discussion has a certain importance since it leads to the conclusion that one type may be linked to localized production in the Balkans (p. 39). Other types tend to be used exclusively with engraved decoration and still others with engraved and cast decoration. Chapter 2 delves into questions of metallic composition, techniques, and decoration. Noteworthy, from the viewpoint of production practices, is the inclusion (p. 41) of a table listing the results of chemical analysis of select pieces. Chapter 3 deals with iconography. Of particular interest to social historians who track cultic trends is Table 2 on page 108. Here the author summarizes the number of times one saint appears on cross-reliquaries with engraved decoration in contrast to others. From the author's researches one learns that the most popular intercessor was St. George, followed in second place by St. John (the Evangelist?), and then St. Peter, the Archangel Michael, St.

Stephen, and St. Nicholas. With this material in hand, future researchers may find it interesting to compare the results of this study with the popularity of specific saints among another type of decorated object employed on a large scale, namely, Byzantine lead seals. A starting point would be J. Cotsonis' recent article "The Contribution of Byzantine Lead Seals to the Study of the Cult of the Saints (Sixth-Twelfth Century") in *Byzantion*, LXXV (2005), 383-497, in particular Chart 3.

Dumbarton Oaks JOHN W. NESBITT

Metamorphosis and Identity. By Caroline Walker Bynum. (New York: Zone Books, distributed by The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. 2001/2005. Pp. 280. $32.95 clothbound; $19.95 paperback.)

In *Metamorphosis and Identity*, Caroline Walker Bynum presents four studies that complement her past research on twelfth- and thirteenth-century attitudes toward the self, corporality, and change. Of those four chapters, three have already been published: "Wonder" (*American Historical Review*, 1997), "Metamorphosis, or Gerald and the Werewolf" (*Speculum*, 1998), and "Shape and Story" (1999 Jefferson Lecture, National Endowment for the Humanities website). Bynum notes "substantial" revisions to "Metamorphosis" and "Shape and Story." The fourth chapter, here placed as chapter 3, "Monsters, Medians, and Marvelous Mixtures: Hybrids in the Spirituality of Bernard of Clairvaux," further develops suggestions made in the three earlier essays about the relationship between hybridity and metamorphosis in the Middle Ages.

Uniting Bynum's collection is her conviction that the debates over change and mixture (metamorphosis and hybridity) that she analyzes illuminate fundamental medieval ontological concerns. These worries are admirably summarized in her introduction, where she explores the various ways in which the processes and existence of change influenced many levels of medieval thought. Incorporating materials as diverse as Walter of Châtillon's satires, Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons, and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Maius*, the four succeeding chapters develop aspects of this thought and suggest how medieval attitudes toward change reveal attitudes toward self. For example, Bynum concludes her chapter on Bernard of Clairvaux by stressing that, for Bernard, humanity is essentially a hybrid, facing constant intellectual and social tensions based on the dichotomies, contradictions, and oppositions of humanity itself and humanity's environments. If Bernard's spirituality is seen as a metamorphosis, as some scholars have suggested, Bynum stresses that metamorphosis in that case must mean a return to something, rather than change from something. Alteration/replacement would undermine the *unitas* which, for Bernard, must be at the heart of the human bond with God (pp. 160-162).

Given the chapters' diverse origins, it should not be surprising that this book's richness is in its details. Bynum explores language, such as the various

meanings of *monstrum* and *varietas*, in order to highlight the almost symbiotic relationship between ontology and etymology found in medieval understanding of metamorphosis. Moreover, Bynum excels at the seemingly simple statement or brief aside, which, when reconsidered later, offers intriguing insights both to her theme and to broader historical concerns. For example, in her introduction she devotes two paragraphs to a shift between the mid- and late-twelfth-century conceptions of change (pp. 24-26). Although she only sketches this "new model" of change, it has profound implications for both eucharistic theology and medieval science. Equally suggestive is her distinction between hybridity/mixture and metamorphosis/change and her critique of motivations and methods underlying some recent historical research on medieval marvels. Her footnotes are particularly rich, and their detailed historiographical discussions add enormously to each article.

Despite this book's many strengths, it will disappoint those readers who expect to find between its pages Bynum's last word on medieval concepts of change and identity. Certainly readers will benefit from the information it contains, but perhaps more valuable is the light this books sheds on the methodology and means of communication used by a leading medievalist grappling with questions she believes central to medieval thought.

University of South Carolina KATHRYN A. EDWARDS

Feastdays of the Saints. A History of Irish Martyrologies. By Pádraig Ó Riain. [Subsidia Hagiographica, 86.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2006. Pp. xxviii, 416. €75.00 paperback.)

For the first three centuries of the Christian Church the cult of martyr saints and their relics hardly existed. By the end of the fifth century, the field was a growth industry. The extent of the change is to be seen in the contrasting reactions of the younger Augustine, dismissive of Donatist claims to special sanctity for the Christian departed, and the older Church Father, wearied alike by the *senectus mundi* and the Vandal siege of Carthage, in the last book of his City of God offering an elevated discussion of body and soul and the possibility of resurrection (as expounded by Plato, Cicero, and Porphyry) and then breaking off into an enthusiastic catalogue of the miracles allegedly wrought by St. Stephen at the local shrines of Hippo and Uzalis.

Though the phenomenon has been viewed by many (after Hume and Gibbon) as a sign of the "vulgarization" of religion in the post-Roman world, many scholars have seen the cult of saints and their relics as a direct descendant of pre-Christian mortuary practices (the *pervigilia* of the dead). On the other hand, Peter Brown and his followers have made radical claims for the originality of Christian commemorations. But are they right? It appears natural enough to trace the origins of the festal commemoration of *sancti* back to the consular *laterculi* or *fasti* of the pagan Roman world, and, by extension, to

trace the linear descent of such texts from the *Fasti* of Furius Dionysius Filocalus (A.D. 354) [ed. Th. Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 1 (1863) 332-357] through to the "Christianized" version of Polemius Silvius (A.D. 448/9), *christiano odio imbutus*, who used Filocalus's *Fasti* as his model, but stripped it of all pagan elements (except the names of the Egyptian months). Polemius Silvius was, according to that great Bedan scholar Charles W. Jones, a source for Bede's chronological writings.

Some have seen behind this new-found enthusiasm for the saints and their relics the hand of Pope Damasus—that great "tickler of noblewomen's ears" (*auriscalpius matronarum*), and patron of Filocalus, who carved many of the pope's most impressive verse inscriptions in Rome. Damasus's violent campaign in the early 380's to wrest the *sedes apostolica* from his rival required new tactics and new weapons; one of these was the power of the "very special dead," whose bones were all over Rome. The extent of his success is illustrated by the rapidity with which Ambrose—that other great Christian "impresario" (Peter Brown's term)—"miraculously" discovered the remains of SS. Gervasius and Protasius in Milan in 385, and turned them to a similar purpose. After that, it was just a matter of compiling lists of names of saints and martyrs (along the lines of the *Notitia locorum sanctorum* compiled early for Rome) and adding to them over time. Such a procedure might very well have produced the *Martyrologium Hieronimianum*. "There is perhaps no more horrible book in all of antiquity," wrote the Bollandist Victor de Buck in 1875, and who would gainsay a Bollandist in such matters!

It is more than a little odd, therefore, that the Irish—the last to join the fold of the Christian Church before the final collapse of the Roman Empire—should have preserved the names of none of their earliest martyrs (those newly-baptized converts whose massacre is reported by St. Patrick), and yet the oldest extant manuscript of Jerome's Martyrology, Paris, BN lat. 10837 (saec. VIII) was written by Virgilius, an Irish member of the seventh-century mixed Anglo-Saxon-Irish community at Rath Melsigi (Co. Carlow), who, after A.D. 690, transferred to Echternach (Luxembourg) with its founder Willibrord; the Venerable Bede had a great deal to say about both.

Professor Ó Riain has for many years pioneered the study of the earliest Irish vernacular martyrologies and their relationship with that Rath Melsigi/Echternach book, and this collection brings together in thirteen chapters and an Epilogue most (but not all) of his contributions to the subject. (It is perhaps unfortunate, e.g., that his H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture, *Anglo-Saxon Ireland: The Evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght* [Cambridge, 1993] was not included.)

Stated bluntly, Ó Riain's argument is that the founder of Bede's monastery, Benedict Biscop, on his return in 679 or early 680 from one of his several visits to Rome, brought back with him John, the Arch-chanter and precentor of St. Peter's basilica in Rome, who instructed the communities at Wearmouth-

Jarrow by "teaching the cantors . . . the order and manner of singing and reading aloud," and—of vital importance to the argument—"committing to writing all things necessary for the celebration of festal days throughout the whole year" (Bede, HE IV 18). In Professor Ó Riain's interpretation, these "writings" (*sic*) comprised an early manuscript of the Hieronymian Martyrology, and he further argues that the entire early transmission of the Martyrology passed through this Northumbrian channel. Whether this argument can stand remains to be seen (it has been strongly objected to by, e.g., by Felice Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint. The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627-827* [Notre Dame, Indiana, 2006], esp. pp. 141-150), and adequate discussion of the question is not possible here. Of undisputed value, however, is Professor Ó Riain's magisterial summary of all the later Irish evidence, from the early ninth century down to the seventeenth. The book will be required reading for anyone approaching the thorny problem of the Hieronimian Martyrology in the years to come.

National University of Ireland, Galway DÁIBHÍ Ó CRÓINÍN

Jewish Dogs: An Image and Its Interpreters. By Kenneth Stow. [Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.] (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 316. $55.00.)

Kenneth Stow remains one of the best interpreters of medieval Christian attitudes toward the Jews. In this magnificent contribution of the representation of the Jews in Catholic (Christian) theology from the early Church through the late Middle Ages, Stow takes a theme: that of "Jewish dogs" (the Jews as dogs) as a means of exploring the dehumanization of the Jews as a collective in Western Christendom. Stow uses this theme to discuss everything from the history of the "irrationality" of the Jews to their status as social pariahs. Centrally, he is concerned with how and why such images lead to specific actions against the Jewish collective.

Focusing on the period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and on the Belgian Jesuit Bollandists and then specifically on Richard of Pontoise and Philip Augustus, Stow spins a complex and intricate tale of how Judaism is constructed as the antithesis not only of Christianity, but as a product of a subhuman group defined as much by their "essence" as by their religious practice. The theories of supersession, of how Christianity replaced Judaism in the Divine Order, so well articulated by Augustine in *De Doctrina Christiana*, comes to be understood as a concept of natural law.

If the Jews had to vanish, their refusal to do so, which so puzzled Hegel in the early nineteenth century, can only be explained by the blindness (to use Paul's word) of the Jews. Stow carefully and purposefully shows how this moral stubbornness is represented as the result of the impurity of the Jews and how such attitudes inexorably led to the claims of the "child martyrs" and blood libel.

Stow contributes a piece of a puzzle of European anti-Semitism, as he argues for a continuity of such views across the Reformation and Counter-Reformation to the "reappearance" of blood libel (in slightly distorted form) in the nineteenth century. The continuities rest within the tradition of Catholic (specifically Bollandist) theology and its representation of the Jews. Not the accusation itself, but the demonization of the Jews as dogs remains constant across time. From Philip Augustus, the son of Louis VII, to the Russian Pale in the nineteenth century, such beliefs rest on the sense that Jews are inherently different from Christians and such differences enable them to act in horrific ways. By examining the medieval Jewish responses to such charges and to the burnings of Jews based on these accusations (such as at Blois), Stow is able to provide a view of Jews representing Christians representing Jews.

This book is a tour-de-force on the level of the last great work of the original Warburg group, Isaiah Shachar's study of the *Judensau* (1974) as well as Ronnie Hsia's *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (1988). It is a book that every serious student of the history of anti-Semitism and the Jewish response will use again and again.

Emory University SANDER L. GILMAN

Satan the Heretic. The Birth of Demonology in the Medieval West. By Alain Boureau. Translated by Teresa Lavender Fagan. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. 216. $30.00, £19.00.)

In this book Alain Boureau argues that a new obsession with the Devil and demons among theologians in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century was a crucial stage in the origins of the witchcraft persecutions. He shows that the period 1280-1330 was a turning point in theological attitudes to human-demon interaction, with a significant event being Pope John XXII's consultation of ten theologians and canonists in 1320 on the categorization of magical practices as heretical. The causes for the new anxiety about magical practices and the heightened scholastic interest in demons included the influx of learned magic texts translated from Arabic into Latin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the perceived threat to orthodoxy posed by dualist heresies.

The discipline of demonology emerged in a context of changing attitudes to the efficacy of magical rituals. In the thirteenth century there was a shift from skepticism about the reality of magical transformations to a widespread belief that magical practitioners could produce real effects in the physical world with the assistance of demons. Boureau argues that in the period 1280-1330 the fear of demons grew as stories about the ways humans and spirits could be bound together through possession, invocation, and pact became more credible and significant. These three types of interaction with spirits had different implications. Boureau draws attention to the openness of the human subject in the Middle Ages. It was thought to have the potential to undergo

incorporation and inhabitation with the divine, but also to be vulnerable to possession by the Devil through a mere word or ill-judged wish. A second development, which is not discussed in detail but which supports Boureau's argument about the theological anxiety about demons, was the new emphasis found in learned magic texts on the ability of humans to compel, persuade, and manipulate spirits. This was particularly significant in the genre of necromancy, which involved the explicit summoning of demons and was mostly practiced by male clerics. The third development was the concept of a strong and heretical pact between human and demon which, as Boureau shows, acquired a "fearsome actuality" in the thirteenth century.

For theologians, possession highlighted the particular susceptibility of female bodies to supernatural influence, while necromancy strengthened the notion of alliances between humans and demons in the practice of magic. The concept of a Satanic pact provided justification for treating magical practices as heretical and brought them more explicitly under the aegis of inquisitors. Boureau explains the century-long gap between the development of these concepts and the first witchcraft persecutions of the early fifteenth century by arguing that there were initial weaknesses in the procedures of repression. Yet he also suggests that the social, economic, and religious crises of the fourteenth century provided a vivid context for imagining a terrible demonic enemy bearing down on the Christian community through the susceptible bodies of women who had bound themselves to Satan with heretical pacts.

As Boureau himself notes, his book provides only one strand of explanation for the origins of the witchcraft persecutions, but it is a convincing one. At times the organization of the book and its imprecise terminology (for example, the terms "personality" and "sorcerer") are confusing, and not all of his examples are as fully explained as one would wish. But this is a valuable addition to the history of medieval demonology and magic.

University College London SOPHIE PAGE

Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages. By Don C. Skemer. [Magic in History.] (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 327. $75.00 clothbound, $25.00 paperback.)

The topic of "magic" never fails to arouse interest, even in what Weber described as our "disenchanted" modern world. Yet I would contend that hardly any two of us can be found today to agree on exactly what the word "magic" means. Convinced that empirical historical research will do much to dispel the confusion, the Pennsylvania State University Press recently began its monograph series, "Magic in History." Don Skemer's study on medieval textual amulets represents the latest return on what is already proving to be a remarkably profitable investment of scholarly and publishing resources.

As Skemer makes clear at the start, the object of his investigation consists of "apotropaic texts, handwritten or mechanically printed on . . . writing supports of varying dimensions" and "worn around the neck or placed elsewhere on the body" for protection against harmful enemies and spirits or to bring health and good fortune (p. 1). He emphasizes that such "textual amulets" are to be distinguished from "talismans"—reserved for "astrological seals and figures" procured and worn for similar purposes—and "charms"—referring simply to "speech acts" though again performed with much the same ends in mind (pp. 8-9). The Latin terms signifying his intended objects were, among the church fathers, "ligatura" and "phylacterium," but for most of the Middle Ages "charta," "cedula," "littera," "scriptura," or "breve." Most common among Middle English equivalents were "brief" and "writ." Though the author announces his intention to focus on textual amulets and their use from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, in fact his book covers the subject well for the whole of the European Middle Ages.

What stands out in Skemer's approach is the commendable determination not to fall prey to preconceptions about the dividing line between magic and religion. Warning us that rationalism and Orientalism have encouraged most modern scholars to regard medieval textual amulets as residues of the "primitive" in ritual practices of the lower orders of society, he insists that an unbiased look reveals them instead as prevalent in the most orthodox Christian circles and just as—perhaps more—common among the elite as in the ranks of illiterate peasants. Late-antique intellectuals like Augustine might have fulminated against textual amulets as either fraudulent or dependent on demonic intervention, and Caesarius of Arles condemned their use as at best a sacrilege. But for most of the centuries between the sixth and the sixteenth, they were accepted by the majority of clergy and laity alike as—in Skemer's words—"a renewable source of Christian empowerment" (p. 1).

No doubt the primary use to which Skemer's volume will be put is as guidebook to actual amulets that have survived from the Middle Ages and index of amuletic practices witnessed in the extant sources. Though the quantity of material he has unearthed is well-nigh overwhelming, following his presentation through from beginning to end constitutes a first step in coming to grips with an historical world most of us can scarcely comprehend. From the seventh- or eighth-century pectoral cross found in Lausanne and inscribed with crosses and variations on the ancient charm "ABRACADABRA," through Roger Bacon's thirteenth-century praise of a textual amulet against epilepsy comprised of verses on the names of the Three Kings, to the fifteenth-century *Malleus maleficarum*'s counseling inquisitors to protect themselves from evil spells by carrying on their person a parchment sheet bearing the Seven Last Words of Christ, the astounding variety of amulets and the diversity of purposes to which they were put defies any neat, modernizing understanding of their cultural valence.

Equally significant, however, is the historical progression Skemer has discerned beneath the mountain of evidence he has amassed. For the early centuries, ecclesiastics were the primary producers of amulets, even when they were intended for the laity. Only in the thirteenth century, with universities and increased lay literacy, did the situation start to change. They were the years as well when learned ritual magic, as from the pseudo-Solomonic books, began to supplement the home-grown tradition of amuletic texts drawn from more exclusively Christian beginnings. That same period witnessed the re-emergence of a powerful current of resistance among intellectuals, unseen since the days of Augustine and Caesarius. It is no surprise that a twelfth-century English monastic miscellany containing amuletic recipes should, for example, be glossed in the margins by a late-medieval hand cautioning "beware" and "error."

Which brings us back, of course, to the rationalism Skemer has warned us against. Aquinas's reminder that the words of Scripture ought rather to be inscribed in the heart than worn around the neck leads inexorably to Luther's outright condemnation of any Christian appropriation of sacred names, words, and formulas for personal protection. The resultant divide between magic and religion, self-evident to us but so foreign to most sensibilities in the Middle Ages, has its own developmental history, to whose investigation the Pennsylvania State series is directed as well. In addition to enlightening us about the sacral elasticity of the Middle Ages, Skemer's book also contributes to these efforts to reappraise the rise of modern "disenchantment." On both counts, his contribution is welcome and should spur future work.

Tufts University STEVEN P. MARRONE

A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes. Edited by Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 272. $65.00 clothbound; $25.00 paperback.)

A collection of ten essays, edited by Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, is an extension of a conference, "A Place to Believe in: Medieval Monasticism in the Landscape," which brought together the contributors in Whitby (now North Ridding) in the summer of 2003 "in order to think about place while *in* place (p. 24)."

The volume offers an insight into the workings of complementary fragmentation in medieval historiography. Due to greater division of labor and the bringing together of diverse subdisciplines, every one of which presents different political or ideological motivations as well as different attitudes toward an archive and evidence, such a historiographic strategy presents a reader with a nuanced understanding of the distinction between space and place. Gesturing toward Michel Foucault's analysis of spatial power relations, Michel de Certeau's spatial practices, Pierre Bourdieu's reflexive sociology, and the

most recent work in the field of "human/spatial geography," the editors give us an excellent introduction which describes the scope of the volume, drawing attention to the multiple readings of the concept of place—that is, as a place that "gathers" objects/things, which are both engendered by it and engender it; as a site of and for cultural memory; as a place that identifies a community on the geo-political map; as a locus of material structures; as a place that allows for the construction of the relationship between these structures and the bodies moving within it; as a place that reveals material and immaterial, real and imaginary, royal and ecclesiastical power relations; and finally, as a place that charts geographies of desire, abjection, and devotion in Anglo-Saxon England.

A Place to Believe In is divided into three parts. Part One, "Place Matters," a clear reference to Butlerian "mattering of bodies," consists of essays which deal with Anglo-Saxon monuments, monasteries, and mutable boundaries. Fred Orton is concerned with the Bewcastle Monument, familiar to many art historians, and how a Heideggerian notion of a built *thing* could "matter" the monument anew. Focusing on Bede's silence on the geography around him in *Ecclesiastical History*, Ian Wood puts forth a suggestion that this silence "unmattered" the attention to Jarrow and thus created the impression of a region much more marginalized than it really was. Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley's essay considers human marks on the landscape modified by Anglo-Saxon colonizers. Part Two, "Textual Location," focuses on the textuality of place in medieval writing. Stacy S. Klein treats place "as a profoundly social entity" (p. 113), which exerted an impact on the textual locality of the narrators of the female-voiced elegies. Ulrike Withaus reveals how Gertude of Hefta's distinct spatial and geographic vocabulary of ecstasies and visions translated an ordinary courtyard with a fishpond into a locus of a spiritual conversion for the nuns. Stephanie Hollis's discussion of strategies of emplacement and displacement enriches her argument concerning how the built environment gains significance from the lives lived within it—in her case, the life of St. Edith as commemorated by Goscelin. Diane Watt assesses the impact of the environment on Margery Kempe's piety and religious certainty. And, finally, Part Three, "Landscapes in Time," moves the reader from medieval past to a contemporary contemplation of the landscape of war and its impact on preserving, conserving, and meditation on the past as seen by Rose Macaulay (England) and Daniel Libeskind (Berlin) (Sarah Beckwith); to the assessment of the Cistercians' strategy of occupying places in the landscape while the climate changed the environmental rules under which they operated (Kenneth Addison); and to locating the views on medieval monasticism in the modern American imagination of popular and contemporary eco-culture in Oregon, in general, and in a project directed by the ecologist and community activist Richard Hart, a former member of the Institute of Christian Brothers, in particular (Ann Marie Rasmussen).

The scope of the volume is exemplary. The topics which constitute the "matter" of this fragmentary, but complementary, historiography open up the

conceptual place of what the volume could have been. The editors knew that; some of the contributors, however, did not match the aspirations of Lees and Overing. Be that as it may, *A Place to Believe In* is a worthwhile addition to the discourse on the medieval practices of space/place.

University of Minnesota MICHAL KOBIALKA

The Transformation of a Religious Landscape. Medieval Southern Italy, 850-1150. By Valerie Ramseyer. [Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.] (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 222. $42.50.)

In the second half of the twelfth century the office of the archbishop of Salerno was held by two imposing figures: Romuald II of Salerno (1153-1181), medical expert, possible author of a world chronicle, diplomat, and at varying points royal adviser, and Nicholas (1182-1222), son of the royal vice-chancellor and himself a leading figure in the highest political circles of Southern Italy. Both these men added to the prestige of the Salernitan church and at the same time enhanced their own standing through their position at the head of what seemed a well-organized and lucrative archdiocese. Valerie Ramseyer's clear and well-informed survey demonstrates the extent to which this more efficient and structured archiepiscopal system found in Salerno after 1150 was a relatively recent development. The work actually focuses primarily on the Church in the Principality of Salerno in the period 850 to 1150, but the author's ability to draw repeatedly comparisons and contrasts with other regions of Southern Italy justifies the study's wider title. Ramseyer traces in detail the long and uneven process in which the archdiocese of Salerno was reorganized, reformed, and centralized under the archbishop's rule: a development which only seemed to take shape from around 1000 and was far from complete by 1100. The work also covers the emergence, over a similar period, of the abbey of Cava, just outside Salerno, into a highly organized religious complex, under a more structured Benedictine monastic rule. Cava acquired a host of religious foundations, governed them centrally, and wielded territorial power, all of which was done autonomously from the archbishop of Salerno, through papal approval.

Before the rise of these two religious networks in the eleventh century, the ecclesiastical map of the Principality of Salerno consisted of a patchwork of religious houses built by local families and *consortia* (associations). Religious practices were diverse; some houses were Greek foundations, while there was no standard form of monastic life throughout the Principality of Salerno. The bishop of Salerno (raised to archiepiscopal rank in the 980's) was a relatively inconsequential figure in terms of his religious and political authority. In addition, the worlds of the laity and the secular clergy were firmly intertwined. The main achievement of Ramseyer's study is to reveal clearly, as the title states, a transformation of a religious landscape, and how exactly this occurred (in part

a result of the broader church reform and increased support of both papal and lay power). One of the greatest strengths of the study is its ability to place repeatedly the ecclesiastical transformations into a wider context, not just South Italian, but Western European, Mediterranean, and Byzantine as well. But at the same time the underlying message from Ramseyer's work is that the religious landscape in the Principality of Salerno was always heavily influenced by the local community and by local initiative (the author's use of the extensive Cava archives makes this finding possible). The dovetailing of the impact of these two spheres, the international and the local, is at the heart of the work—never more so than within the discussion of the way the eleventh-century papal church reform impacted upon the Salernitan church. The conclusion emerges that the church of Salerno gradually integrated with the rest of Europe from the eleventh century, but equally always retained its own distinctiveness. Ramseyer's study offers a valuable analysis of the Church in an important region of Southern Italy, and by not being restricted to either the Lombard or Norman periods, it is able to uncover significant long-term transitions that might otherwise have been missed.

Manchester Metropolitan University PAUL OLDFIELD

Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England. By Mechthild Gretsch. [Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, Volume 34.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 263. $90.00, £47.50.)

The modern world has become used to attributing to each decade of the twentieth century its own distinct feel and pervading ethos, which distinguishes, say, the Sixties from the Eighties or the Thirties. It is intriguing to think that Anglo-Saxon authors also had a similar sense of the various periods in their recent past which they liked to look back upon. In her new monograph, Mechthild Gretsch examines a number of saints' cults not from the point of view of the modern scholar, but through the eyes of Ælfric, the Anglo-Saxon abbot of Eynsham working in the later tenth and early eleventh centuries. Her aim is to examine how Ælfric reacted to the developing cults of Gregory, Cuthbert, Benedict, Swithun, and Æthelthryth and their literary manifestations. Gretsch starts off with a detailed demonstration that these five saints indeed held unusually prominent positions in Ælfric's sanctorale (pp. 1-20). Idiosyncrasies in Ælfric's choice of feasts relating to these saints are shown not to be coincidental, but intentionally symmetrical: it is part of Gretsch's argument here to demonstrate that some of Ælfric's hagiographical choices parallel the commemoration of saints in London, British Library, Add. 49598, the Benedictional of Æthelwold, a highlight of tenth-century book production from within Ælfric's cultural milieu. What follows are "five monographs *en miniature*" (p. viii) which deal with the main saints in turn, and which in themselves represent important publications not just on Ælfric but on earlier Anglo-Saxon hagiography.

Little can be added to the many interesting points Gretsch makes: the feast given for Eugenia ("peculiar indeed," p. 7) need not necessarily have come from the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, but is already in the *Old English Martyrology*, a text known to have been in late Anglo-Saxon Winchester, Glastonbury, and Exeter. In a forthcoming publication I will be discussing John Frankis's suggestion that Ælfric knew and used the *Martyrology*, and Gretsch is here opening up some interesting questions. Similarly, the focus on the depositions of Gregory, Benedict, and Cuthbert (p. 14) is also paralleled in the *Martyrology*. The *Martyrology* also seems to testify to at least *some* version of Paul the Deacon's interpolated Life of Gregory reaching Anglo-Saxon England (pp. 61-62). Some might object to the suggestion that "in our days saints are rarely culted" (p. 247), and a look at the Vatican's web site would also suggest otherwise. Perhaps some readers would have appreciated a plate showing the Benedictional's "Choir of Confessors." Apart from these minor points, however, nothing much seems to be missing from this fascinating monograph, which is full of openings and ideas for further lines of enquiry (now highlighted in the margins of this reviewer's copy). There can be only few modern Anglo-Saxonists who would have been able to produce this nuanced picture of Ælfric's cultural milieu which tries "to move beyond the written word" (p. 18) and which is to be greeted with enthusiastic applause. Apart from the two tiniest typos on pp. 235 and 250 no further slips could be found in this exceptionally accurate study.

University of St Andrews CHRISTINE RAUER

St. William of York. By Christopher Norton. [York Studies in Medieval Theology, V.] (Rochester, New York: Boydell and Brewer. 2006. Pp. xvi, 271. $80.00.)

St. William, William of York, William fitzHerbert, is best known as the archbishop of York who was—uniquely—elected to that office twice, the first time after a protracted election following the death of Archbishop Thurstan (1140), and the second six years after his own deposition by the pope. With historical scholarship to date concerned mainly with the controversies and polemical literature of the years of conflict, little attention has been given to William's career prior to 1143, as long serving canon of York Minster and its treasurer—the latter office held with the archdeaconry of the East Riding—or with his posthumous career as the North's answer to Thomas Becket. Even his career as archbishop has been overshadowed both by the "case of St. William of York" (the phrase used memorably by David Knowles) and by his death just a week after celebrating Mass in York Minster to mark his triumphal return, the circumstances of which contributed to suspicions of murder. Moreover, as Christopher Norton argues in this very welcome study of William, much of the literature has been colored by the propaganda of William's opponents, most notoriously the Cistercian abbot, Bernard of Clairvaux, who, among other choice phrases, described William as a man "who is rotten from the soles of his feet to the crown of his head." Norton demonstrates in this scholarly and

engaging book that there is much more to be known of the entire spectrum of William's career than has previously been supposed. Norton meticulously mines the evidence to reconstruct and analyze William's thirty-five years or so at York prior to his election as archbishop in 1143, and to elucidate the importance of the growth of his cult and his canonization in 1226. William emerges as a prominent and important figure in the northern province; yet he did not appear at York in the time of Archbishop Thomas II (1109–1114) from nowhere. As Norton shows, his career path was made possible by his father, Herbert the royal treasurer; indeed, his appointment formed part of a "complex set of negotiations" between the summers of 1108 and 1109, with William's father, two archbishops, and King Henry I. Tracing William's career once he arrived at York is complicated by the existence of several archdeacons named William, but Norton confidently demonstrates that fitzHerbert is to be identified as William of Beverley, and thus played a part in the crucial embassy to Rome concerned with the primacy dispute between Archbishop Thurstan and his Canterbury counterpart. William's diplomatic skills must have been honed by his need to remain in favor with the king in view of both his support of Thurstan and his own father's fall from grace. Norton's rich exploration of this long period of William's life certainly rescues him from the effects of the dominance of the disputed election in the historiography, as does his analysis of the admittedly rather sparse evidence for William's activities as diocesan and metropolitan. Norton brings a fresh eye to the machinations of the 1140's, from William's election to his deposition in 1147 and beyond, and in his discussions William seems a figure of dignity in contrast to Bernard who "emerges from the affair with very little credit." Finally, Norton picks his way delicately through the rich but hitherto neglected sources for the cult and the canonization of St. William, and the posthumous career of this neglected figure. This book is of interest not only as a corrective to previous assessments of William of York, but for the rich picture of the northern diocese in this formative period.

University of Wales Lampeter JANET BURTON

Ramsey: the Lives of an English Fenland Town, 1200-1600. By Anne Reiber DeWindt and Edwin Brezette DeWindt. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 455. Attached data CD.)

Anne and Edwin DeWindts' long-awaited study of the town of Ramsey and its neighboring villages of Hepmangrove and Bury is a very welcome addition to the study of late medieval English society. The town of Ramsey was located in the fenland region of the old county of Huntingdonshire, now Cambridgeshire. Ramsey was first home to the Benedictine monastery, founded in 969. Some two hundred years later a town evolved around it. Its inhabitants supplied the abbey with needed supplies and labor, and over the centuries, an easy familiarity developed between the townspeople and the abbey, often eliciting condemnation from the bishop of Lincoln. At its peak in

the fourteenth century, Ramsey the town probably had between 1000 and 1500 people, whose lives depended on commercial enterprises, monastic service, and agriculture eked out of the watery fenland surroundings. Most town studies are of larger cites, such as Norwich, York, or London; thus a study of a small market town provides an important dimension to our understanding of urban life, because more people experienced urban life in the form offered by such towns as Ramsey than in large cities such as London. The DeWindts' methodology involved looking at all the surviving records related to Ramsey, and tracing as many individuals and families through the documents as possible. This process allowed them to build up individual and family histories from which to explore the social and economic makeup of Ramsey. Such a methodology shows the fluid nature of Ramsey's population, with new families continually arriving and old ones dying out. It also shows how individuals' public careers developed over time, and how leadership related to landholding or commercial success.

In ten chapters, the DeWindts trace the rise, parish life, political organization and local governance, economy, and gender roles of the town of Ramsey. Their time frame takes their study through the dissolution of the monastery and the legal troubles the inhabitants had with their new landlord, Henry Cromwell, grandfather to Oliver, and nephew of Thomas. Henry Cromwell tried to expand his hunting land at the expense of his tenants' grazing land. As a consequence, the tenants rioted and Cromwell took them to court. The court records shed much light on the economic and social tensions growing out of this period of change. Such a long period also allows the authors to explore the impact of the demographic crisis of the late fourteenth century, the expanding powers of the monarchy, and its accompanying administrative and judicial reforms. One noted change was that by the sixteenth century, women were far less in evidence in the records than they had been in the thirteenth century. Some of this change is due to economic transformations which drove women out of the victualing business so important to Ramsey's economy but changes in recordkeeping also increasingly masked individual women's social and economic roles.

Included with the book is a CD-ROM with eighteen appendices that provides much of the raw data for this book. For example, the appendices include the tax payers for the lay subsidy of 1524, the employees of the monastery and the employees of Henry Cromwell, and incidents of disruptive and aggressive behavior between 1268-1600. The wealth of raw date available in these appendices make the book and the CD very useful for teaching. The CD also includes thirty-one pictures, some of which are reproduced in the book, but only in black and white. The pictures, especially those of the countryside, help illustrate the environment that the inhabitants of Ramsey lived and worked in. Altogether, this is an engagingly written study by two scholars who know their records and their subject inside and out.

State University of New York at Paltz KATHERINE L. FRENCH

Contesting the Crusades. By Norman Housley. (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing. 2006. Pp. xiv, 198. Paperback.)

Contesting the Crusades is without question the best introduction on the market to the modern historiography of the crusades, although Norman Housley, who is more interested in them than in the settlements established in the Levant, does not include developments in the history of the Latin East. His analyses of recent treatments of the First Crusade and of the historiography of crusading in the later Middle Ages, a relatively new field which is very much his own, are brilliant. He writes perceptive guides to publications on crusading in the central Middle Ages as an idea and an institution and on its manifestation in many different theaters-of-war. In a survey of writings on inter-faith relations, he makes the often neglected point that crusading cannot be defined solely in terms of opposition to Islam, since it was directed against many other enemies as well.

The last suggestion depends, of course, on the premise that operations in theaters other than the Levant and Iberia were themselves crusades. *Contesting the Crusades* opens with a chapter on this controversial topic. Most historians, for whom Housley himself invented the title of *Pluralists*, now maintain that authentic crusades were fought not only against Muslims for the recovery of Jerusalem or in its defense, but also against many different enemies on different fronts. A feature of *Pluralism* has been the degree to which its advocates, among them Housley himself, have been prepared to argue their case publicly. Although a few scholars, notably Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Christopher Tyerman, and Giles Constable, have defended other positions or have questioned elements in *Pluralism*, James Brundage has pointed out that most "adherents to the other viewpoints . . . seem not to have been moved to produce a similar coherent and systematic theoretical justification for their approach to the subject." A really valuable feature of *Contesting the Crusades* is that Housley articulates clearly and fairly the ideas of this muffled opposition.

Paradoxically, one has to look to the ranks of the *Pluralists* themselves to find any extended critique of their own position. In a thoughtful discussion Housley expresses doubts whether *Pluralism* is the panacea we once thought it to be, but although he recognizes that exceptions to any general rule will always be found he still seems to be searching for some all-embracing definition.

Elsewhere in the book he introduces his readers to another controversial topic, the "spectrum of goals, hopes, beliefs and fears that first impelled people to take the cross and later sustained them while they were on crusade." Everyone accepts that motivation was multifaceted and that it cannot be understood without a thorough knowledge of the context in which people took the cross and a recognition of the triggers that would galvanize them into action, including those intangible ones which Marcus Bull, who with Housley is a leading light in a group of British-trained scholars involved in the new research, has described as being the "the underlying assumptions and instincts

which up to then may not have found any dedicated outlet but could now assume a central importance." It is not surprising that there is a division of opinion between those who are convinced that the appeal of crusading was largely charismatic and those who are still drawn to materialist explanations. Housley very fairly summarizes the arguments of both sides.

The subject of the crusades has been so transformed in the last few decades that those brought up on the histories of Runciman or Setton will find it nearly unrecognizable. *Contesting the Crusades* is by far the most informative and intelligent introduction so far written to the way it is developing.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH

God's War: A New History of the Crusades. By Christopher Tyerman. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 1024. $35.00.)

It seems that there is no end to books about the crusades. A great number of academic titles and popular histories on various aspects of crusading are published at regular intervals, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep track of all that is written about this vast field of historical inquiry. And yet, there are books that stand out from among the many, such as Christopher Tyerman's *God's War*, imposing by its impressive length of over 1000 pages alone. The dust jacket announces *God's War* as "the definitive account of a fascinating and horrifying story" and compares it to Sir Steven Runciman's well-loved and much-published "classic study of the Crusades." Harvard University Press may have good reasons for marketing the book in the way it does, but to the professional historian such pre-emptive praise rings alarm bells. Firstly Runciman's work received a less than guarded reception by crusade scholars when it first appeared some fifty years ago and was never accepted as a standard academic narrative. Secondly, if the postmodernist paradigm has taught us anything at all, it is that we no longer move in a world of "definitive" histories. But let us not judge the author by the foibles of his publisher. Tyerman has written an admirable work of synthesis based on his vast knowledge and up-to-date expertise as a crusade scholar. His narrative is pleasing to read, offering sound judgments and profound insights on a topic which spans 500 years of European history and encompasses most parts of medieval Europe. In short, with current world politics and the military conflicts in the Middle East having led to a renewed interest in the history of the crusades, *God's War* has all the ingredients to become a publishing success. Or has it? The format of the book is not easy to grasp. For the general reader this is not an easy book to read, as it provides a dense account filled with copious detail and numerous references to wider historical contexts. This requires a fair amount of previous knowledge or additional reading to appreciate the full strength of Tyerman's arguments. By the same token, however lucid, Tyerman's narrative is told in a basically academic language which relies on technical terms such as, for example,

"redemption of vows" or "legatine power." Many a general reader would probably want an explanation of such terms. *God's War*, of course, might also be aimed at the undergraduate student, who can be expected to deal with these challenges. If read as a first introduction to the history of the crusades, students might indeed come away with a good grounding upon which to graft their own analytical inquiries into the subject. But despite its apparent qualities, I for my part would be reluctant to use *God's War* in undergraduate teaching for a number of reasons. First of all Tyerman's overall approach to the history of crusading seems old-fashioned considering the efforts crusade scholars have undertaken in recent years in assigning a new scope to the subject. In essence, Tyerman's is largely a straightforward chronological history of the crusading expeditions to the Holy Land between 1095 and 1291 and of the colonial settlements in Palestine which accompanied them. Out of 1000 pages, the crusades in Spain and the Baltic together are assigned a mere fifty. The political crusades, which are summarily mentioned in less than two pages, and the crusades of the post-1300 era fare even worse. Also there is no systematic treatment of thematic issues such as, for example, ideology, finance, propaganda, or the involvement of women in the crusades. This is not to say that Tyerman does not bring these elements into his narrative. But for properly understanding the crusade as a phenomenon and an institution a more rigorous and more coherent treatment of these structural components is essential. Taken on its own merits, though, *God's War* is a remarkable achievement which stands witness to the many years of serious intellectual effort which Christopher Tyerman has spent in pursuit of the history of the crusade.

University of Zurich CHRISTOPH T. MAIER

Homilies: In Praise of God's Holy Mother, On Our Lord's Words to His Disciples at the Last Supper. By Ogier of Locedio. Translated and annotated by D. Martin Jenni, [Cistercian Fathers Series, 70.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2006. Pp. viii, 341. Paperback.)

Ogier of Locedio (d. 1214), also known as Oglerius de Tridino, was a monk and, from 1205, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Locedio in Piedmont. He is an undeservedly obscure figure principally because his most widely circulated and influential work, the *Liber de Passione Christi et doloribus et planctibus matris eius*, also known as the *Planctus Marie* and the *Quis dabit* (from its incipit), was attributed in the Middle Ages to St. Bernard of Clairvaux. It was not until 1952 that H. Barré demonstrated for modern scholarship that the *Quis dabit* or *Planctus Marie* was an extract from Ogier's *Tractatus in laudibus Sancte Dei Genetricis*, which survives with his other major work, the *Expositio super Evangelium in coena Domini*, in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale MS E.V.4. This manuscript is from the library of the Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria di Staffarda in the diocese of Saluzzo in Piedmont, near Ogier's home monastery; it was compiled probably during his lifetime and is the most important witness to his works. The only edition of this man-

uscript is by J. B. Adriani, published in 1873 (Turin), but is almost unobtainable. This then is the background to Martin Jenni's translation of Ogier's two major works, which is based on the Staffarda manuscript and Adriani's edition, and for the *Quis dabit* or *Planctus Marie* my edition of 1994 (*Journal of Medieval Latin*, 4). This volume will open up to the general reader and specialist the work of Ogier and give a context for the *Planctus Marie*, for the *Tractatus in laudibus Sancte Dei Genetricis* here entitled *In Praise of God's Holy Mother* is a sermon cycle forming a narrative of meditation on the life of Mary. As Jenni points out, this narrative structure seems to have been imposed on the series of homilies; nevertheless, the *Tractatus* highlights much about the nature of Cistercian devotion to the Virgin, how it was conceived and developed in the light of the influence of St. Bernard's writing.

The second text, *On the Lord's Words to His Disciples at the Last Supper*, is a mature work that provides an insight into the profound thoughts and feelings of a Cistercian monk who has drawn on a lifetime of meditation on the words of Christ.

The Introduction is informed and deals with some of the problems of the *Tractatus* in a careful manner. The question of the origins of the *Planctus Marie*, that is, whether its circulation predates the compilation of the *Tractatus* or it was extracted from the finished work, is acknowledged here but Jenni rightly avoids becoming preoccupied with an issue that requires more work on the manuscript tradition of that text than is so far available or indeed relevant to this volume. Just to set the record straight, on page 19 Jenni states that he believes that his is the first modern English translation of the *Planctus Marie*. There is a translation in Thomas Bestul's *Texts of the Passion* published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1996 as 'Appendix I,' but this is based on a manuscript chosen seemingly at random and does not, therefore, carry the authority of Jenni's translation.

This volume is most welcome and should win for Ogier or Oglerius many new readers. It is to be hoped that it also stimulates a publisher to reprint the Adriani text or to commission a new edition.

University of Wales, Lampeter WILLIAM MARX

Magistri Johannis Hus: Questiones. Edited by Jiři Kejř. [Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaeualis, 205; Magistri Johannis Hus Opera Omnia, Tomus XIXA.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2004. Pp. xx, 201.)

The continued recovery of the reputation of Jan Hus has been given an important boost by the agreement between Brepols and the *Academia scientiarum Bohemoslovacae* regarding the publication of Hus's *Opera Omnia.* Hus was burnt for heresy at the Council of Constance in July 1416, an act for which John Paul II publicly apologized in December, 2000. In 1882, Johann

Loserth's *Hus und Wiclif* popularized the idea that Hus had done little more than plagiarize John Wyclif (d. 1384), a calumny that has continued despite the labors of English-speaking scholars like Matthew Spinka, S. Harrison Thomson, and Howard Kaminsky, and Czech scholars from the time of Václav Flajshans in 1900 through to Frantisek Smahel, David Holeton, Vilém Herold, and many others now active. Professor Flajshans began to edit and publish Hus's writings in hopes of improving upon the imperfect 1558 edition of Flacius Illyricus (reprinted in 1715), and produced eight volumes by 1908. Discoveries of previously unknown works continued throughout the twentieth century, and in 1959, the *Academia* in Prague began to publish the *Opera Omnia*. They projected twenty-five volumes in the series, of which the first four would be works in Czech, and the last volume *dubia*, leaving twenty volumes of Hus's Latin works. Of these, the *Academia* published *Quodlibet* (Vol. XX, Bohumil Ryba, ed., 1948), *Sermones de tempore qui collecta* (Vol. VII, Anezka Vidmanová-Schmidtová, ed., 1959), *Polemica* (Vol. XXII, J. Ersil, ed., 1966), *Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi* (Vol. VIII, A. Vidmanová-Schmidtová, ed., 1973), *Postilla adumbrata* (Vol. XIII, Bohumil Ryba, ed., 1975), and *Leccionarium bipartitum, pars hiemalis* (Vol. IX, A. Vidmanová-Schmidtová, ed., 1988). Hus's most famous work, *De Ecclesia*, was published separately in an edition by S. Harrison Thomson in 1956. This leaves thirteen volumes for possible publication in collaboration with Brepols. Aside from *Questiones*, Brepols has just published an expanded version of Ryba's 1948 *Quodlibet*.

These *Questiones* are short philosophical treatments of select issues Hus is likely to have produced between 1408 and 1412. He was made Master of Arts in 1396, and Kejř views it as likely that we do not yet know whether he wrote or was engaged in other questions apart from the ten edited here. Of these, it is likely that Hus was not the author of the last, *Q. de Moyse legislatore*, despite its association with his hand. Some *Questiones* have been published before this. J. Sedlák edited two in his *M. Jan Hus* in 1915 (*Q. de supremo rectore*, and *de Moyse legislatore*; in Kejř these are Qq. IX and X) and S. Harrison Thomson edited four in "Four Unpublished *Questiones* of John Hus" (*Medievalia et Humanistica* Vol. 7, 1952, pp. 71-88; here Qq. VIII, III, I, and V.). Of the *Questiones* Thomson edited, *de Materia Prima* (Thomson, pp.75-79) had earlier been published in partial form in *Johannis Wyclif Miscellanea Philosophica II* by the Wyclif Society in 1905, although the editor, M. H. Dziewicki, doubted very much that it was by Wyclif. (Elsewhere, Thomson showed that all the works published in that particular volume were likely writings of Czech scholars.) In Kejř's edition, this question varies slightly from Thomson's version; with "*intendo*" for Thomson's "*intelligendo*" in line 44, "*signans*" for Thomson's "*significans*" in line 68, and dropping the "*esse*" from Thomson's "*dat esse quid*" in line 60. The variations from Thomson diminish in the remaining 200 lines.

Thomson's edition of *Q. de effectu indesinibili* used only one of the two manuscripts in Prague University library, namely MS. X.H.9; Kejř uses the

other, MS. X.H.18, as well in his version, which is Q. III. The third of Thomson's questions is *Q. de testimonio fidei christianae*, which is edited here as Q. I. Thomson used Prague University X E24 for his edition, while Kejř includes Wien 4296 as well as a response to the *questio* by an Oxonian monk (Mauritio de Praga, dicto Rvačka), found in Augsburg II.I.4°57. Thomson notes that X E24 seems to include at least seven *questiones* of Hus, of which Kejř has made use of five (*Qq* 1, 4, 5, 9, 10). The last of Thomson's questions, *Q. de ira et passionibus* appears as Q.V in Kejř's edtion. Again, Thomson made use of one manuscript (XE24), while Kejř uses both XE24 and XH18. Here, the one variation of note appears in line 52. Kejř has "*Et nulla passio sic coinquinat corpus quomodo iste, ut sit homo fornicarius aut epulator aut sompno deditus, nam omnis talis est homo bestalis...,*" while Thomson has *"...ut sit homo fornicarius aut copulator aut sompno deditus...,"* leaving the reader to wonder just how ascetic Hus's theology could be. Q. IV, *Q .de vera felicitate*, was edited by Flajshans in 1899, but here is included with a 1409 response from Mathias de Knin, who had been accused of propagating Hus's thought the year before.

Of the three remaining *questiones*, two were edited by Flacius Illyricus in 1558, namely Q.VII, *Q. de indulgentiis (de cruciata)* and Q.VI, *Q. de credere*. These two fill one hundred pages in Kejř's edition. The final *question*, Q. II, *Q. de lege divina*, has never before been edited, and Kejř has used four manuscripts for this short work.

This edition is an important contribution to Hus scholarship, likely to enable scholars more fully to understand Hus the scholastic thinker. Kejř has done the scholarly community a real service in re-editing *questiones* that were not widely available, and in editing *Q. de lege divina*. The series editor, Gabriel Silagi, indicates that the following volumes are in preparation: X (*Leccionarium bipartitum—Pars aestiva*), XIV (*Dicta de tempore*), XV (*Sermones varii*), XIXb (*Recommendaciones, posiciones, sermones academici*), XXI (*Tractatus annorum 1408*), and XXIX (*Constanciensia*). One can only hope that the other volumes projected in 1959 will soon be assigned, especially XVIII (*Super Quatuor Sententiarum*).

University of Nebraska STEPHEN E. LAHEY

Magistri Johannis Hus: Quodlibet, Disputationis de Quolibet Pragae in Facultate Artium Mense Ianuario anni 1411 habitae Enchiridion. Edited by Bohumil Ryba. [Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 211.] (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 2006. Pp. xl, 311. €160.00.)

Beginning in the thirteenth century, quodlibets were a part of the academic program of the theology and philosophy faculties of universities and were almost always held in Advent or Lent. The January date of the 1411 Hus quodlibet was an exception. The first of the two days of the quodlibet was a day of debate presided over by a master who proposed a question of his own

for discussion. He also accepted questions from anyone present on any subject and answers were suggested by the master and others. On a second day shortly afterwards, the master would present orally his determination—his answers to the questions raised. The extant records of quodlibets are either written notes of the determination or, more likely, an edited version of them compiled later.

Generally the number of questions discussed was about a score (the Hus quodlibet has sixty-eight). The topics raised were not related and so the master faced a challenge to organize them. The unusual organizational device used by Hus was to arrange the questions by the dates on which those asking them had become masters, the most senior master first. Hus erred four times in imposing this sequence. The editor on three other occasions was forced to reorder the contributions in the manuscript so as to make the contents coherent.

This sumptuous edition is a reprint of one published in 1948. The publisher has a twofold project: first to publish the manuscript works of Hus (about twenty-five volumes) and secondly to republish books published earlier which are now hard to find. One volume in category 1 has appeared; this is the first in category 2. The new edition is identical to its 1948 predecessor apart from the addition of an introduction and a biography of Ryba, both four pages long. There is only one complete manuscript of the 1411 Hus quodlibet (Prague, National Museum Library V C 42). Parts of the quodlibet are found in eight other manuscripts and the foliation in these is shown by marginal notes beside the corresponding sections in the base text. There are two sets of footnotes. The first relates the passages to material found in other sources; the second gives differences in wording between the main text and the eight partial ones. The critical apparatus as well as the introduction are helpful and put together carefully.

The description of provenance is more sketchy than it need be. The MS must have been copied between 1416 (the date of the second quodlibet it contains) and 1455 when its owner died. There is no mention of watermarks which would have allowed a closer dating. The book was kept for a time in the Church of St. Vitus in Český Krumlov. It was not listed in Bartoš's 1926 catalogue of the National Museum Library. Ryba tell us though that the book was a part of the library's collection in 1938. The museum's record keeping at the time was good and it isn't evident why there is no record of the MS's accession date or of its source. The new edition could also have benefited from a bibliography which would have mentioned also sources since 1948, such as Marie Tosnerová's 2001 book which contains a listing of manuscripts acquired by the National Museum since 1926.

University of Toronto BARRY F. H. GRAHAM

Cusanus: The Legacy of Learned Ignorance. Edited by Peter J. Casarella. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. xxxii, 280. $74.95.)

In October 2001, the sixth centenary of the birth of Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464), the American Cusanus Society hosted an international scholarly gathering at The Catholic University of America, joining similar conferences in Germany, Japan, Spain, Portugal, Italy, the Netherlands, Argentina, the Czech Republic, and France.[1] This volume represents the fruits of that meeting, but it is far more than a straightforward set of proceedings.

As to be expected in a volume dedicated to a Renaissance thinker, a number of essays examine reliance and/or divergence among antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modernity, suggesting Cusanus as a threshold figure. These matters are first taken up by four contributions, which largely focus on theology: Nancy Hudson and Frank Tobin's translation and discussion of Cusanus' vernacular sermon on the *Pater Noster*, Bernard McGinn's location of Cusanus' *De visione Dei* within the history of western mysticism, Jasper Hopkins' comparison of Cusanus and Anselm of Canterbury, and Louis Dupré's exploration of pantheism from Eckhart to Cusanus. The next four essays (by Wilhelm Dupré, Karsten Harries, Walter Andreas Euler, and Il Kim) examine Cusanus' role in art, imagery of the human and divine, perspective, and interreligious dialogue—a combination that is not as surprising as it first seems. Thomas Prügl, Cary J. Nederman, and Paul E. Sigmund next examine questions of secular and church politics including representation, authority, participation, and infallibility. The collection ends with Elizabeth Brient's discussion of mathematical metaphors in *De docta ignorantia* and Regine Kather's intriguing comparison of Cusanus and Einstein on relativity of motion.

A welcome aspect of the volume is the way a number of essays are in genuine dialogue with each other. Hopkins cautions against too enthusiastic an embrace of Cusanus as a prophet of modernity even as other authors make just such a connection. Nederman sees no continuity in Cusanus, but a break with the past, while Sigmund finds a middle way, noting how Cusanus was both fixed in and fractured from medieval political thought. Kim, as a result of a post-conference research trip, corrects Euler's interpretation of a particular painting, saying it does not depict Jesus, Moses, and Mohammed, but Jesus, Moses, and the evangelist Luke, marking quite a difference. Kather and Brient should be read together, which is not surprising, but also profitably with McGinn, Louis Dupré, and Harries.

To bookend these contributions, Casarella offers within his introduction a helpful comparison of two jubilees—the 1964 conferences in Germany and Spain marking the fifth centenary of Cusanus' death and the 2001 meetings.

[1]This reviewer sits on the Executive Committee of the American Cusanus Society, but was not involved in the conference planning or this volume's composition.

Casarella traces how the interest in Cusan topics has evolved in the nearly four decades intervening: notably, there has been a new interest in Cusanus' spirituality, driven especially by the new availability of critical editions of his sermons. Casarella concludes the collection with a useful suggested reading section that walks the reader through the twenty-two volumes of the modern critical edition (published in Germany, 1932-2005), translations of Cusanus' works in English and German, the leading Cusan journals, print and online resources, bibliographies, and publication information for the other 2001 Cusan centennial conferences. These features complement Casarella's able editing, making *Cusanus: The Legacy of Learned Ignorance* a volume that offers a breadth of topics and weighty scholarly conversation that cut across fields and often defy categories. It is, therefore, a set of essays worthy of Cusanus' own overlapping interests and style.

Kean University CHRISTOPHER M. BELLITTO

Early Modern

Moderate Voices in the European Reformation. Edited by Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie. [St. Andrew's Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xiv, 219. $94.95.)

As the editors of this volume point out in their introduction, a book bearing this title might be expected to be rather brief. The Reformation is not normally thought of as a time of moderation. This volume presents a series of essays which attempt to illuminate some of the more obscure corners of the world of the Reformation in which people tried to avoid or reduce the intolerance and violence which erupted from religious schism. (This is, however, something quite different from our modern conception of religious liberty or toleration.) One of the difficulties here, of course, is the very definition of "moderate," for it is very much a moving target. One must always ask, "Moderate in relation to what?" Moreover, as the editors rightly observe, there can be no single definition of moderation, for "moderation had many layers and many flavours" (p. 4). It is the particular strength of this collection of ten essays that each contribution shines its light on a different corner and illuminates a different flavor of moderation.

This moderation took a number of different forms. Diplomatically, as explored by Alexandra Kess, the Du Bellay brothers steered the foreign policy of Francis I toward alliance with German Lutherans, both as a means of countering Charles V, and also of keeping the flame of religious reform within France. Elizabeth Tingle's chapter on the Breton city of Nantes explores the reality of religious division in everyday life, concluding that to the city fathers, order and stability were more important than orthodoxy and conformity. Alain Tallon argues that the Gallican Church in France provided a moderate alternative model to papal absolutism, one that was never realized, however, as con-

fessional boundaries hardened and as French clergy expressed their resentment of royal control.

Indeed, this hardening of confessional boundaries is one theme that runs through a number of the essays. Kenneth Austin examines the little-known figure of Immanuel Tremellius, an Italian Jew who converted first to moderate or evangelical Catholicism in the 1530's, and then to an undoctrinaire or "lukewarm" Calvinism. It was not so much that Tremellius changed his views, but rather, a changing world induced him to find the religious space in which he could comfortably live and work. Likewise, in her examination of the Imperial Court under Maximilian II, Elaine Fulton explores the notion of "aulic Catholicism," of a reformed Catholicism that would preserve Habsburg control over their territories from papal power-mongering, and that was based on the principles of moderation and compromise over non-essentials. An interesting parallel to the Gallican church examined by Alain Tallon suggests itself here, although, unfortunately, it is not pursued. The French Catholic theologian René Benoist, in his efforts to bring religious literature (including a French Bible) to ordinary people, hearkened back to reforming trends in pre-Reformation Catholicism, but increasingly ran counter to the Catholic Church's response to the Protestant Reformation.

Any discussion of moderate voices in the Reformation must inevitably focus on the Church of England and its legendary *via media*. Louise Campbell argues that the moderation of Matthew Parker, Elizabeth I's first Archbishop of Canterbury, was not seeking a middle position between Rome and Geneva, but rather strove for compromise among Protestants over *adiaphora*, "things indifferent," which were neither commanded nor forbidden by scripture. He and his supporters were animated by a concern for order and stability, and by a humanist ethos which valued persuasion over coercion. Ethan Shagan further illuminates some of the difficulties and dilemmas posed by this notion of *adiaphora*. In things indifferent, is the final arbiter the magistrate or the individual conscience? If the former, does not compulsion belie the Protestant message of Christian liberty? If the latter, where is the possibility of a comprehensive national church? There was a whole range of positions on this issue among both Puritans and "Anglicans." This fact brings us once again back to the reality that "moderation" is very much in the eye of the beholder. Michael Riordan examines the careers and beliefs of four mid-level functionaries in the English Royal Household in the mid-sixteenth century. Their careers indicate that not only was there room in the religious middle, but that even in the dramatic religious shifts of mid-Tudor England, monarchs of various religious persuasions were prepared to employ these men in important posts, despite their sometimes opposing religious views. Nor would it be accurate to picture these men purely as political opportunists of no real religious conviction, who were willing to conform to whatever was demanded of them in order to maintain their power and positions. In an intriguing suggestion, he states that men such as these may have been more the norm than the exception, a reality which has been obscured by the nature of Reformation polemics.

Graeme Murdock examines yet another variant of moderation in looking at Protestants in Habsburg-controlled Royal Hungary in the early seventeenth century, as a number of Calvinist theologians and clergymen reached out to Lutherans to form a united front against an increasingly potent reformed Catholic Church. They were, however, rebuffed by their Lutheran counterparts, with the result that Hungarian Protestants were increasingly on the defensive "in the face of a rising tide of persecution from both the monarchy and Catholic hierarchy" (p. 195).

In his conclusion, Mark Greengrass returns to the varieties of moderation, and to their fundamental ambiguity. Indeed, it is difficult or impossible to come up with any overarching conclusions regarding moderation in Reformation Europe, precisely because of the varieties and ambiguity of that moderation. Although it is put as such nowhere in this volume, moderation in the age of the Reformation may perhaps best be defined negatively, by what it was not, rather than what it was.

This book is a very welcome addition to the growing historical literature on Reformation Europe which looks beyond the polemics and the admittedly abundant episodes of intolerance and religious violence to what was very likely a majority of people who, although they thought of their opponents as damnable heretics, were content to leave their judgment to a higher authority.

University of Calgary MARK W. KONNERT

Renaissance Florence: A Social History. Edited by Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 674. $150.00.)

This welcome collection of essays on the society and art of Renaissance Florence serves as an up-to-date and accessible introduction to much current research in the field. While it is not perhaps a "social history" of Florence as its subtitle says—at least as that term was understood by an older generation interested above all in demography and in social relations, structures, and institutions—*Renaissance Florence* does tackle many of the historical questions touching the relationship between art and society that emerged from that and other earlier research. The titles of the six themes into which the essays are divided give a clear sense of the book's general approach and subject matter: "The Theatre of Florence," "The Public Realm," "Relatives, Friends, and Neighbors," "Men and Women," "The Spaces of the Spiritual," and "Across Space and Time." The eighteen authors whom Roger Crum and John Paoletti have invited, after careful consideration one infers, to participate with them in this collaborative study of "the dynamics of space in a Renaissance city" (Introduction) are an interesting mixture of a few old and rather more new faces. By my count, precisely half of the twenty contributors are art historians by formal training. It is, however, the express intention of the editors, them-

selves both art historians, that their book "not privilege either history or art history as a mode of understanding the past" (p. 13). Their collaborators certainly display a willingness (inevitably more thorough-going in some cases than in others) to ignore as increasingly irrelevant the traditional frontiers between these two historical disciplines, to the advantage of the book as a whole.

In a short review of a large collection of essays by many scholars, it is simply not possible to mention every author by name, let alone to discuss each essay's contribution. This is a pity. A number of the younger scholars present the results of important new research with admirable clarity; several of the senior contributors manage in exemplary fashion to pull together the research and reflections of a lifetime, while also suggesting how the subject they are discussing might be developed in the future. The overall quality of the essays is high, then, as one would expect of a collection that has been meticulously planned and painstakingly executed by its editors. "Space" in all of its physical and metaphorical meanings is, however, a slippery concept, as the contributors themselves make clear (in a few cases not necessarily intentionally, it must be said), and despite the efforts of the editors some of the essays, among them several of the best, deal more or less literally or even perfunctorily with the book's leitmotiv. Even allowing for the difficulty of shaping any collection of essays, and the dynamic and malleable nature of this one's subject matter, the division into six themes does not always work. Friendship and the spaces of *amicizia*, for example, are discussed in "Men and Women" rather than in the preceding section to which one might have thought they belonged; and anyway the theme of friendship deserved more attention in a book on the society and art of Renaissance Florence.

If the most internally coherent subdivision is perhaps that devoted to "the spaces of the spiritual," readers of this *Review* will also find novel and stimulating information and insights throughout this excellent book. Florentine painting, sculpture, and architecture remained above all religious art in this period; the society that produced and paid for that art saw itself as quintessentially a sacred, Catholic, one. The editors have succeeded in their ambitious intention to "provide a richly textured sense of how art was used at all levels of society" (p. 15), and they and their collaborators deserve our gratitude and thanks for their efforts.

Monash University F. W. KENT

Fire in the City: Savonarola and the Struggle for the Soul of Renaissance Florence. By Lauro Martines. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 336. $30.00.)

Lauro Martines, prolific author of books on the Italian Renaissance, has turned his elegant and lively prose to a violent, puzzling period of Florentine history at the close of the fifteenth century, the years leading up to Girolamo

Savonarola's public execution and burning for heresy and treason in 1498. The fire-and-brimstone Dominican friar, transplanted from his native Ferrara, who rocked Florence with his sermons, springs from these pages in all his troubling contradictions. Was he above all a political reformer, bent upon nurturing the more inclusive government of the Great Council instituted after the 1494 exile of the Medici? Or is he best viewed as an uncompromising moral reformer, just as harsh in his attacks on simony in the Church as he was on sodomites and the opponents of his favored Council? For Martines he was all of the above and more, for in this sympathetic treatment, we find Savonarola characterized also as a compassionate and forgiving man.

The book follows recent scholarship that no longer views Savonarola as an isolated religious demagogue or proto-Protestant martyr. Rather it places him squarely within the political and religious context of Florence in those confusing times following the Medici's departure and the French invasion of Italy. As Donald Weinstein argued earlier, the seductive mythology of Florence as the New Jerusalem ultimately absorbed Savonarola while fuelling his eloquence. Florentines initially embraced Savonarola's purifying message of regeneration only to turn against him when his enemies obtained enough political muscle to condemn him to death by hanging, literally lighting the fagots beneath his gallows. But in stressing the Florentine context, the author missed the opportunity to evaluate rising currents of apocalypticism and millenarianism that added urgency both to Savonarola's message and to its reception. Opposition to him from within the Dominican Order and other branches of the Church was motivated not just by anger at his fulminations against simony and corruption, but by important theological debates over what constituted true prophecy and thus whether Savonarola could be the prophet he and his followers claimed. Stress on politics overshadows these broader dimensions.

The book adopts a modern novelistic style with short chapters and eye-catching subheadings like "Vile Bodies," "Rome Closes In," "Kicked and Punched," and "Terrorist." Without sensationalizing, Martines savors the dramatic detail in interrogations, confessions under torture, executions, and so forth. For effect, at one point he even inserted in block quotes a fictional letter he wished the Florentine Priors had written the pope in Savonarola's defense (p. 204). The book provides a basic bibliography, but no real footnotes, a pity in a subject that has evoked so many opposing views. Perhaps Oxford University Press is aiming toward a literate but not scholarly audience, for the skimpy ten to twenty endnotes for each chapter, unmarked and keyed to phrases in Martines' text, are effectively useless. Serious readers would prefer notes that chart a path through the maze of conflicting scholarship on Savonarola and his place in history.

Martines worries that in our post-9/11 environment people might summarily dismiss Savonarola as a ranter and provocateur and miss the fascination of this remarkable man. The rationalism to which Martines appeals in his assessment notwithstanding, Savonarola also reminds us that public per-

suaders, drawing upon the explosive combination of religious fervor and political commitment, have had an enduring place in European culture, even in Florence, heart of the Renaissance. The book, while not based on original research, makes lively reading and draws us toward the enigma of Savonarola. Having enticed readers into the drama of the past, one hopes they will want to delve further.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill MELISSA MERIAM BULLARD

The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence: The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community. By Stephanie B. Siegmund. [Stanford Series in Jewish History and Culture.] (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 624. $70.00.)

Stephanie Siegmund's book is all about how to think about the Italian ghetto. Traditionally, the ghetto is the arch-symbol of the Jewish policy of militant Counter-Reformation Italian Catholicism. A reinvigorated Church instituted a new and tougher policy on Jews in Italy, who were either expelled or else stripped of many rights and privileges and confined to ghettoes. Indeed, the physical image of the ghetto, precisely because of its physical-spatial nature, served as the visible representation of the mix of restrictions and disabilities to which Italian Jews were now subject, as well as a symbol of the fear and loathing in which they were now formally and officially held. This notion of the ghetto is a staple of Early-Modern Italian Jewish historiography.

It is a model with which Siegmund takes issue. She argues that one cannot speak of an undifferentiated "Italian" ghetto. While ghettoes were in fact created in almost all the communities where Jews were permitted to reside, they did not come into being in the same way, and their effects upon the local Jewish communities were not identical. Indeed, in the case of Florence, to which her study is devoted, the creation of the ghetto *caused* the creation of the Jewish community, both in the sense of bringing together disparate Jews living in Florence who had lived lives basically separate from one another and often from Jewish practice, as well as in the sense of a formal kehilah, which was formed by the state-ordered concentration of the seven hundred or so Jews living in Tuscany into a ghetto constructed by the state, and by the state-sponsored formation of organs of self-goverment. The Early-Modern kehilah being an organization dedicated, among other things, to promoting and even coercing religious praxis and halakhic conformity, it was a supreme irony that the Medici Christian state was responsible for pushing its Jews to live "orthodox" Jewish lifestyles.

Or perhaps it was not ironic at all, when one considers, as Siegmund does, the mix of factors that led to the decision of the Tuscan government to expel its relatively small number of Jews from their places of residence throughout the (soon to be) Grand Duchy and to concentrate them in a ghetto in Florence

in 1570-71. Traditional historiography has concerned itself with the question of why it was that Cosimo I, the famous ruler of Florence who created both the Tuscan state and its feared and efficient administrative machinery, changed his longstanding pragmatic and even benevolent policy toward Jews in Tuscany in the late 1560's, when he began to conform to Papal policy and compelled the Jews to wear a *segno* (a yellow "o" on the hat) and move into a ghetto. The traditional explanation is that it was all about Cosimo's need for Papal and Habsburg recognition for his title as *Grand* Duke of Tuscany, which signified his superiority to the Dukes who ruled other parts of Italy. Or it had to do with the religious fervor excited by the war against the Turks which culminated in the Battle of Lepanto. Or to the death of his wife, who had been friendly to Jews, or the marriage of his son and co-regent to a Jew-hating wife.

For Siegmund, none of these explanations suffices. She prefers to see the creation of the ghetto as an act of bureaucratic reorganization of a sector of the population of the Tuscan state, a piece of the overall reorganization of society and institutions that constituted Early-Modern state-building. Siegmund describes this process as one that "required that communities and social networks and social hierarchies be dissolved, subordinated, co-opted, and restructured. . . . But there was also an effort to build and support social networks—communities—which were themselves closely linked to institutions that were supportive of or dependent on the Medicean regime" (p. 29). Thus, the creation of the ghetto is not to be viewed as simply an arbitrary act of a capricious or cynical ruler, but as part of a broad trend of the reorganization of society carried out by a centralizing bureaucracy to create a new political and social reality, a Jewish analogue, in fact, to the Catholic parish.

Readers of Siegmund's richly-detailed study discover, among other things, that Tuscan Jews were dues-paying members of Catholic guilds; that Jews often lived in towns and villages as individuals, without any kehilah, and liked it that way; and that the creation of the ghetto and a Florentine kehilah had a disastrous impact on the power of Jewish women. The ghetto, whatever the specific circumstances of its creation, represented order at the expense of liberty. But Siegmund has made it more difficult to generalize indiscriminately and facilely.

The Johns Hopkins University DAVID KATZ

Missioni in terra di frontiera. La Controriforma nelle Valli del Pinerolese. Secoli XVI-XVIII. By Chiara Povero. [Bibliotheca Seraphico-Capuccina, Volume 77.] (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini. 2006. Pp. 442. €30.00 paperback.)

The first comprehensive study of the Jesuit and Capuchin missions to the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont between 1560 and 1768, this doctoral thesis (University of Turin) will interest scholars working on missions or on French

or Italian church history during the Old Regime. It is carefully documented and relies on sources from a wide variety of archives. Still, more thorough revision (tighter organization and more focused arguments) could have resulted in a book with even broader appeal. The introduction mentions a variety of themes raised in other studies of early modern missions and religious culture; yet the author's own historiographic position is difficult to identify. The book's first part introduces the geographic and political context of the missions, characterizing the valleys above Pinerolo (Val Chisone, Val Pellice, Valle Angrogna, and Val Germanasca) as a frontier region—the book's publication was subsidized with funds from an Italian border studies project. More attention to the concrete economic and social context of this Alpine region would have permitted the author to link this part more clearly to the following ones. Part two outlines the key religious and political events in the valleys during the period under study between the reigns of Emanuel Filibert of Savoy (1553-1580) and Charles Emanuel III (1730-1773). Following the arrival of the first Jesuit missionary, Antonio Possevino, and a brief war (1560-61) aimed at converting the valley inhabitants by force, Emanuel Filibert decided to grant religious toleration to the valleys' inhabitants, creating a "*ghetto Alpino*" that was also a mission field for the next two centuries. The first Capuchin missionaries arrived in the late 1590's, and in 1630 Pinerolo and half of the area was acquired by the French crown. Missionary activity increased as the French began to subsidize conversions and replace Piedmontese clergy with French. They also established a Jesuit mission at Fenestrelle and a Jesuit college at Pinerolo. Pro-French Savoyard rulers launched new military campaigns in the valleys under their control in 1655 and 1684, without success. Not long after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Victor Amadeus II renounced the French alliance, extending his 1694 edict of toleration to the entire area, which was reacquired by him in 1713. During the early eighteenth century, missionary policy shifted, focusing on educating and providing assistance for new converts, increasingly through the work of state-supported secular clergy. The diocese of Pinerolo was created in 1748, eight years after the establishment of a catechumen house there to serve new converts. The book's final part discusses different methods used by the missionaries: preaching and processions, religious instruction, religious controversies and printed accounts of debates, and other strategies of conversion. Povero's work confirms the thesis that by the early eighteenth century the missionaries were so successful in involving secular clergy in their activities that the position of the regular clergy themselves was eventually undermined. She also concludes that state support was a fundamental element for the success of the missions, while admitting that such success was limited (as indicated by the continued presence of Reformed communities in the valleys). Unfortunately, this book refrains from a detailed examination of the concrete local Alpine context. Constant migration between valleys and the plains, ongoing commercial transit, the configuration of bi-confessional communities, and local politics: these issues are occasionally mentioned in passing, but their relation to missionary activities and the process of conversion is not closely studied. We learn that almost all Catholic converts came from the Val Chisone. Why

there? Greater attention to the lives of valley inhabitants themselves could provide some clues.

West Virginia University MATTHEW VESTER

La legazione di Ferrara del Cardinale Giulio Sacchetti (1627-1631). Edited by Irene Fosi with the collaboration of Andrea Gardi. Two volumes. [Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, 58.] (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano. 2006. Pp. lvi, 341. €75,00.)

In 1598 the Duchy of Ferrara, which theoretically had always been subject to papal authority, passed to direct papal rule when the last Este duke in the direct line died without heirs. The papacy left local governmental structures and elites intact, but exerted overall control though a legate. In December 1626 the papacy appointed Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti (1587-1663) to be legate to Ferrara. From a Florentine Republican family which had moved to Rome in the 1530's, Sacchetti obtained a doctorate in canon and civil law from the University of Pisa, became a priest, and entered the papal diplomatic service as a supporter and creature of the Barberini family. He was papal nuncio to Spain (1624-1626), where he developed a strong antipathy against Spanish influence in Italy, and was made a cardinal in 1626. He entered Ferrara on April 15, 1627, and left on July 12, 1631. Legations normally lasted three years; the outbreak of plague caused the papacy to extend his term. Papacy and legate communicated by letter: Rome sent instructions and the legate responded on a weekly, sometimes daily, basis. These two substantial volumes contain 1,531 letters exchanged between the legate and the papacy, the latter usually represented by the cardinal secretary of state, Francesco Barberini, the nephew of Pope Urban VIII. After his legation was finished, Sacchetti was legate to Bologna, 1637-1640, and might have become pope in 1644 or 1655, had Spain not vetoed his candidacy.

As legate Sacchetti exercised both spiritual and temporal authority. As spiritual ruler he oversaw the bishops of the nine dioceses in the Ferrara state, heard appeals from those convicted of violating canon laws, and conceded matrimonial dispensations. But temporal government was far and away the larger part of his job. As governor of every aspect of the Ferrarese state, the legate had the power of appointing and removing public officials, punishing rebels, convoking local assemblies, and doing anything else necessary for the maintenance of public order and papal authority. In practice, he worked with communal organs, feudatories, and local elites; he often mediated. The responsibilities were heavy; Sacchetti had to ensure that there was enough grain, oil, and wine for the people in a time of scarcity. He had to provide for the security of the state and to fend off threats. This was no easy task, as Venice continually violated Ferrara's sovereignty and interfered with Ferrara's access to the Po River. The letters provide valuable information about the issues and practices of governance of a small state in the old regime.

The legate also represented papal interests and papal diplomacy in northern Italy. The dominating crisis in Sacchetti's tenure was the War of the Mantuan Succession. On December 25, 1627, Vincenzo II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Monferrato, died without heirs. Carlo Gonzaga-Nevers, of a cadet branch of the family and supported by France, dashed to Mantua and seized power in mid-January 1628. The Habsburgs, who had a long and strong connection with the Gonzaga through feudal ties, marriage alliances, and military service, preferred a candidate from another cadet branch. The succession mattered a great deal to both France and Spain, because Mantua and Monferrato were strategic military positions in northern Italy. The Viennese Habsburgs sent an army to enforce their choice, and the War of the Mantuan Succession broke out. Since Mantua bordered Ferrara, the papacy and the legate were very concerned. Sacchetti strengthened Ferrara's defenses, while the papacy determined on a policy of neutrality, to the point of forbidding its subjects from enrolling in the armies of the warring parties. Other consequences of the war were far worse: German imperial troops invading the Mantovano brought the plague with them. Refugees carried it to Ferrara, and Sacchetti had to deal with the sick and the dying. In July 1630 imperial troops sacked the city of Mantua. Gonzaga-Nevers and his family fled to Ferrara, which gave them asylum. Several hundred letters deal with the war and its consequences.

The correspondence also sheds light on the family nature of papal government at this time. Several members of the Barberini held high positions in the papacy, and Sacchetti, their supporter, sent letters to them as well as to the cardinal secretary of state. A network of clientage bound everyone together. Sacchetti was simultaneously the faithful, prudent, and honorable servant of the pope, and competent administrator, diplomat, and mediator.

Irene Fosi, with the help of others, has edited letters 1-1,000, and Andrea Gardi letters 1,001-1,531. Each has contributed an excellent introduction, Fosi on Sacchetti and his relations with Rome and the Barberini, and Gardi on governing Ferrara. Each letter has a headnote indicating the contents and is fully annotated. The texts of some very routine letters have been omitted. Volume Two also lists and summarizes the contents of 214 *bandi,* i.e., proclamations by the legate dealing with all kinds of issues. The two volumes lack a register of letters but do have an index of names and places. A CD ROM accompanying the volumes provides a register of letters and, even more useful, the texts of all the letters along with a search engine. One may type a word, phrase, or subject, and get a list of the letters containing the word, phrase, or subject. Clicking on the letter brings up the text, which can be printed. The CD ROM also includes an historical glossary with short biographies and identifications of the many individuals and references in the correspondence. This repeats and summarizes the material found in the notes to the printed letters. Finally, the CD ROM reproduces the text of Sachetti's *Memoria di quanto s'è fatto per preservazione dalla Peste a Ferrara .... ne gli anni 1629, 1630, 1631* (Ferrara, no date, but 1631), in which he described the measures taken against

the plague. The CD ROM is very useful. The only criticism is that the two volumes lack a sleeve for the CD ROM; hence, it can easily become detached from the volumes.

This is an admirable edition. It provides a great deal of information about the government of Ferrara, the Mantuan war, papal diplomacy, and the personal rule of the Barberini clan. Readers are indebted to the Istituto di Studi Rinascimentali di Ferrara and the Province of Ferrara for supporting the project, and the Archivio Segreto Vaticano press for publishing the volumes. Above all, Fosi and Gardi merit the highest praise for their immense and fruitful labors.

University of Toronto Emeritus and Chapel Hill, North Carolina PAUL F. GRENDLER

Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire. By Charlene Villaseñor Black. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. 259. $60.00.)

This study assembles a wealth of material pertaining to the rich topic of the devotion, cult, and imagery of St. Joseph in Mexico and Spain during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Its theme is gendered discourse vis-à-vis mandates of the Spanish Inquisition and societal aims of Spanish Habsburg and Bourbon rule. Chapters Two through Six are accordingly entitled "Love and Marriage," "Happy Families," "Mothering Fathers," "Men at Work," and "The Good Death." Of particular merit is the discussion (pp. 151-156), appended to Chapter Six, emphasizing the association of Joseph's patronage with charitable institutions in Spain and Mexico and with the Spanish monarchy and state. These observations invite comparison with Barbara Mikuda-Hüttel's substantial study (1997) of Joseph's contemporary cult in Habsburg Austria, but Mikuda-Hüttel's work is not cited. Indeed, Black's book, based on her 1995 doctoral dissertation, is significantly flawed throughout by inattention to groundbreaking literature on Joseph's cult and imagery published during the past decade and by her exclusive treatment of Hispanic Baroque textual, devotional, and pictorial features as innovative, or isolated, without consideration of analogous developments both earlier and elsewhere in the Christian world.

Other sources not cited that bear meaningfully on points Black raises and that provide prototypes and contextual interpretation for the visual motifs and compositions she addresses include books by Jörg Traeger (1997) and Brigitte Heublein (1998). Importantly so, too, do two 1996 books by Joseph F. Chorpenning, O.S.F.S., and mine of 2001, studies cited but without consideration of the facts, images, and observations there presented, as in our subsequent publications. Of further help to Black's anchoring of cult evidence and liturgical data would have been compendia published by Tarcisio Stramare, O.S.J. (1997), and Roland Gauthier, C.S.C. (1999, 2002). Germane are publications by Sheila Schwartz and Christopher C. (not "Dean" as on p. 248) Wilson;

Black's bibliography lists only their dissertations. A reference to Barbara von Barghahn's penetrating essay in Chorpenning (ed.), (1996) (pp. 57-89) would have bolstered Black's discussion (pp. 30-33) of the association of Joseph with the Mesoamerican god Tlaloc.

Most problematic is Chapter I: "Creating the Cult of St. Joseph," along with repetition of this phrase in the book's title. Black ignores both John W. O'Malley's recent cautioning (2000) against too readily viewing the Council of Trent as a watershed for devotional and pictorial change and the abundant archival evidence of Joseph's call to the altars in pre-Tridentine Italy (Stramare 1997, Traeger 1997, and especially Wilson 2001 and my articles of 1996, 2002, 2004, and 2005). Black instead clings to the notions that Joseph's cult was unimportant prior to Trent (pp. 23-24, 33) and El Greco's altarpiece (Toledo) among the first St. Joseph altarpieces (pp. 35-36), whereas I have identified some forty Joseph altarpieces in Renaissance Italy. (Her most recent reference to El Greco dates from 1961; major exhibition catalogues [1982; 2003] are ignored.) Joseph was invoked in early Cinquecento Italy as civic and personal protector, his cult having been promoted through the policy of Sixtus IV and Franciscan Observantist preaching. That "Sixteenth-century efforts to promote St. Joseph in Europe were centered in the monastic world" (p. 24) is inaccurate.

Black neglects Bernard of Clairvaux's signal contribution to Josephine doctrine and liturgy. Bernard established Joseph's role in exegesis and defined his standing in grace as Mary's fore-ordained Davidic spouse, first witness to the Incarnation, and recipient of God's word, gifts seen by the early sixteenth century as the basis of Joseph's crown of martyrdom and capacity as intercessor. Twelfth-century commentators paved the way for articulation during the fourteenth of Joseph as protector of the Church. These themes correlate with features of the saint's evolving cult iconography and might have been purposefully considered in analyses of the pictures Black examines. The motif of Joseph sleeping (cf. pp. 51-52), for example, represents his reception of God's word in the three dreams (Matthew) where Joseph is instructed on the actions that constitute his role in Redemption. Following Bernard, it is juxtaposed by Duccio and others with the Flight into Egypt. To what extent could depictions of Joseph's dream "contain at their core anxiety about [Spanish and Mexican] women's uncontrollable sexuality" (p. 53)?

Often-repeated broad statements are frequently supported in the endnotes by only one or two examples and sometimes none at all. Spanish seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers are most frequently invoked anonymously in the text although identified and generously quoted in the notes. The notes reveal that a large proportion of passages adduced for the author's generalizations derive from a single source: Antonio Joseph Pastrana (Madrid, 1696). A long list of relics (p. 150) is virtually unannotated. Undoubtedly valid comments (pp. 3, 155) on Joseph as exemplum for converts—a topic recently broached by Christopher Wilson, Chorpenning, and myself—are entirely unannotated.

Discussions of religious texts lack clear differentiation between which constitute theology and which devotional embellishment. Pictorial subjects are designated as "scenes," without distinction between narrative depiction and iconic images. Comparisons among works of art are drawn with little regard to their respective original contexts, i.e., to whether they were designed as emblems to accompany Josephine texts, as Joseph altarpieces, or for some alternate purpose. Such limitations necessarily restrict the utility of the observations offered. For example, a St. Anne altarpiece (Pl. 5) includes Joseph as a lateral saint, thereby honoring him, but Black discusses the painting as a "Holy Family" (a problematic title, being anachronistic to the period) that reflects Joseph's (perceived) marginalization and, extraordinarily, as if it depicts narrative (pp. 35, 62-3). Iconic images where Joseph stands holding the Child were doubtless designed for cult contexts but instead are ingenuously interpreted as "Holy Family scenes" where "Mary disappears completely" (p. 75).

Black interestingly assembles numerous Hispanic representations of the Marriage of the Virgin and Death of Joseph, discussing the former in terms of Spanish imposition of a European marriage model on Mexico. The subject's signification of Joseph's status and invocation "*sponsus Mariae*," association with celebration of his feast, typology as the union of Christ and His Church (Antoninus), and recurrent employment for Joseph altarpieces (in Italy, by 1504) should also be acknowledged as should Augustine's citation of Mary and Joseph as marital exempla. Black's discussion of Joseph's death pays close attention to accounts in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish texts; readers may wish to know their source in the account incorporated by Isidoro Isolani in his monumental scholastically-argued *Summa* (Pavia, 1522), a significant text mentioned once, as a "scholarly essay" (pp. 24-25), but a source also for the Venetian miracle Pastrana recounts (p. 145), debate on Joseph's age (cf. p. 25), and articulation of Joseph's resplendency, crown of martyrdom, and role in proselytizing (see Wilson 2001). Especially worthy is Black's elaboration, focused on Spanish Baroque texts emphasizing Joseph's nurturing, on the adaptation of Marian imagery for Joseph. Association of this characterization with Joseph's venerable invocation "*nutritor Domini*" bears observation, as specifically recommended in Wilson, 2001, p. 201, n. 43.

Eight color and eighty-four black-and-white reproductions are included ("fig. 71" [p. 126] should read "fig. 72"), but numerous pictures discussed are not illustrated. Observation (p. 140) that a *Death of Joseph* by a Pedro Orrente follower shows Christ administering last rites cries out for illustration or at least a plate reference. Exclusion of reproductions of so many paintings Black has diligently assembled was likely prompted by cost concerns. Whether the choice to tailor the material to gender issues was an editorial decision or her own, this organization obscures Black's research. A straightforward chronological, comparative analysis of the many Spanish and Mexican texts consulted, including overview of prior scholarship spelling out the substantial contribu-

tions of José Carlos Carrillo Ojeda, M.J., and others (acknowledged in the notes) would have been welcome.

Houston, Texas CAROLYN C. WILSON

L'Université de Caen aux XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles. Identité et représentation. By Lyse Roy. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vol. 24.] (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers. 2006. Pp. xii, 314. $161.00; €119.00.)

Lyse Roy's dissertation on the University of Caen was defended in 1994 at the Université du Québec à Montréal. She has wisely taken several years of reflection and additional research before turning it into this comprehensive, well-organized book that duly acknowledges the work of her predecessors but also intelligently exploits a surprisingly large amount of archival material: matriculation rolls, *procès-verbaux* of meetings, financial records, and contemporary accounts by two sisteenth-century professors. The book has a short but informative English introduction and strategically placed French summaries throughout its five chapters.

The town of Caen, located in *Basse Normandie* near the English Channel, owed the founding of its university (1432) to the short-lived English occupation of Normandy at the end of the Hundred Years War. In 1452, the same year that King Charles VII ordered a reform of the University of Paris by the Norman cardinal archbishop of Rouen, he "recreated" the University of Caen to bolster the allegiance of Normandy and to assure trained civil servants. Although Caen never achieved the rank enjoyed by the universities of Paris and Orléans nor even the lesser rank of Angers, Bourges, or Valence, it survived the opposition of Paris and the ambivalent stance of the powerful Parlement of Rouen to serve Normandy well, despite several periods of institutional decline that ultimately sapped its autonomy.

Chapter 1 recounts the university's English and French origins and reviews the vicissitudes in its history over fifteen decades. Chapter 2 lays out its institutional structure (statutes, faculties, colleges) and the intellectual matters of curricula, degree requirements, and faculty publications. Chapter 3 fulfills the requirements of modern university history with intelligent prosopographical analyses of students and teachers and their social status. Chapter 4 deals with the love-hate relationship with the city and citizens of Caen that all medieval universities faced vis-à-vis the cities in which they functioned. In an attempt to gain urban support for the privileges and exemptions that were essential to its survival, the university tried to integrate the city into its ceremonies, theatrical presentations, and festivals. Chapter 5 depicts its dramatic decline after significant numbers of professors and students converted to Calvinism, ending with the Parlement of Rouen's 1586 reform of the university that reimposed Catholicism and introduced Jesuit pedagogy. The author seems to appreciate the latter but to deplore the discipline that accompanied

it. This reader has to wonder if, in those times, the pedagogy could have succeeded without the discipline.

The lengthy Appendix I provides the 1515 library inventory of 278 books apportioned between theology (39%), law (29%), medicine (13%), arts (12%), and other books (7%). This list would have been much more valuable had an attempt been made to identify these books more specifically by their printers and dates of publication—information that was not beyond reach, since donors' names in most of the books have been identified at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Like many books originating in North America, this book continues to employ the former name of this institution.) Appendices II, III, and IV consist of charts of the matriculation registers, the geographical provenance of students (almost exclusively restricted to the seven Norman dioceses and the neighboring diocese of Le Mans), and the number of professors who took the statutory oath in general assemblies from 1457 to 1533.

Lyse Roy frequently deplores the loss of university autonomy that came with the reforms imposed by the Parlement in 1521 and 1586, but it is hard to see how the university could have otherwise survived. Her book provides more information about litigation, salary levels, and theatrical productions than some readers may want to know, but it is an important and welcome addition to the history of French universities.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies JAMES K. FARGE

Women and Poor Relief in Seventeenth-Century France. The Early History of the Daughters of Charity. By Susan E. Dinan. [Women and Gender in the Early Modern Word.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2006. Pp. x, 190. $89.95 paperback.)

Susan Dinan's interesting examination of the early history of the Daughters of Charity, founded by Vincent de Paul and Louise de Marillac in 1633, contributes to the growing body of research on the Catholic Reformation which demonstrates that although "there were moves toward more clearly articulated confessionalization and social discipline, no one top-down and orderly process occurred in the Catholic Church" (p. 1). As one of the most active and largest female groups to emerge during the Catholic reform movement, it is surprising that the work of the Daughters of Charity has until now been subject to relatively little scholarly scrutiny. To Dinan's credit, she has succeeded in unearthing, collating, and analyzing a variety of rich sources that reveal a confraternal group that provided the inspiration and model for the most prevalent forms of Catholic social engagement in the modern world.

Dinan argues that the Daughters of Charity owed their success to the willingness of their founders to reinterpret Tridentine regulations to meet the needs of society, ever more subject to growing poverty, and to answer the spir-

itual need of women to express their religious faith through active projects of compassionate charity that mirrored the example of Christ. This latter aspect of the Daughters' origins and ethos does not receive sustained attention as the book focuses principally on the strategies employed by their founders to ensure that the group remained a confraternal and uncloistered association and on the struggle to cope with the complexities of administering an organization that grew rapidly to 1660 and even more quickly thereafter (forty-two establishments between 1638 and 1661). But these are extremely valuable concerns, in terms of understanding the ability of Louise de Marillac to negotiate contracts, maintain even relations with higher and local clergy and with hospital administrators, and to train talented Daughters to assume positions of leadership within satellite communities. Within both, Dinan makes several important observations, of which the most significant is the suggestion that the reason why the Daughters remained unenclosed and free from public opprobrium was that they did not, ultimately, pose a threat to the Church itself. Their work in hospitals, galleys, and schools was driven by an identity of modesty and piety, and they provided indispensable social and evangelical services to the Catholic Church's mission and to the Catholic monarchy.

The Daughters also, indirectly, provided greater opportunities for aristocratic women to participate in the piety of social welfare, for they evolved partially from de Marillac and de Paul's realization that social prejudices and hierarchical assumptions would not permit high-born women to deliver food or nurse the sick in poor districts. Clearly, therefore, while bowing to some contemporary social rules, the founders innovated by providing, for the first time, an environment and structure that simultaneously shielded and liberated women who sought to live their vocation within the world. The relationship between the aristocratic Ladies of Charity and the Daughters merits further investigation, for the former provided the favors of patronage that supported the Daughters' activities, but Dinan's research should provide the basis to develop such a challenging project in the future. Finally, there are occasionally frustrating editorial errors in this book which are beyond typographical and actually result in the omission of factual information (p. 80, 87). This is a pity in a book that will serve as an essential reference to the study of the "feminization" of the Catholic reformation in France.

National University of Ireland, Galway ALISON FORRESTAL

Adrien Gambart's Emblem Book (1664): The Life of St. Francis de Sales in Symbols. A facsimile edition with a study by Elisabeth Stopp. Edited by Terence O'Reilly. (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 385. $60.00.)

We must be grateful to Saint Joseph's University Press for making more easily accessible Adrien Gambart's delightful, but relatively understudied, collection of fifty-two meditational emblems (one for each week of the year)

which ingeniously weave together conventional emblematic images with allegorical interpretations relating specifically to the life and virtues of St. François de Sales. This work was originally printed in 1664 (at the expense of the author) for the use of the nuns of the Order of the Visitation, founded forty years earlier by St. François de Sales. Gambart, who was initially educated by the Jesuits, joined St. Vincent de Paul's recently formed Congregation of the Mission after being ordained in 1633, and became confessor to the nuns of the Order of the Visitation in the Paris convent of which Vincent de Paul was superior.

It must be said, however, that the presentation of the work here is somewhat odd. Gambart's original version is carefully structured so that the first page of each "emblem" comprises an engraved image incorporating a Latin motto, preceded by a heading and a French title identifying the particular virtue of St. François de Sales to be later discussed in the text, and followed by a French couplet relating to the engraved image. The facing page and two subsequent pages contain a prose "Eclaircissement" interpreting the association between the image and the virtuous life of the saint, followed by a set of general injunctions to good behavior entitled "Fruits et pratiques." Unlike other meditational emblem books which habitually include a meditational section with each emblem, Gambart instead groups his meditations together in a two-hundred page "Seconde partie" following the collection of emblems.

What we are given here, however, is a heavily adapted and truncated version of Gambart's work, in which, extraordinarily, the whole of the important meditational "Seconde partie" is suppressed, and a much shortened version of the fifty-two emblems is given, each reduced from four to two pages only. The first page reproduces in facsimile the engraved image and French title of the original, though for no obvious reason the French couplet is deleted. The facing page gives an English translation of the title, a brief description of the engraving (hardly necessary, since the engraving is reproduced), and the French couplet, plus an English translation. Thereafter Gambart's "Eclaircissement" and "Fruits et pratiques," which originally occupied three pages, are replaced by ruthlessly slimmed-down English summaries entitled "Text" and "Points" occupying a mere half-page. This heavily adapted version is then followed by a proper full facsimile of the original, but again the "Seconde partie" is omitted (although its existence is noted in the facsimile title page, and its index included in the preliminaries). The result is a curious compilation in which some material is duplicated and other material excised. The fifty-two engraved figures are all unnecessarily reproduced twice, while the important two-hundred pages of meditation are excised from both edited and facsimile version.

The volume includes a brief section of critical apparatus. The short foreword by Terence O'Reilly (who is also responsible for the English translations of Gambart's French couplets) explains how this edition is based on an unpublished study of Gambart by the late Elisabeth Stopp. Thereafter follows a short

essay by Elisabeth Stopp explaining how Gambart's work was closely connected with the process of beatification of François de Sales which was happening in Annecy and Paris between 1656 and 1658, culminating in the actual canonization in 1665, the year after Gambart's volume was published. The last part of the preliminaries comprises a study by Agnès Guiderdoni-Bruslé situating the work in its broader emblematic and christological contexts.

In short, while the editors are to be praised for making accessible this very interesting seventeenth-century Catholic meditational emblem book, it must be said that the editorial principles they have adopted are curious.

University of Aberdeen ALISON SAUNDERS

Gilles Caillotin, Pèlerin: Le Retour de Rome *d'un Sergier Rémois, 1724.* Edited and presented by Dominique Julia. [Collection de l'École Française de Rome, no. 356.] (Rome: École Française de Rome. 2006. Pp. iv, 395. €48.00 paperback)

Gilles Caillotin, a master artisan of serge wool cloth, left his home town, Reims, on foot, June 17, 1724, as a pilgrim, first to the tomb of Charles Borromeo in Milan, then to the Holy House of Loreto near Ancona on the Adriatic, finally by way of Assisi to Rome. After spending seventeen days in Rome fulfilling pilgrim devotions, he returned to Reims, taking notes as he traveled. Eventually, about 1732, he composed an account of this pilgrimage, to which he added several other regional pious journeys, apparently working from notes he himself had taken, but also augmented with passages copied from other travelers' guides. His account of the Reims-to-Rome trip and his stay there has been lost, but the return has survived. This return trip is here elegantly edited by Dominique Julia, and lavishly furnished with an introduction, copious footnotes providing detailed explanations of places, persons, and events mentioned in the text, and an extensive *Postface,* where she discusses eighteenth-century pilgrim society, the characteristics of the text itself, and other details of Caillotin's experiences of journey, hospitality, and fellow travelers, as well as a sketch of his person and character.

For a modern reader it seems a formidable trip: more than 1000 miles on foot, *averaging* seventeen miles a day going and twenty returning (included crossing the Alps). He had his hat and cape, his bag of essentials, and his staff, but little else. We learn where he stopped each day (a nice map of the itinerary is included)—usually staying in pilgrim hospices, but sometimes in the open air—and we hear about other pilgrims from all over Europe, as well as about a few shady characters that he met along the way. With difficulty, he recovered his papally blessed rosary, with holy medals attached, that had been stolen by one pseudo-pilgrim. We hear about other travelers (he was almost never alone): AWOL soldiers, professional pilgrims (one making his seventh trip to Rome to fulfill other people's vows), pilgrims already at Compostela, a

drunk priest, a Protestant minister supposedly on his way to Rome to adjure his heresy. Julia tells us, based on pilgrim hospice records, that eighteenth-century pilgrims were mostly young men, though both younger and older men and even women (usually with families) were also on the road.

Caillotin was then a typical pilgrim: twenty-seven years old, single, coming from a lower middle-class family of cloth artisans, pious, and, we would have to conclude, tough, though perhaps afflicted with scrofula. His passport (included with twenty-three other illustrations inserted into this journal) along with other Reims archival documents reveal that he was baptized December 1, 1697, was about five-feet-six-inches tall, never married, and died at forty-nine, July 11, 1746. Caillotin was close to Jesuits in Reims, perhaps educated by them, and was a member of a Jesuit Marian congregation of *sergiers*, which probably facilitated his finding lodging. He was a fervent Counter-Reformation Catholic, disdainful of superstitious practices but enthusiastic about relics, indulgences, and other forms of Catholic piety. He also shows himself a fierce anti-Jansenist and a stout supporter of the pope. Since he stayed in Rome with a Christian Brother (one of the first followers of St. John Baptist de La Salle), he may also have attended their school in Reims.

Here is an admirable fragment of eighteenth-century European culture and religion viewed from below, thus complementing more elite accounts from above.

Saint Louis University FRANCIS W. NICHOLS

Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640. By Michael C. Questier. [Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 559. $80.00.)

The title of Michael Questier's important and ambitious study is an undisguised tribute to John Bossy's seminal book on *The English Catholic Community* (1975). Bossy's account of the first generations of post-Reformation Catholic history told a story of "seigneurialization," and of increasing political quietism, as the generally conformist attitudes of the gentry triumphed over the grander ambitions of their seminarist chaplains. It was also a largely "internalist" narrative, with English Catholicism treated sociologically as a species of religious nonconformity. Questier's interpretation differs on both scores: he questions the notion of a retreat from political engagements on the part of Catholic elites, and at the same time presents a model of a Catholic "community" fundamentally structured and determined by its interactions with the rest of English society.

The point of entry for these explorations is a single aristocratic family: the Brownes of Cowdray and Battle in Sussex (raised to the peerage in 1554 as

Viscounts Montague). The main protagonists are the first Viscount (d. 1592), a broadly moderate and conformist figure (though not, Questier argues, as moderate or conformist as he has been painted), and his grandson the second Viscount, a much more overt nonconformist, convinced that his infant son had died because he allowed him to be christened in the Church of England. However, this is no conventional family history. The main focus is an analysis of what Questier usefully terms the Brownes' "entourage"—a variegated cluster of kin, client, and ideological connections—and particularly the activities of the family's chaplains. One of the central, provocative insights of the book is that English Catholicism in this period is best understood, not as a uniform entity, a gathered Church of right-minded individuals, but as "a conglomeration of social attitudes, political allegiances, parish frictions, marital links and patronage/clientage conections" (p. 66), and that it may have been viewed that way by contemporaries. There is thus a move away from a historiographical concern with popular Catholicism/conservatism and its alleged post-Elizabethan decline, and our attention is directed instead toward the political discourses and engagements of the seminarist clergy and their lay patrons.

It has to be admitted that parts of this story make for hard reading. The client and kinship networks being described are of their nature dense and complex, and the intra-Catholic clerical controversies in which the Brownes' chaplains and many others engaged were both lengthy and labyrinthine. Readers hoping to learn about the devotional texture of post-Reformation Catholicism will be disappointed. Questier is not much concerned with the inwardness of Catholic belief and practice (characterized from time to time as "the clacking of rosary beads"), concentrating instead on political and ideological positioning. But it is worth persevering. For the real achievement of the book is to sharpen our understanding of why "Catholicism" remained into the seventeenth century a source of intense political discussion and anxiety. The right to speak on behalf of the Catholic community (which is what the interminable debates between Jesuits and "hierarchicalist" Catholics largely amounted to) was a significant political asset, holding out promises of tangible support to the early Stuart monarchy. Catholic hierarchicalists of the sort patronized by the Brownes engaged in a "high-stakes game," assimilating their own anti-Jesuit rhetoric to the growing swell of anti-Puritanism in Church and State. Puritans were not simply being paranoid in identifying the homologous character of Laudianism and popery. Similarly, high levels of active royalism among Catholic gentry in the Civil War were no anomaly, but "the logical culmination of the Catholic struggle for respectability and acceptance ever since the mid-Elizabethan period" (p. 507). In persuasively asserting a place for "Catholic history" in the central narrative of post-Reformation politics, Questier has done scholarship a major service.

University of Warwick PETER MARSHALL

The Succession, Bye and Main Plots of 1601-1603. By Francis Edwards, S.J. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. 327. $65.00.)

This is, in effect, the second volume in Francis Edwards' overview, principally from printed sources, of the conspiracies of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period leading up to the Gunpowder plot. This book's purpose is, in effect, to tell the story of James's accession through the series of alleged conspiracies that occurred in opposition to James's candidacy. In itself this is a valid and valuable approach. This is, however, a volume written with a specific agenda, derived from some of the polemics of specific Jesuits of the period, principally Robert Persons. Its intention is to prove yet further Edwards' thesis that the Gunpowder conspiracy was a fiction, a device invented and pursued by Sir Robert Cecil, in the sense that Cecil already had "form." This is a much-debated topic, and there are several quite entrenched positions associated with it. Edwards, it has to be said, is now in something of a minority here. There are real problems with an account of Cecil merely as a kind of universal spider, though this is not to say that he did not prove extremely effective in the furious maneuvering which preceded James VI's accession to the English throne.

The whole subject (sometimes referred to as plotterology) has, in fact, a tendency to look a little unreal. All too quickly, historical descriptions of this or that conspiracy seems to become bogged down in mind-numbing complexity and ever more unlikely narratives and apparently ridiculous detail. (It is almost inevitable that the none-too-stable Arbella Stuart, who figures prominently in some of the chapters here, would have employed an embroiderer called "old Freake.")

Nevertheless, it is clear that there is much to be said for an investigation of late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century politics from the perspective of how contemporaries identified and described conspiracies. Edwards is in fact quite right that the official accounts of the plots exposed to the world by the late Elizabethan and early Stuart regimes cannot be taken merely at face value; or, at least, raise as many questions as they answer. And, indeed, John Bossy's extraordinarily brilliant recovery of the Throckmorton conspiracy (*Under the Molehill* [Yale University Press, 2001]) shows how intractable and unlikely sources can be mined in order to narrate the series of events leading up to the exposure of that particular attempt to advance Mary Stuart to the throne, and also to get as close as possible to what "really" happened, as opposed to what the regime claimed had happened. At the same time, it is useful to interrogate the rhetoric employed in both revelations and denials of plots. Any narrative of the period taken directly and without adequate context from official exposures of plots and plotting tends merely to reproduce the, on-the-surface, hysterical rendering of events pumped out by one faction or interest group against another. If one can get away from the idea that the discovery of plots (real and imagined) was merely and only an aspect of the machinations of an evil and persecutory regime, directed against the innocent, and instead read off from them aspects of the political culture of the period (taking just as seri-

ously the allegations that there were puritan conspiracies against monarchical authority as well as Catholic ones), then we have a means of talking sensibly about the range of political meanings with which contemporaries invested Catholicism as well as a series of positions within the Church of England.

Queen Mary College
University of London
MICHAEL QUESTIER

London and the Restoration, 1659-1683. By Gary S. De Krey. [Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 472. $100.00.)

Gary De Krey's study of the politics of Restoration London—which follows his 1985 account of the city in the age of Revolution and party, 1688-1715—investigates in rich and fascinating detail how in the national political crises of 1659-60 and the early 1680's London citizens mobilized, or tried to mobilize, popular protest to defend their rights and privileges and, ultimately, to overthrow their rulers: and how in the period in-between they constantly struggled to manipulate the city institutions to achieve national political ends. It complements an existing body of work on elite and popular politics in the capital, most notably Tim Harris's *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* and Mark Knights's *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81*, but its breadth and detail over the period provide new and significant insights.

Much of the work consists of a rich and lively narrative of civic politics and its interaction with national politics throughout the period. Its account of the events of the winter of 1659-60, focussed on the actions of London's civic leaders, provides a welcome new perspective which helps to suggest how the actions of General Monck, so often regarded as the skillfully enigmatic architect of the Restoration of Charles II, are perhaps more accurately to be seen as an uncertain response to the changing balance of power in the capital. After the Restoration De Krey ably traces the establishment of the hegemony of an artificially narrow Anglican royalist elite, and the challenge to it posed by the forces of London dissent, a challenge that grew in strength and bitterness after 1667. He shows how during the third Dutch war of 1672-1674 and its aftermath the dissenting community of London coalesced into a civic opposition which could work in co-operation with country MPs to confront the Anglican royalist *revanche* led by the Earl of Danby with growing confidence at both corporation and national level. The book's account of the events of 1679-1683 covers ground that is now fairly well trodden, but it provides fresh levels of complexity to the story, emphasizing quite how narrowly the government did escape popular insurrection in London in response to its assault on civic government.

As this suggests, De Krey unsurprisingly stresses the importance of religious division within London's politics, and his detailed prosopographical

analyses of those involved in civic affairs show a strong relationship between the dissenting community and the Whig leadership, while his analysis of 'Whig' and 'Tory' space in the crisis of 1679-1683 finds a close link between the topography of urban Whiggism and that of dissent and Reformed Protestantism. But Londoners were also used to a significant degree of autonomy from national government, and of involvement in governing their own affairs through popular institutions, and were as a consequence accustomed and committed to representative government in a way that few other of their countrymen were. De Krey shows how their determination to defend it played a strong role in their responses to civic and national political crisis. He dissects the rhetoric of the Whig resistance in London during the crisis of 1679-1682 to show up the extent to which it deployed the languague of consent, and he argues that the crisis, and specifically the shrieval election of 1682, drove Whig writers to make more explicit existing assumptions about the primacy of common hall, and therefore of the people's will.

Much of De Krey's book is concerned with the development of the increasingly formalized polarities which defined Restoration politics. In underlining the real division that the crisis of 1679-1683 engendered in London political society he contributes to a debate concerning the degree to which "party" should be used as an organizing category in the politics of the period, and concludes firmly that "in London parties were first generated in 1679-1682, as these communities struggled to reform or to retain the institutions of the Restoration Settlement; and saying so is neither anachronistic or whiggish" (p. 292). He finds Tories and Whigs speaking different political languages, and furthermore, his occupational and social analysis of the leadership of both parties defines the parties sociologically as well: Whigs were led by merchants with international interests, contacts, and perspectives; Tories were more insular in perspective, "more focused upon and more protective of the national and local institutions in which Restoration Londoners pursued domestic trade and found stability."

One of the book's most stimulating themes is the divisions among the leadership of the civic opponents of government. But while the caution of the very substantial merchant leaders of Whiggism was challenged by a much more committed element, De Krey points out how difficult it could be to draw a clear line in the sand between legitimate political and legal action and the unlawful when government seemed to undermine its own legitimacy and authority. On the one hand, he argues that in an increasingly polarized society, moderation became a commodity in scant supply; on the other he shows that the room for moderate argument seemed itself to be diminishing alarmingly, as the stakes in the conflict grew.

History of Parliament, London PAUL SEAWARD

John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious Intolerance and Arguments for Religious Toleration in Early Modern and 'Early Enlightenment' Europe. By John Marshall. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp viii, 767. $110.00.)

This book is about much more than its title would suggest. A history of ideas written very much in the tradition of the Cambridge school (the author studied under both Mark Goldie and John Pocock), Marshall's account is predictably big on context—some 466 pages of it! A powerful piece of scholarship—brilliantly conceived, breath-taking in scope, and rich in historical insight—it will be of interest to a wide variety of scholars across a range disciplines (history, religion, political science, philosophy, history of science, literature, and queer studies), and to both Europeanists and Americanists alike.

Marshall's premise is that in order to understand why the likes of Locke, Bayle, and other members of the emerging republic of letters of the 1680's and 1690's came to develop the particular arguments they did in favor of religious toleration, we must first understand both the practices of and intellectual justifications for religious intolerance that they were reacting against. Marshall takes us on a fascinating journey, where he first unfolds the horrors of religious persecution in early modern France, Piedmont, England, Ireland, and the supposedly tolerant Netherlands, before proceeding to unpack patristic, medieval, and early modern arguments for why those who refused to adhere to the state religion could not be tolerated. Heretics and schismatics were viewed as intrinsically seditious and treasonous (because disobedient toward authority), unable to control their lusts (and thus probably libertines and sodomites), and willfully obstinate; unless compelled to conform or silenced for good, they would spread their poison, or so it was feared, and threaten both the salvation of ordinary people's souls and the peace of the commonwealth. Thus like a cancerous growth, heresy had to be removed to prevent the whole body from becoming diseased. Although there were some early proponents of greater religious toleration—and Jews and Muslims, because not Christians, were freed from the charge of heresy—arguments for intolerance, as endorsed by both Catholics and Protestants, held the day; indeed, most western European societies were becoming less tolerant as the seventeenth century progressed. Early Enlightenment advocates of toleration, therefore, had to show that persecution was not the solution, and that heretics did not pose the threat they were alleged to, were not the monsters they were represented as being, and were arguably not even heretics. In the process they challenged conventional views on religious orthodoxy and providentialism and helped usher in new ways of thinking about the natural and supernatural worlds. Marshall has a wonderful discussion of the relationship between tolerationist thought and the growth of scientific rationalism. He is also superb on the international context (for intolerance and tolerance alike), as well as on the relationship between Protestantism and toleration, and between toleration and arguments in defense of the right to resist.

For all its brilliance, the book is too long (dare I say it?) and would have benefited from further editing. And for all his contextualization, Marshall remains an intellectual historian primarily interested in the ideas of intellectuals. For example, no mention is made of the Monmouth rebels of 1685, who proposed a remarkable degree of religious toleration which they would have been prepared to extend even to papists once they had overthrown the Catholic king. Although William Penn's advocacy of toleration under James II is touched upon, no reference is made to Henry Care's stunning proposal of 1687 that an act be passed enshrining liberty of conscience as "part of the Constitution of this Kingdom; the natural Birth-Right of every English-Man."[1] I was also left wondering about the practical impact of the ideas whose origins and development Marshall so skilfully explores. Was religious toleration, when it eventually did arrive, born of principled commitment to enlightened ideals or due instead to more pragmatic political considerations? These might be big questions and beyond the scope of his study, but surely Marshall might have allowed himself some speculations in a concluding chapter. Nevertheless, such remarks should not detract from what is a remarkable scholarly accomplishment. Marshall's book is surely destined to become a classic.

Brown University TIM HARRIS

1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion. By Daniel Szechi. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 351. $50.00.)

The Fifteen, perhaps the last feasible rebellion aimed at restoring a Catholic dynasty in Britain, has been overshadowed by the Forty-Five: since 1900, I count only two previous books devoted to the first; very many to the second. Charles Edward Stuart's quixotic gamble captured imaginations in generations shaped by Romanticism, but Jacobite studies are increasingly dominated by hard realists, by archival scholars, and by serious students of the counterfactual. Of this school, Szechi is one of the leaders.

Much of the interest of the Fifteen, he argues, arises not from dramatic battles lost and won, but from the historical sociology of the subject: "how and why the Jacobite communities of the British Isles and diaspora generated this rebellion and what innate social and cultural dynamics within those communities trended the rebellion towards its eventual outcome."

The social constituencies of rebellion were often religious. In England, the leaders were often Catholics: although some 2 per cent of the population overall, they were concentrated in certain areas, like the North West, where they might have reached 25 per cent. In Scotland, the Tories "were routinely Jacobite," normally because they were Episcopalians (between 30 and 40 per cent of the population in 1715), attentive even to the signs and portents that linked this

[1]H[enry] C[are], *Animadversions on ... A Letter to a Dissenter* (1687), pp. 36-37.

world with the next. Despite the domination of the book by military detail, it is clear that the Scots Jacobites took the decision to rise since they were "inspired by their conviction that God was telling them to seize the moment."

When a Scots Jacobite army finally managed to march south down England's west coast, its leaders were dismayed to find that the only local recruits were Catholics rather than the High Churchmen they had expected. One of the most interesting of Szechi's arguments concerns the "hidden uprising" within the Fifteen, the rebellion of Northern English Catholics: "There really was a secret Catholic army lurking in the remote fastnesses of northern England, waiting for the opportune moment to strike." Yet this thesis is not further developed.

Jacobite psychology soon takes second place to Szechi's account of strategic questions. Explaining how Scots Jacobites took the final step to armed rebellion, Szechi argues, "A deep unreality had taken hold of the community," their frenzy talked up by mutual encouragement. In England, Szechi downplays the extent of Jacobite support. The Nonjurors he estimates at less than one per cent of the population; of backing within the Tory party, "Image manifestly overmatched substance." Having begun the book with some attention to religious denominations as the catchment areas for political allegiance, the larger part of Szechi's discussion leaves that theme to present a detailed picture of political resentment, high-political manoeuvre, and military events. "English Jacobitism by 1715 arose primarily from dissatisfaction with broad economic, social and political developments since 1688."

Yet this book is chiefly about the Scottish dimension. Szechi, a notable historian of Scotland, is most at home in the Scottish archives, and perhaps takes the Scottish rising as his yardstick: by comparison, what actually happened in Northern England is disparaged. The English Jacobites emerge from this account as disastrously under-prepared; they sought "a convenient miracle" in the form of foreign intervention. Ireland merits even less attention. It remains for other historians to recover the potential for revolution in those two countries, had a substantial invasion force dedicated to a Stuart restoration actually landed. But for Scotland and for the European dimension, Daniel Szechi has produced undoubtedly the standard modern study.

University of Kansas J. C. D. CLARK

The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland. Edited by Alan Ford and John McCafferty. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 249. $90.00.)

This volume (the product of a University College Dublin symposium organized by Ford and McCafferty and held against the backdrop of those fateful days in Belfast, April 1998) ostensibly explores the early modern period for roots of sectarian hatred in modern Ireland. It contains a balanced mix of

approaches (political, religious, social, literary, and intellectual), but surprisingly concentrates less on violence and struggle than perceptions of "otherness." In many ways, it documents the symbiosis, co-existence, and downright inextricability that developed between the invented traditions of Catholic and Protestant communities in post-Reformation Ireland. In still others, it nuances subtle sectarian atavisms that persist in Anglo-Irish historiography of the early-modern period—albeit with the laudable goal of proving which side was more ecumenical.

Ford's introduction begins with powerful analogies of religious violence in modern and early modern Ireland serving to trace sectarianism back to a time "when Protestants and Catholics began to live apart and create parallel communities, institutions, cultures and histories" (p. 3). What follows is a useful overview of themes broken down structurally into sections on periodization, terminology, struggle and coexistence, the sacraments, and education respectively. Suspicious of the simplistic interpretation of constant struggle in Ireland since the Act of Supremacy down to the restoration of power-sharing, Ford points to a real rise in tensions after 1580. Here he alludes to recent attempts to situate the origins of religious strife in Ireland outside the northern archipelago and within the wider European process of confessionalization. The allusion is, of course, to the lead article by Ute Lotz-Heumann, whose book on confessionalization in Ireland dramatically changed the dimensions of the pitch. Here, for the first time in English, she sums up her comparative arguments on the periodization of the Reformation/Counter-Reformation in Ireland as part of a broader European social phenomenon.

McCafferty follows with a narrative prosopography of the Church of Ireland episcopate under the early Stuarts. He reveals how limitations, such as poverty, failed reorganization, and royal neglect relegated the Irish bishops to the "B" league. Faced with lay apathy, most found themselves struggling to cope in fairly dismal conditions. Alternately, Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin examines a Catholic episcopate which, though accepting Trent, remained politically divided over loyalty to the Stuarts and willing to compromise with royal Protestantism in the struggle against Puritanism. In an interesting exposé, David Edwards charts the transmigration of ordinary English Catholics to Ireland in search of greater toleration, much to the chagrin of the authorities on both sides of the Irish sea. Two submissions by Ford and Marc Caball compare literary productions composed to establish a stronger sense of identity among sectarian communities. While Ford focuses on the evolution of a unique, almost proto-nationalistic trend in the Protestant historiography of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Caball detects echoes of a bardic elite which sang the praises of "Irishness" above religion. Mícheál MacGraith considers a similar problem among the Catholic political theorists Conry and McCaughwell, who compromised when faced with a divergence of their religious and political allegiance to the crown. By employing a microhistorical analysis of a land dispute between Catholic residents of Drogheda and local

Franciscans, Brian Jackson undermines the myth of a monolithic Catholic culture in early modern Ireland, demonstrating the clash of self-interested land tenure and Tridentine missionary zeal. Finally, Declan Downey borrows theoretically from H. C. Erik Midelfort and Otto Brünner to investigate the creation of a myth of racial and religious purity by aristocratic writers caught in a crisis of the ancient Hiberno-Norman nobility.

The collection concludes with some chronological afterthoughts by John Morrill, juxtaposing the twin themes of sectarian strife and accommodation which lie at the heart of the volume. Clearly, however, it is the latter theme which dominates throughout. Those seeking detailed accounts of Cromwellian slaughter and rapine are likely to come away disappointed, but exactly that is the charm of this collection. In the spirit of the Good Friday Agreement and prosperity, which spelled an end to the Troubles, accommodation wins out, as the authors go out of their way to belie an image of life in early modern Ireland as poor, nasty, brutish, and short. In many ways, then, the overarching message of accommodation is as upbeat as the heart of the Celtic Tiger. Enterprise Ireland can surely find great solace therein and, it now appears, even the Rev. Dr. Ian Paisley (p. 11) might finally agree.

National University of Ireland Maynooth DAVID LEDERER

The Correspondence of Wolfgang Capito, Volume 1: *1507-1523*. Edited and translated by Erika Rummel, with the assistance of Milton Kooistra. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. xlii, 285. $95.00.)

This is the first volume (of three) of an exceptionally valuable project. Wolfgang Capito was a protagonist of many of the most crucial events of the first years of the Reformation. As a member of the circle of Basel humanists, he was an eager admirer of Erasmus, sharing the older man's ambivalent attitude to Luther. While he admired the Wittenberg reformer he had misgivings about his radicalism and the schismatic tendency of his teaching, and he was consequently cautious about committing himself wholeheartedly to the evangelical cause. This cautious, and many would argue equivocating, nature, became an enduring characteristic of Capito's career, earning him Luther's contempt and a measure of distrust among colleagues and collaborators even after he had definitively chosen for the Reformation. This reputation for deviousness was only reinforced when Capito accepted a position with Albrecht of Brandenburg, Luther's adversary in the Indulgences controversy, but a thoughtful patron of scholarship and the arts. In Mainz Capito made much of his role in pointing Albrecht toward restraint in his responses to Luther; yet he also seems not to have decided whether his interests were best served by pursuing patronage opportunities within the old church or throwing in his lot with the reformers. In the event he did both, first securing a benefice in Strassburg through Albrecht's intervention, then defending it against other claimants by converting to the Reformation. Capito was a considerable scholar, and seemed

destined for a leadership role in Strassburg. But indecisiveness proved his undoing. It is hard to decide whether this reflected a principled rejection of narrow partisanship, or an innate desire to conform his views to those of interlocutors of very polarized views. In fact, his desire to minimize points of conflict was a consistent thread in his relations with very disparate groups, whether this be his role in the debates between followers of Luther and Zwingli, his reluctance to persecute Anabaptists, or in his tendency toward (even advocacy of) Nicodemism. So this is an interesting career at the center of affairs. The letters published here cover the period up to the decisive move to Strassburg in 1523. Capito's letters were first gathered as a corpus by Olivier Millet, and listed, but not published *in extensio*, in his monograph of 1982. A number are of course known from their appearance in the published correspondence of Luther, Erasmus, and other contemporaries. For this edition Rummel has therefore followed the sensible principle of publishing the letter in a complete version, where the text is not accessible in a modern edition (broadly, published since 1900). Other letters are noted in their correct chronological sequence, with a summary of the contents. The value of the collection is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of material published as the prefaces of Capito's works; these are especially revealing of Capito's network of friendships, and the relationships to which he aspired. It is interesting, for instance, to range his preface to a collection of Luther's writings (letter 19) alongside his dedicatory letter to Albrecht of Brandenburg (32). The valuable account of the Leipzig Disputation (31) is very different in its treatment of Eck to the dismissive tone of the preface to Karlstadt's attack on Eck in 1518 (15a). In summary, this is a most interesting beginning to an enterprise that will, when complete, shed fascinating light on the dilemmas and opportunities that faced a generation caught up in the turbulence caused by the Reformation controversies.

University of St. Andrews ANDREW PETTEGREE

Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany. By Amy Leonard. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 218. $45.00.)

This study, which is based on a Georgetown University dissertation, offers a valuable addition to the increasingly extensive literature by American scholars on Reformation Strasbourg, whilst at the same time mediating between German-language and English-language scholarship on the history of late-medieval and Reformation nuns in the south-west of the German lands. Its title is derived from Luther's remark that woman is "like a nail driven into the wall," hammered into the structure of the household: "For just as a snail carries its house with it, the wife should sit at home and look after the affairs of the household. . . ." The notion that women are the bedrock of society because of their central and essential role in the domestic sphere, but with no part to play

in the world outside, sits uneasily alongside Amy Leonard's findings regarding the Strasbourg nuns whom the city council, which from 1524 was committed to the Protestant cause, allowed to continue throughout the sixteenth century. By contrast with other parts of Europe, for example England, the three Strasbourg convents which were saved from secularization got away with ignoring the city council's rulings and found that their persistence in Catholic religious practices was hardly ever seriously challenged. They changed in function, and could justify themselves as "useful" in a secularized society, no longer in terms of their contribution to the spiritual well-being of the city through their prayers, but primarily through their role as schoolteachers who were supposedly preparing young women to be the "nails in the wall" of Strasbourg family life (but many of whom rebelled and stayed in the convents as nuns).

Chapter one provides an excellent overview of the social history of the pre-Reformation Dominican convents in Strasbourg and discusses their place in the observant reforms of the fifteenth century, making good use of German scholarship which has not been extensively reported in English publications. Chapter two addresses contemporary theories of the utility of convent life (not just concentrating on Strasbourg), which was often held up as an example of "selfishness" and as morally offensive, and establishes a bridge between these positions and the views of social historians such as Max Weber, Lyndal Roper, and Bernd Moeller. With chapter three the author moves on to a narrative of the Protestant Reformation as it struck Strasbourg in 1524, with particularly good material on the financial arrangements for former nuns that were sanctioned by the city council. One of the reasons that so many Catholic nuns were allowed to stay on in the three convents was their connections with the wealthy merchant, patrician, and noble families of Strasbourg who had great influence with the council; this issue is addressed in chapter four and is supported by a useful appendix of the names of nuns. Chapter five moves on in time to consider the Counter-Reformation in Strasbourg, considering the impact of the Augsburg Interim of 1548, the Peace of Augsburg (1555), and the reforms imposed by the Council of Trent. Chapter six provides a coda with its account of the disastrous charges against St. Nicholas-in-Undis in 1592, which centered around extravagant accusations of sexual debauchery (quite graphically described) and led to the closure of this convent.

These investigations are underpinned by the recognition that the impact of the Reformation on monastic life differed enormously from country to country, and from place to place: what we are given here is the special case of the city of Strasbourg. Certain points, though, such as the gendered role of women in establishing a position for themselves where the Protestant authorities would compromise and look the other way, may have more general validity in Reformation Germany (although perhaps not in other countries). The author's stress is on the social history of the religious institutions, with attention to their family attachments, to their relationship to the city council, to the Dominican order, and to the financial arrangements made for the nuns. What is

lacking is an analysis of the evidence for their spiritual life. The huge financial support which late-medieval townspeople provided for the convents was not simply based on a concern for their daughters' material welfare; it was founded above all on the value of the nuns' prayers for society as a whole. The renewal of the liturgy was always a central aspect of the late-medieval reforms, just as important as enclosure and poverty, and one is left wondering whether this component was simply no longer present in the Protestant era. It would surely be too simple to say that the "usefulness" of the nuns' prayers to the urban community came to be replaced by the nuns' "usefulness" in providing education for young women.

St Edmund Hall NIGEL F. PALMER
Oxford

Undankbare Gäste: Abendmahlsverzicht und Abendmahlsasschluss in der Reichsstadt Ulm um 1600: Ein interkultureller Prozess. By Oliver Kaul. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte, Band 202.] (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern. 2003. Pp. viii, 358.)

Kaul closes this publication of his 2001 dissertation invoking T.S. Eliot's conception of culture in *Notes towards the definition of culture*, first published in London in 1948. Nor does that reference jar at the end of Kaul's study of those who did not participate in the Lutheran Supper in Ulm in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Kaul proposes, following David Sabean's formulation of an "Abendmahlsproblematik" (*Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* [Cambridge University Press, 1984], Chapter 1) to show that early modern subjects were not "acculturated," but that their interactions with "Machthaber" were more often compromises (p. 3). To do so, he draws upon 436 cases of "Abendhmahlsverweigerung" from Ulm. In his treatment of those cases, Kaul accepts, foremost, Eliot's division of "elite" from "lower" culture into two discrete entities. In his organization of materials, Kaul accepts as well Eliot's sense of culture as something apart. The first chapter after the introduction treats the "demographic, social, economic, and political situation" in Ulm and the state of the "lutherischen Ulmer Kirche" at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The following two chapters—3, on prescriptions for the practice of the Supper, its reception, and the categories given for refusing to partake, and 4, on facets of the "Abendmahlproblematik in Ulm"—hardly refer back to the earlier chapter. Kaul's conclusion reaffirms the divisions, between elite and subject, between material and religious, that he asserted in his introduction.

At the heart of this book are a handful of quite wonderful close studies of individuals who refused to partake of the Lutheran Communion (Chapter 4,

passim). While Sabean is clearly the inspiration for Kaul's attention to blacksmiths, their children and spouses, soldiers, and others who could not get along with their neighbors, Kaul does not share Sabean's delight in all that these individuals reveal about early modern social dynamics. Nor does he share Sabean's attention to the contingencies of *Herrschaft* and the play of idiosyncracy in relations of power. Thus, in his discussion of the motives given for refusing to participate, Kaul presents a series of pie diagrams which treat those individuals in aggregates that override their idiosyncracies. The first, for example, represents percentiles of the general reasons individuals gave for refusing: unclear (9%), religious (18%), "sonstige Gründe" (12%), godless life (19%), uncertainty on the part of authorities if the person was avoiding the Supper (10%), envy, hatred, and enmity (32%). His handling of his evidence is not informed by work on the complex dynamics of courts, the play of personal faith and communal integration in the liturgy, the rich body of work, also inspired by Sabean's, on social outcasts, and the ways individuals were marginalized.

At the center of this book is a conceptualization of "culture" that more than twenty years of scholarship has challenged, rethought, and refined, in part, at least, inspired by Sabean's insights, not only that those who refused to partake are worthy of study, but that the liturgy is an extraordinarily complex site culturally, socially, theologically, and personally.

University of Wisconsin-Madison LEE PALMER WANDEL

Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland: A Beleaguered Church in the Post-Reformation Era. By Magda Teter. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxxvi, 272. $ 65.00.)

Scintillating her audience, Dr. Teter begins with her own life experiences in Poland and the history of her Jewish people and other "heretics" in post-Reformation Poland. Pages of murals, drawings, and sketches spill out at the very beginning to entice the reader to discover what secrets Polish history holds for the Jews and other "heretics." Also in the beginning is an excellent, helpful map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which readers familiar with Eastern Europe will appreciate. Teter's dramatic, illustrative start includes the murals from the Cathedral of Sandomierz, her hometown. These include various scenes of torture and murder of Catholics by not only Jews, but Tartars, Swedish Lutherans, other Protestants, "Schismatics (Eastern Orthodox)," "Pagans," and "bad and disobedient Catholics." She also includes a portrait from a 1737 work which discusses the execution of a Polish woman for conversion to Judaism in Krakow in 1539. Sources for Teter included numerous archives in Kraków, Rome, and the Vatican. (Some archives remain closed, including that of the Sandomierz Cathedral.)

Her interest in illustrations fascinated me since she acknowledges not having found large numbers of anti-Jewish texts. I have found that visual

images and oral traditions often precede, exist simultaneously with, and continue long after certain texts are popular. Images and oral history also reach a larger audience. My peasant ancestors, from the diocese of Tarnów, were illiterate for centuries but learned of Jews and others in non-written ways. The ancestors I knew were not anti-Semitic, but they were extremely pro-Church. This is one of Teter's themes, that the Jews were only one of only many groups that concerned the Roman Catholic Church. In my opinion, throughout most of history, people in political power have viewed religion as an essential unifying force, and therefore, usually, have seen a need for a state religion. As a frequent student and, later, Fulbright Researcher in Poland, I saw this continue at least until Communism fell in Poland, because the Catholic Church was seen as almost a political party, the only "bloc" to oppose and engage the Communist Party.

Teter is correct in distinguishing the power of the Polish Church from that in many other European countries, especially given the power of the Polish nobility, which by the eighteenth century was basically a "republic of the Magnates." Some nobles attracted to Protestantism returned to the Church to keep their political power. The Polish triangle of power, a system of checks and balances, included the Church, the nobles, and the monarch. She also correctly stresses the ebb and flow of the privileges of Jews depending on the vicissitudes of the Polish state at the time. She makes the good point that the Church would co-operate with other powers in so far as the outcome would be good for the Church itself.

While Teter focused on religion in large part, more emphasis could have been placed on the Jews, not only as theological "deviants" but also as political, economic, intellectual, and social threats. At different times in Polish history, Jews would have been perceived as much more threatening than the other "outsiders." Also needing more attention is the great role the Jesuits played in the education of post-Reformation Poland and in the winning back of the nobility. Overall, Teter only gives the Jesuits eight pages, which does not give their accomplishments full credit.

Half of the book contains a glossary, extremely extensive notes, and a selected bibliography of archival as well as published sources, and an index. The notes are especially helpful, drawn from an extremely wide range of literature, often broadened by Teter's own penetrating analysis.

St. Louis School of Pharmacy HELENA J. CZOSNYKA

Late Modern

Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers: Religious Revolution and Counter-revolution in Western France, 1774-1914. By Edward J. Woell. [Marquette Studies in History, 1.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2006. Pp. 292. $32.00 paperback.)

Work on the Revolt of the Vendée has been hindered by the absence of enough rigorous local studies at one level and, at another, a failure to put the revolt and its resonances into a broad enough time frame to allow for perspectival breadth. No doubt sensing these omissions, Edward J. Woell's short monograph attempts to remedy them both, and he has usefully selected the small town of Machecoul (the site of the beginning of the revolt over conscription on March 11,1793) as his template. What happened that day was the catalyst for "unparalleled repression" (p. 16) in western France of a character that plagued official commemoration of the Revolution two centuries later. Yet, as Professor Woell shows, the tendentious reporting of the killings of republicans at Machecoul makes dispassionate reconstruction of the events almost impossible. Making the best of a bad job, he sensibly opts to reconstruct the pre-Revolutionary contexts for the town and its inhabitants and then, to complete his study, to examine the diverse ways in which those traumatic events of spring 1793 were perceived and represented over the following 120 years. Machecoul before 1789 was, according to Woell (and his familiarity with local and regional sources is assured), a town with many resident secular clergy teaching the familiar Tridentine catechetical themes of sin and man's need for obedience but without ever managing to put in place a monolithic Catholic culture or entirely eliminating traces of Jansenist values. The local clergy and their representatives in the National Assembly were alienated from the Revolution before the end of 1789 and only 22 per cent of the former First Estate in the department of the Loire-Inférieure took the oath accepting the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Despite the existence of a Masonic Lodge and increased lay involvement in the running of the parish church under the new ecclesiastical regime in place by 1791-92, the nonjuring clergy had many sympathizers in the town and among the wealthy tenant farmers on the peripheries. Woell's researches make him insistent that we cannot talk in terms of the outbreak of violence in 1793 being a matter of town versus country, rich versus poor: the political divisions criss-crossed social and geographical ones. The bitterness felt by republicans against their rebellious neighbors/enemies persisted; Woell notes that many patriots were opposed to Lazare Hoche's "Pacification of the West" in 1795-96 while refractory priests were likewise comparing what had happened to their people as comparable to the persecution of the early Christians by the Roman state. The fault lines proved enduring: Woell uses nineteenth-century sermons to demonstrate that Tridentine rigor persisted alongside a devotion to the Sacred Heart that the devout knew had been an inspiration to their forefathers during the Vendéen Revolt. Other families, no less attached to their faith, were descended from *bleus* rather than

blancs, and before 1914 there was little sign of the secularization that now marks the region as little different from anywhere else in France. Woell notes at the close that the folk memory of the "Massacres," 200 years on, is now at an end. Most locals have forgotten them. Thus concludes a modest, sensible, and well-researched study whose principal weakness is the absence of comparisons with other towns in the region.

University of Leicester NIGEL ASTON

Des résistances religieuses à Napoléon (1799-1813). By Bernard Plongeron. [Mémoire Chrétienne au Présent, 3.] (Paris: Letouzey & Ané. 2006. Pp. 366. €31,50 paperback.)

The Abbé Bernard Plongeron, emeritus professor at the Institut catholique in Paris, is already well known for his studies of the French Revolutionary clergy and of various theological and ecclesialogical issues in France at the end of the eighteenth century. His newest book presents a selection of articles and papers, most of them published previously in journals and conference proceedings from 1982 through 2004. Despite the suggestion of the title, the essays included go well beyond the Napoleonic era, covering a pot-pourri of topics in French ecclesiastical history and Franco-Papal relations from the Old Regime through the Restoration.

Various chapters present rapid overviews on Pope Pius VI and the French Revolution; on the origins and nature of the Constitutional Church during the Revolution; on proposals for Christian union under the Old Regime and the Empire; and on Bonaparte's promotion of a cult of Saint Napoleon, an apparently apocryphal Roman martyr whose feast day was set to correspond with the Feast of the Assumption. Among those essays which actually broach the topic announced in the title, four are of particular interest. One (chapter V) presents a careful and erudite study of those pro-Revolutionary "Constitutional" bishops who were reassigned to dioceses by Napoleon following the Concordat of 1801. Although all had willingly resigned their Revolutionary posts for the sake of Catholic unity and in deference to Bonaparte, many would steadfastly refuse to retract their Revolutionary oaths as demanded by Rome. Another article (chapter VII) examines the attitudes toward war of the Napoleonic episcopacy based on the analysis of their various public pronouncements. Particular emphasis is placed here on the bishops' recurrent descriptions of the emperor as a "New Cyrus," pursuing "just wars" to the benefit of the Catholic Church—just as the victories of Cyrus the Great had enabled the Jews to return to the Promised Land and rebuild the temple. A third essay (chapter IX) provides new insights into the abortive French National Council of 1811 through a careful examination of two diplomatic missions sent by Napoleon to negotiate with Pope Pius VII (under house arrest in Savona) before and after the meetings of the Council. Plongeron concludes that from the start there was little hope of successfully reinvigorating the fal-

tering Concordat, given Napoleon's arrogance toward Rome—exemplified by his "Organic Articles" imposed unilaterally on the French Church and by his military invasion of the Papal States. The book's final article (chapter X) provides a more detailed examination of the personality and positions of Pius VII in the last years of the Empire and of the Pope's courageous refusal to co-operate with Napoleon, despite the efforts of the French episcopacy and his own physical suffering during travels imposed by the French army and during his long detention in Savona and Fontainebleau.

For the most part, this is well-known territory, extensively treated in the past by several historians, most notably André Latreille. Nor does Plongeron make much effort to incorporate the work of more recent scholars: of Michael Broers or Nigel Aston, for example—whom he never mentions—or of Jacques-Olivier Boudon, whose work he alludes to but does little to integrate. Yet certain of the essays do provide new details on the subject that may well be of interest to specialists in the field.

University of California, Irvine TIMOTHY TACKETT

Kontinuität und Innovation um 1803. Säkularisation als Transformationsprozeß: Kirche-Theologie-Kultur-Staat. Edited by Rolf Decot. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für abendländische Religionsgeschichte, Beiheft 65.] (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern. 2005. Pp. x, 324. €34.80; Sw Fr 60.00.)

This work is the outcome of one of the numerous scholarly symposia held in Germany on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the Imperial Recess (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*) of 1803, whose profound political and cultural consequences remain evident today. In the run-up to the commemorative year, the Institute for European History in Mainz sponsored one of the first of these events, the results of which were soon published (2002). The Institute also arranged one of the last such, held in January 2004, which is the basis of the current volume. Where the first conference dealt with the general state of research on the Recess, the second was meant to spotlight cultural and theological transformation after 1803. The flexible understanding of the term "cultural" in the historical sciences perhaps accounts for the broad range of the volume, which includes fourteen essays. Several of these are concerned more directly with the conference's focus, such as how leading clergymen including Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg and Johann Michael Sailer understood the institution of the Church; the alleged loss of episcopal autonomy vis-à-vis Rome in the second generation following secularization; monastic life in the age of upheaval; the foundation of new Catholic religious communities in the first half of the nineteenth century; changes in the education of the priesthood; and confessional mentalities. Other contributions deal with the development of territorial law regulating the churches after secularization; the "political ecclesiology" of Joseph de Maistre; the concept of "secularization" as

employed by historians in the context both of dominion and property; the social transformation of the higher clergy from *Germania Sacra* to the mediatized Church; and the economy of the monasteries. As the title indicates, the relationship between Church and State is central to many of these issues. Unfortunately, there was no effort to pull the disparate contributions together or to make the volume more than the sum of its parts; the introductory essay that should be obligatory for such a publication is lacking. Of particular note is that several of the authors, including Hubert Wolf and Peter Claus Hartmann, take exception to the generally positive attitude toward the secularization adopted in recent decades by historians of the Church. Hartmann notes the negative cultural consequences for the (majority) Catholic population of Germany, such as the loss of numerous centers of education, culture, and scholarship; the destruction of valuable churches, artworks, and libraries; and the elimination of avenues of social mobility. Provincialism came to characterize what had been in many respects a cosmopolitan Catholic Germany. That the consequences of secularization remain politically controversial today is most apparent in Hubert Wolf's article. Like Hartmann, he attributes the "centralization" (p. 248) of the German Church to secularization. He favorably contrasts the autonomy of the early modern German episcopate from Rome with the episcopal ideal that he argues emerged in the nineteenth century and remains valid down to the present: the "ultramontane bishop ... whose point of identity is Rome and who understands himself as the pope's belt of transmission" (p. 130).

Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna WILLIAM D. GODSEY, JR.

Mgr Fr-J. Hirn (1751-1819), Premier Évêque Concordataire du Diocèse de Tournai (1802-1819): Un Épiscopat difficile. By Albert Milet. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Fascicule 83.] (Brussels: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 2002. Pp. 397. €30,00.)

François-Joseph Hirn was bishop of Tournai when that see was a part of the Napoleonic Empire, and continued on after Napoleon's fall, when Tournai was a part of the Netherlands reconstituted by the Congress of Vienna: a pivotal personality and a pivotal see. The priest historian and canon of the cathedral at Tournai, Albert Milet, finally published this volume at age 85, in lieu of the biography that he had projected at the beginning of his research. He settled for an extensive and carefully laid out, but necessarily heterogeneous, collection of documentation.

Hirn himself was born in Strasbourg and, after his education and seminary formation, was ordained there. He served briefly in Mainz, a see with close ties to Strasbourg, but then returned to complete a doctorate in theology at the University of Strasbourg. His opposition to any germanizing local Catholicism led to some antagonisms that he briefly finessed when trying out a vocation to the Carthusians. He was in Strasbourg when the Civil Constitution of the

Clergy became the object of the loyalty oath taken by sixty percent of the French clergy who were obligated to it. Hirn refused to take the oath, but avoided further harassment because he relocated to Mainz just as it was regained by the Prussians. It may be that his reputation for kindness to wounded French soldiers at this time was the source of his later nomination as bishop of Tournai by Napoleon's government. His organizational and intellectual gifts were clearly manifest in his text on restructuring the diocese of Tournai, in the foundation of a new diocesan seminary, and in his organization of a complex diocesan library. Hirn appreciated and praised Napoleon more than many of his fellow bishops, but he was one of the principal episcopal dissenters at the Napoleon-sponsored church council in 1811. This stance brought him into such conflict with the government that he was actually condemned to several years of prison. He submitted to a forced resignation, but became so agitated by what he took to be his own weakness in this matter that he later paid a special visit to the pope to ask for forgiveness. Hirn was reinstated with full papal approval just at the moment that Tournai was placed under the authority of the new King of the Netherlands.

The book is arranged in chapters of carefully sorted out archival data, enhanced by the author's footnote references and commentary, and is part of the series, *Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, an utterly random list of specialized, high-quality studies. In this case, historians of church-state affairs of the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras can explore the reception of the Concordat and its subsequent political and religious fortunes in a specific region. Everything contained in local archives is printed up in this text, in whole more often than in part. Most chapters are followed by *annexes* that are numbered sequentially across the book and not by individual chapters; relative to central features of Hirn's episcopate and the life of the diocese, the material varies considerably in importance. Whereas data on Hirn's organization of and contributions to the library might interest only local historians, the two years of correspondence between Hirn and the departmental prefect can interest all historians of the concordatory church; Milet entitles this chapter, "Une Collaboration peu ordinaire," which indeed it was. By the end of the text, the reader feels the need for that rounded-off monograph Milet was never able to finish, although a disputatious correspondence between regional civil authorities and clergy over burial refusals is of obvious church-state interest. The last chapter, documents pertaining to Bishop Hirn's arrest and imprisonment, does have special importance today, because it complements recent research on Napoleon's constantly strained relationship with the Church he helped to bring back into national life in 1801. Those who know the story of Pius VII's virtual imprisonment by the Emperor will find that stories such as Hirn's help to complete the picture. No doubt but that the anticlerical politician and later premier, Georges Clemenceau, was right in 1891 when he called the Concordat, a "Discordat."

Oklahoma State University JOSEPH F. BYRNES

The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution: The Making of Modern Universalism. By Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall. [The S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies.] (Berkley: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 341. $55.00.)

Alyssa Sepinwall's biography of the Abbé Grégoire makes an important contribution to French Revolution historiography and not just because of Grégoire's extraordinary career. At the heart of her study is an intellectual, even moral, dilemma that has marked not only the evolution of the modern French state but also that of every heterogeneous society: the place of diversity and multiculturalism in national identity. With the French state's recent ban on the donning of religious symbols in schools, and the movement in the United States to declare English the only official language, Sepinwall's timing is perfect. To study the history of this contentious issue, one must go back to the French Revolution and to Grégoire in particular.

Sepinwall recognizes this in her acknowledgments: she thanks David Bell for urging her "to tackle some of the most contested questions in modern history" (p. 240). Unfortunately, beyond this acknowledgment, she does not explicitly orient her work toward these questions, leaving this task to readers and reviewers. If one thing is lacking in this otherwise fascinating and thorough "intellectual biography" it is this hesitation to draw out the meaning of Grégoire's life and times for our own.

Since his time, nationalists, anti-colonialists, and multiculturalists have found in Grégoire an intellectual precursor if not a hero. He was an early proponent of Jewish toleration and an influential member of France's antislavery society. Though Catholic, he helped achieve the secularization of the French state, and remained a committed republican throughout his life. At the same time, his vision of the French polis was one in which difference would be erased, gradually, through education and intermarriage. As Sepinwall writes, "the universal human family that Grégoire sought to build would ultimately place Europeans and other peoples in brotherhood. These other peoples would have to abandon their cultures and adopt the republican Christian values of Europeans like Grégoire, however, before they could belong" (p. 196).

Animating Grégoire's universalism was "regeneration." Implying an existing state of degeneracy, the younger Grégoire saw the Enlightenment as the key to creating citizens out of self-interested, particularistic populations, including Jews, Blacks, and patois speakers. Originally a theological concept, "regeneration" would take on gargantuan proportions in the first French Republic where corrupted aristocrats and other dissidents would be "forced to be free" according to Rousseau's famous dictum. Disillusioned by the failure of republicanism to achieve regeneration, the older Grégoire believed only Catholicism, indeed divine intercession, could regenerate the peoples of the world. Yet this conservative turn did not lead him away from either republicanism or a broad toleration of diverse peoples. Excepted were women who, marked by biological dif-

ference, could never be assimilated into the polis. His life-long misogyny (though Sepinwall does not call it that) was shown even in his refusal to allow priests who had married during de-Christianization to resume their vocations once the Catholic Church was restored. "If he and his friends had survived the Terror without getting married, others could have done so too" (p. 146).

Though devout and strict in his observance of his priestly role, Grégoire remained estranged from Rome throughout his career. He was the first priest to take the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, believing that the Church should advance the interests of the French state and eager to advance a more democratic Church hierarchy. On his death-bed he still refused to renounce that oath, though it precluded the administration of the last rites. Readers of this journal will perhaps find Grégoire's religious trajectory the most interesting section of the book. Positioned at the intersection of world historical events, we find him advising Haitian republicans, alienated from American Catholics, and called the "modern Las Casas" by some Latin Americans, Grégoire's sincere commitment to republican Catholicism dedicated to the uplift of the poor and oppressed, though compromised by his emphasis on assimilation, is indeed an inspiration.

University of North Carolina-Asheville TRACEY RIZZO

Les Dames de la Ligue des Femmes françaises (1901-1914). By Bruno Dumons. [Histoire religieuse de la France, 28.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2006. Pp. 526. €48,00 paperback.)

Bruno Dumons' study of the Ligue des Femmes françaises (LFF) contributes significantly to our understanding of modern French political culture and religious history. He demonstrates that diverse paths gave French women access to the public sphere in the early twentieth century. One of those paths was intransigent Ultramontane Catholicism. Dumons' work is based on exhaustive research in national and departmental archives, and a vast periodical literature. He also had access to the personal archives of the Ligue's founder. He constructs a comprehensive portrait of the Ligue's origins, milieus, members, methods of communication, doctrines, and *mentalités*. This analysis reveals a group of elite women dedicated to the defense of Catholicism, eager to participate in the re-Christianization of France, hoping to transform society and the Republic.

Dumons explores the multiple contexts from which the Ligue emerged in 1901. Its founders, Jeanne Lestra and the Countess Saint-Laurent, were members of Lyons' most prominent families. This elite combined land-owning aristocrats and wealthy bourgeois. Dumons stresses that the Ligue's strength was centered in Lyons and the adjacent rural southeast. A counterrevolutionary heritage amplified and supported a vibrant commitment to intransigent Ultramontane Catholicism. For the Lyonnais elite the principal guide to this

passionate faith was the Jesuit Order, which staffed the exclusive schools, organized lay associations, and provided confessors. Jeanne Lestra's personal Jesuit confessor advised her closely during the first two years of the Ligue's existence. Its growth depended on aristocratic women in rural settings with strong royalist and Catholic attachments.

The anti-Republican sentiments of these elite women were aroused in the 1890's by the Dreyfus Affair, the republicans' political success, and the Radical Republicans' promotion of anticlerical legislation. In 1900 the Chamber of Deputies began discussion of a bill that would reduce regulations on the formation of non-religious organizations, but would regularize and increase the state's control over the growing number of religious houses (*Congrégations*). Anticlerical republicans used this legislation, enacted in May of 1901, to close teaching orders and restrict Catholic education. The Ligue des Femmes françaises was founded in order to respond to this threat.

The Ligue permitted organized Catholic women to intervene actively in the legislative campaign of 1902 despite their exclusion from the vote. Through local committees elite women held meetings, wrote for local papers, organized petitions, demonstrated publicly, and, most important, solicited funds. The Ligue insisted that it was above politics, unaffiliated with any particular party. They distributed their not insignificant funds to any candidate who was not a Freemason and who supported the "defense of religion." This intense electoral activity led to two serious problems. The first was internal disagreements. The prestigious Paris committee sought a direct affiliation with the recently created Catholic conservative party. In 1902 the Paris committee formed a separate organization, the Ligue patriotique des Françaises, which retained its affiliation with the conservative party. The two leagues remained rivals until 1933, when under Church pressure they merged. Until then they competed for members, for funds, and especially for episcopal and papal recognition. The Lyonnais Ligue prided itself on its provincial strength, its political independence, its strong clerical ties, and its increasing commitment to spirituality.

Spirituality was the Ligue's dominant response to the second dilemma resulting from the 1902 elections—the victory of its archenemy, the Radical Republicans. Significant leadership changes followed this outcome: the Jesuit advisor was forced by his superiors in Rome to abandon his involvement, and the Ligue's founder Jeanne Listra retired from activity for three years. Following the directives of the new Pope, Pius X, elected in 1903, the LFF pursued more traditional female activities—good works and prayer. Dumons is especially successfully in exploring the spirituality practiced by the women of the Ligue. Central to the emphasis on prayer was their adoration of the Sacred Heart with its royalist tradition, increasing Eucharistic devotions, and a variety of Marian practices. This spirituality, which was by no means limited to the LFF, emphasized both martyrdom and nationalist revival, personified by the recently beatified Joan of Arc. With this new spiritual emphasis the Ligue continued to protest publicly against the secularizing Republic. Its goals were unchanged.

As early as 1902 the Ligue claimed to have one or more committees in over half of the departments of France. By 1914 its membership was estimated at 400,000 and the rival LPDF asserted a similar number. This was a formidable movement, which did concern its enemies, the Radical Republicans. Dumons' careful elucidation of the Ligue establishes the significance of this vital political culture, espoused by aristocratic and bourgeois elites, which was anti-Republican, nationalist, and intransigently Catholic. Above all women fervently embraced this intransigent Catholicism, which legitimated their actions in the public sphere. Dumons' claims that the experience of the Ligue was part of a larger "modernization" process affecting French women and Catholicism requires a more careful explanation than he has provided. Nonetheless, Dumons' work indisputably establishes the Ligue's political culture as a key element of early twentieth-century France and an important expression of elite women.

Western Michigan University JUDITH F. STONE

Dom Gabriel Sortais: An Amazing Abbot in Turbulent Times. By Guy Oury, OSB. Translated by Brian Kerns, OCSO. (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2006. Pp. xi, 333. $34.95.)

The prolific Benedictine, Guy Oury, wrote a mostly chronological study of Dom Gabriel Sortais (1902-1963), the Cistercian abbot of Bellefontaine who became the head of his order in 1951. About fifty pages were devoted to Sortais' early life, 150 pages to his entrance into and life at Bellefontaine, and 100 pages to his twelve-year term as Abbot General. For the years as Abbot General, the chapters were organized by topic.

Dom Sortais lived through and participated in many important movements during the twentieth century. He was a militant in the controversial and conservative Action Française before he entered the abbey in 1924; he promoted the memory of the Vendéens who were heroes for their defense of their faith during the French Revolution (1793); he joined the French army as a chaplain (when twenty of his fifty monks were called up) in late 1939, was wounded and captured with the fall of France, and remained a prisoner of war for over six months until January, 1941; he had confidence in Pétain and the Vichy regime; he intervened to save fifty hostages from German reprisals in late 1941; he sponsored new monasteries in East Asia; he attended the Second Vatican Council. Above all, Oury painted Sortais as a "loving abbot and spiritual father" (p. 101) while recognizing his weaknesses, such as his anger.

There were many seeming contradictions in Sortais's life. Though an unhappy and mediocre student, he introduced the element of study (e.g., of the psalms) and created a library for the abbey of Bellefontaine. Anti-intellectual, he set up a house of studies for young monks in Rome. A proponent of nationalism and Vendée regionalism, he spread Cistercian monasteries for men and for women around the world, with special interest in East Asia. A man of

action, he cultivated contemplative life as the highest priority for himself, for his abbey, and for his Order. A traditionalist, he fostered reforms and a return to "authentic Cistercian tradition."

A constant in Sortais's life was suffering and illness. Fatigue and insomnia plagued this man of action but rarely slowed him down. He was authoritarian, though he "radiated life and joy" (p. 166). Above all, he insisted on the development of the interior life, walking with God. After reading the book, one knows what Sortais did but does not understand why he did them (e.g., volunteer as an army chaplain in 1939) nor why he was esteemed by young and old monks and by Cistercian nuns (e.g., those under his authority at the Les Gardes). He demanded obedience (authority was a big issue for him); he could be irascible and fierce as well as generous and fervent.

Oury or the translator has added content footnotes to help English-speaking readers with French geography and French personages. However, he uses Cistercian terms with no explanation (e.g., "Father immediate," "usages," and "Trappist"). A lacuna in the book is a section talking about the sources Oury used. Since Sortais left no autobiography, Oury relied on other archival information, a general list of which he provided in the bibliography but which are not discussed. How many letters, for example, were there in "Dossier VII, Dom Sortais' correspondence"? Were his letters mostly general "to a monk," "to a cousin," "to a nun"?

This book provides a source for understanding the life and views of a conservative, French Cistercian leader. It is of interest to those who want to understand the changes and reforms in the Cistercian way of life over the first sixty years of the twentieth century.

Dominican University of California M. Patricia Dougherty, O.P.

Les carnets du cardinal Baudrillart (26 décembre 1928—12 février 1932). Edited by Paul Christophe. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2003. Pp. 1136. €65,00.)

Since 1993 Paul Christophe has published, with the Dominicans' *Editions du Cerf*, the texts of dozens of handwritten journals—divided into nine annotated and indexed 1000-page volumes—of Cardinal Alfred Baudrillart. The distinguished Academician freshly recorded, from August 1, 1914, the many encounters and events of his very active life. Recently made accessible in the archives of that same Institut Catholique which he directed for thirty-five years, they document its history—from the first in fine penmanship to the final sixty-fifth in a nearly illegible scrawl. Christophe, church historian at the Catholic University of Lille, had already published a monograph on French Catholics and the Popular Front, and *1939-1940 les catholiques devant la guerre* (1989), which helps explain why he first published the dramatic Baudrillart notebooks from 1936, and the German occupation, rather than releasing them in chronological order.

Alfred Baudrillart was born in 1859, son of a member of *l'Académie des sciences morales* who was editor of the *Journal des Débats*. Alfred entered the École Normale Supérieure at age 25 in 1878, had Jean Jaurès and Henri Bergson as classmates, and passed the *agrégation* in history in 1881. He entered the Oratory in 1890, founded the celebrated *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, and was ordained a priest at age thirty-seven. In 1907, at fifty-one, he was named rector of l'Institut catholique and continued in that post until he died in 1942. In 1918 he was elected to the Académie française and frequented elite political, religious, and literary circles. Named cardinal in 1935, Baudrillart became something of an ambassador, visiting Spain, Portugal, French colonies in North Africa, as he became more and more anti-Communist, pro-fascist and even pro-Nazi, until his death in occupied Paris.

Contemporary Catholic prelates now leave personal journals for publication, but these Baudrillart diaries are not the revelatory, soul-searching documents of a Wojtyła or a Ratzinger, but rather a daily account by an observant "political animal" of the people he encountered. Self-analysis, guilt, sexuality, Jesus are all notably absent. In an earlier volume Christophe deplored the cardinal rector's blessing the Légion des volontaires de France's embracing Hitler's crusade against the atheistic Bolsheviks. The present volume is one of those which have helped Christophe appreciate the complexities of, and become less judgmental about, his subject.

We encounter Moslem native peoples (annoyingly restive), Communists (malefic Stalinist agents), French political leaders (tricky, spineless), Fascist leaders (untrustworthy but promising), his fellow religious (ignorant), the Action Française (tragically betrayed), and the deference and consideration expected by the cardinal rector (considerable). We also discover Baudrillart's enduring friendship for Pétain (unaffected by the Marshal's discernible indifference to religion), his early sympathy for the other Catholics who would take up Hitler's anti-Soviet crusade (e.g., novelist Alphonse de Chateaubriant, politician Philippe Henriot). French Catholicism, this volume reminds us, produced well-known, intelligent, French patriots who, out of understandable fear of the Stalinists, became Nazi sympathizers.

These interesting diaries are of a Catholic Party Man—dedicated to France, to Pope and Church, terribly concerned with ecclesiastical discipline and his own importance. Humorless, stuffy, and indifferent to beauty and pleasure, Baudrillart emerges as a sort of French Josemaría Escrivá de Balaguer (founder of Opus Dei, canonized in 2002). The cardinal's mentality surfaced both in the L.V.F. and the counter-insurgency efforts of the *Milice*, led by Catholic war hero (and SS officer) Joseph Darnand, who tortured and executed Resisters in the name of Christ the King. Baudrillart's canonization, while unthinkable when this series first went to press over a decade ago, is no longer outside of the realm of possibility.

McGill University JOHN HELLMAN

Archivo Gomá: Documentos de la Guerra Civil. Edited by José Andrés-Gallego and Antón M. Pazos. Vols. 7, 8. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. 2005. Pp. 666, 747. Paperback.)

These volumes of the personal archive of Cardinal Isidro Gomá y Tomás, archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain during the Spanish Civil War, cover the four months between August and December of 1937. During this period, the war between the Republic and the Nationalist regime of General Franco continued unabated, although the military balance had begun to tilt toward the rebel armies. It was also during these months that Franco began to lay the institutional and ideological foundations for his "New" Spain, although the precise form that these would take was still far from clear. As the leader of the hierarchy through his position as primate and president of the Committee of Metropolitans, Gomá supported the military rising in public without hesitation, but, in private he was apprehensive about the possible emergence of a totalitarian, fascist state and its consequences for the Church.

The documents published, organized chronologically, cover an immense range of topics from the trivial to the important, from the imposition of export duties on olive oil destined for the Vatican to critical questions such as church-state relations and the strategy the Church required to recover from the mass assassinations of clergy and the destruction of churches in the republican zone. Gomá's personal correspondence reveals a less self-confident figure than his public figure suggested.

Often beset by bouts of poor health, he struggled to meet a multitude of challenges that taxed his energy to the fullest and, at times, left him depressed about the Church's situation in the "New" Spain of the generals.

A substantial portion of the documentation revolves around the effect of the cardinal's celebrated and controversial 1937 *Collective Letter* to the Catholic bishops of the world. This justification of the rising against the Republic as a defense of Christian civilization produced an outpouring of letters of support from bishops throughout the Catholic world, all reproduced in these volumes. Gomá also worked unceasingly to promote the translation and publication of the letter in as many countries as possible. But, in some respects, he was more concerned with the criticism directed against the letter by clergy and laypeople, especially by Basque priests who supported the political autonomy of the Catholic Basques within the Republic and by progressive Catholic opinion in France. The documentation shows a constant sense of frustration with the refusal of his Catholic critics to accept the premises of the *Collective Letter*.

The most important contribution of these volumes for historians is that that they reveal in abundant detail the complex and shifting relations between the Church and the Franco regime. Gomá maintained an abiding confidence in the general to restore the Church to what he saw as its rightful place within the new order. But he was not naive. For example, although his correspondence

was exempt from official censorship, he suspected that the authorities did not always respect the exemption. He recognized that the Church was just one of the interest groups seeking to achieve its objectives within a political system in process of formation and that not all of them, especially the regime's single party, the quasifascist party, the Falange, were disposed to allow the Church the ample autonomy that it desired, particularly in the fields of education and associational activity. On several occasions, Gomá had to appeal to the authorities to halt attacks on the Church's position in Falange publications.

The cardinal's political views were straightforward. He wished the regime to restore the privileges that it had enjoyed prior to the proclamation of the Republic in 1931. He had no particular views about the constitutional form of the state, but whatever its form, he believed that the "liberty of the Church" should be respected and that it should not become a political arm of the new political order. For this reason, he objected to the clergy occupying official positions in the Falange.

These were, of course, contradictory objectives as the twists and turns of church-state relations during this period show. There were gains and losses. The Church more or less achieved its objectives in education, but failed to halt the momentum toward the creation of a state syndicalist monopoly into which all Catholic labor unions and student associations would be incorporated. There were bishops, notably Cardinal Pedro Segura of Seville and Bishop Luciano Pérez Platero of Segovia, who told Gomá that the Church should throw down the gauntlet before the regime to stop the incorporation of the Catholic teachers' federation into the state syndicate. Gomá was opposed to the incorporation; but cautious to a fault, he was not prepared to go this far, although he worked from behind the scenes to persuade the regime to abandon its in plan, albeit unsuccessfully.

To some extent, the cardinal remained his own man with respect to the regime. On occasion, he supported appeals for clemency for prominent Catholic republicans. He maintained throughout this period a friendly correspondence with the exiled Cardinal Vidal y Barraquer of Tarragona, whom the regime regarded with ill-favor for his role in supporting an accommodation with the Republic between 1931 and 1933. But Gomá insisted on recognizing him as a member of the hierarchy and solicited his opinions prior to the 1937 meeting of the Committee of Metropolitans. He also maintained good relations with Canon Maximiliano Arboleya of Oviedo, a prominent figure in Catholic labor circles since the turn of the century, who was subject to a campaign of vilification in his native city by the Falange and even some Catholic newspapers.

In the end, Gomá was too cautious, too apprehensive, perhaps even pessimistic, about defending the interests of the Church within the regime, as his reports to his fellow archbishops prior to the 1937 meeting indicate. He perhaps realized that attaining the objective of securing the "liberty of the

Church" would not be easily accomplished, however numerous the benefits the Church received from "New" Spain.

These volumes continue the high standard set in the earlier volumes in the series. Some editorial pruning would have been useful. The numerous replies to Gomá from the world's bishops with respect to the *Collective Letter* might have been reduced to a representative sample since, for the most part, they follow a conventional pattern. But this is a minor reservation in what is a major contribution to the historiography of the twentieth-century Spanish Church.

University of Toronto (Emeritus) WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN

Spain during World War II. By Wayne H. Bowen. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2006. Pp. x, 279. $39.95 hardcover.)

Wayne H. Bowen's study of Spain during World War II fills a gap in English-language historiography. General studies on aspects of twentieth-century Spain (other than the Civil War itself), by historians such as Stanley Payne and Paul Preston, certainly address the 1939-45 period, but Bowen is amongst the first to provide dedicated coverage. However, it is worth noting that, coincidentally, Bowen's engrossing historical study makes its appearance at the same time as two popular works of fiction—*Winter in Madrid* by C. J. Sansom and *Death of a Nationalist* by Rebecca Pawel—have introduced an even wider readership to the social maelstrom which was the Spain of the early 1940's.

Bowen provides a wide-ranging survey, with chapters on foreign policy, domestic politics, the economy, culture, and leisure, women and the *Sección Femenina*, the Catholic Church, and the Authoritarian State and the Opposition. The first two chapters, on foreign policy, are particularly important in that they challenge the commonly held perception that Franco boldly held his ground against Hitler's overtures during World War II in refusing to declare war on the Allies. A legend evolved of a *caudillo* who had saved his war-weary people from further ravages. What emerges from Bowen's careful study of the sources, however, is a real sense of checkerboard gamesmanship on Franco's part, as he held out for the deal which would be right for Spain. But by February 1941, such maneuvering had not resulted in Spanish belligerency. Hitler, writes Bowen, regarded Franco as a "hopeless Catholic" and a man of "inferior character." Nevertheless, some 4,500 Spaniards would die as members of the *División Azul*, fighting for Nazi allies at Stalingrad and elsewhere on the Eastern Front. Such common cause with the Nazi war machine was, increasingly, to become an embarrassment to the Francoist regime as the war progressed and the victory of the Allies became more certain.

Throughout the text, Bowen maintains a commendable balance of judgment. This is nowhere better manifested, perhaps, than in the chapter on the Catholic Church. Again, he is alert to the danger of presenting a simplistic por-

trait of the emergence of a National Catholic regime. Bowen does not in any way dismiss the notion that the Church was relieved at Franco's victory, noting Pius XII's telegram of congratulations to Franco at the Civil War's conclusion (p. 205). But, while many Spanish clergy looked to Franco as a man who had responded with necessary action to the unrighteous wrongs and crimes of the Republic, such as the conflagration of churches and the execution of priests and religious, there was something reminiscently medieval about the manner in which certain prelates defended their ecclesiastical privileges. Indeed, this is a particular perspective which Bowen might wish to consider in a future work: Spanish bishops as defenders of *their* see rather than the Church *per se*. Cardinal Segura, Archbishop of Seville (1937-57), had an extraordinary career as a principal player in a continuing Church-State demarcation dispute. From the pulpit of his cathedral, Segura went so far as to remind his congregation that the title *caudillo*, adopted and cherished by Franco, had the historic meaning of a "captain of thieves" (p. 216). What Bowen makes abundantly clear—and it is a necessary corrective to less sophisticated portrayals—is that the picture of the Church of the early Francoist period is not a monochrome one.

In sum, Bowen has produced a lucid, balanced, and scholarly monograph which certainly deserves a readership beyond specialist hispanists. Indeed, there is much for the general reader to enjoy and benefit from.

University of Glasgow RAYMOND MCCLUSKEY

The Old Enemies: Catholic and Protestant in Nineteenth-Century English Culture. By Michael Wheeler. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 352. $80.00.)

In the preface Michael Wheeler describes himself as a "Modern Catholic" member of the Church of England. I assume by that he means that he is a liberal Anglo-Catholic, and certainly this book reveals a detached observer whose sympathies, however, lie more with Papists than Protestants.

The book begins with the so-called "Papal Aggression" of 1850, when Pio Nono restored the Catholic hierarchy to England and Wales, a chapter delightfully illustrated by the contemporary cartoons in *Punch*. The next chapter deals with Catholic and Protestant treatments of the early Church, including discussion of three historical novels. This is followed in turn by a similar chapter on the writing of English Reformation history. Chapter 4 looks at nineteenth-century responses to the Gordon riots and the Jacobite rebellion of the eighteenth century. The next three chapters discuss attitudes to Catholic Emancipation, Newman's conversion, and the Gorham case. The last three chapters deal with the impact of Catholicism on English culture following Emancipation. Chapter 8 considers the role of women in the context of representations of the Virgin Mary and of convents and nuns. Chapter 9 looks at the reaction to the First Vatican Council and papal infal-

libility. And the last chapter examines the Decadents, several of whom converted to Rome.

Wheeler is a professor of English, but this book reveals also an impressive knowledge of the history and theology of the period. Pointing out that just as Darwin was searching for the origin of species, so too Catholic and Protestant theologians sought to prove that the origins of their religion lay in early Christianity. And just as Darwin emphasised the importance of the "patient accumulation of facts," so too the very first paragraph of Newman's own counterpart to the *Origin of Species*, the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, contains no less than half-a-dozen references to "facts."

The whole story of Protestant-Catholic relations was not all one of unremitting hostility. John Lingard's ground-breaking *History of England*, a model of fairness and moderation, was turned down by two Catholic publishers and accepted by a Protestant one; significantly, it was used as his main source by the Protestant historical novelist, William Harrison Ainsworth, who preached toleration. The religiously detached Macaulay could write, "There is not, and there never was on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church." Even Kingsley, with his pathological hatred of Catholicism, allows us to glimpse in his fiction what Wheeler calls that "mixture of conscious repulsion and unconscious attraction that characterized the response of many Victorian Protestants to Roman Catholicism." Dickens showed sympathy for persecuted Catholics but not for their religion. Ruskin agreed with Cobbett's pro-Catholic view of the Reformation, adding that Catholic historians were better informed than Protestant ones and fairer. Cobbett's idealized picture of pre-Reformation Catholic England "was to have a profound influence upon Victorian medievalism."

In this learned and wide-ranging study, I noticed only one serious mistake. Newman was not, like Ruskin, "brought up as an Evangelical" (p. 57). On the contrary, his experience was significantly different: like George Eliot, he was brought up as an "ordinary" member of the Church of England, before undergoing an Evangelically influenced conversion at the age of fifteen.

University of Oxford IAN KER

The Ghost in the Garden Room. By Elizabeth Gaskell. Edited with an introduction and notes by Fran Baker. [*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, Volume 86, Number 1 (Spring, 2004).] (Manchester: The John Rylands University Library of Manchester. 2005. Pp. cxxiv, 84. 2005.)

One of the most interesting and influential innovations in Victorian publishing was Charles Dickens's "Christmas numbers," carefully planned special editions of Dickens's weekly journals that appeared every Christmas from

1850 to 1867 and reached an audience of over quarter of a million eager readers. Dickens loved the whole idea of storytelling—a setting conducive to the telling of tales, storytellers with a tale (often from their own lives) to tell, and a captive group of listeners gathered around a Christmas fire, snowed up in an inn, or bobbing about in a lifeboat awaiting rescue. He invited other writers to contribute and tried to give them free rein within guidelines intended to make the number coherent and the theme explicit, not an easy task and one that eventually defeated him. The intention of the numbers was always, as Dickens said of his earlier Christmas books (*A Christmas Carol* being the most famous), "to awaken some loving and forbearing thoughts, never out of season in a Christian land."

Elizabeth Gaskell's "The Ghost in the Garden Room" was written for the 1859 number, "The Haunted House," the intention of which was to debunk the kind of spiritualism (rappings, mediums, séances, etc.) that Dickens deplored because many Victorians mistook it for genuine religious experience. Dickens intended the stories to show that the inhabitants of the house were haunted by ghosts of their own making—their former selves or former experiences—thereby bringing about a deeper understanding of life and human relations. As Fran Baker points out, Elizabeth Gaskell's ghost story was well suited to this framework: a prodigal son, believed to be dead, returns to his parents' home in a manner more threatening than any ghostly visitation. In order to make the story fit the framework, Dickens gave the story to a lawyer who had heard it from the judge who had presided over the case against the son and was still haunted by the memory of the faithful, suffering mother.

Like most journalism, Dickens's Christmas numbers disappeared into obscurity long before the twentieth century, but in recent years literary scholars have been unearthing them and looking at them through a twenty-first century lens. Fran Baker's edition is one of a number of studies that consider the stories or poems from the point of view of the contributing writer in order to shed light on Dickens's editorial methods and the difficulties of collaborative authorship. We know Dickens's intentions, but how did the other writers feel about this literary production? Scholars concentrating on Wilkie Collins, Elizabeth Gaskell, or Adelaide Procter are inclined to find fault with Dickens's editorial control—his adjusting and framing in order to achieve cohesion. Thus in her discussion of the re-publication of "The Ghost in the Garden Room" in different forms and collections (it was renamed "The Crooked Branch") Fran Baker speaks of the story having been "rescued" from the ephemeral format of the Christmas number and from Dickens's editorial hand. Baker takes issue with Dickens's giving the story to a male narrator (the lawyer) to tell, and she argues that when Gaskell was able to publish the story apart from this framework she was able "to reinstate the single narrative voice articulating essentially female concerns, which had been suppressed by the double layer of male narration Dickens imposed on the tale." The nature of the suppression is never clear, and elsewhere Baker provides excellent proof that the story as it

appeared in Dickens's Christmas number was very much Gaskell's, clearly related to her other work and deriving from her roots in the rural north of England. If the story "addressed some radical and specifically female concerns," Dickens certainly approved of it and left those concerns in Elizabeth Gaskell's able hands. That he chose to close the number with two engagements does not diminish her accomplishment.

A large portion of Baker's introduction is a model of textual analysis, tracing the story's alterations as it moved from the Christmas number through a variety of collections and individual publications. Coincidentally, at least two editions of the complete 1859 Christmas number have been published in the past four years, so readers can now easily read "The Ghost in the Garden Room" in its original context (although Baker considers this "an interesting example of Dickens's continued influence over Gaskell's story"). Baker's intention is to "stress Gaskell's work as a cultural production" so "no single version of a text can ever be presented as the 'correct' one and no edition can ultimately be 'definitive.'" We can only imagine how astonished Elizabeth Gaskell would be to find her thirty-six-page tale requiring, 140 years after her death, 120 pages of introduction and nearly fifty pages of notes.

Concordia University College of Alberta RUTH GLANCY

Le carte del "Sacro Tavolo": Aspetti del Pontificato di Pio X dai documenti del suo archivio privato. Edited by Alejandro M. Dieguez and Sergio Pagano. 2 volumes. [Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, 60.] (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano. 2006. Pp. cxvi, 1072. Paperback.)

The pontificate of Pius X, Giuseppe Melchiore Sarto (1903 to 1914), was characterized by several doctrinal, juridical, and institutional issues, each helping to define the Church as it entered the twentieth century. Wavering between reaction and renewal, Pius X, sometimes referred to as "the pope of the Curia," and his policies have themselves been the subject of controversy and conflicting interpretations. In this collection of documents from the private Vatican archives, the editors offer much insight into both the workings of this pontificate and the personal views and personality of the pontiff himself. This comprehensive and vast correspondence, both to and from Pius X as well as his personal secretaries, in particular Monsignor Giovanni Bressan, who had served the then Bishop Sarto of Treviso since 1885, is expertly organized by the editors to reflect the issues of the pontificate and the person of the pope himself.

The first volume, which includes an extensive introduction, presents the correspondence, which, as the title notes, passed through the papal desk, or "sacro tavolo," in the two categories of "Reforms" and "Large Themes." The former includes reforms in "Sacred Music," "the Universal Catechism," and "Seminaries." The latter deals with the major controversy of "Modernism," "the

Catholic Press," "Discipline of Clergy," "Apostolic Visits," and "Intellectual Matters." This last category includes the letters exchanged between Pius X or his secretary and Monsignor Achille Ratti (later Pope Pius XI) in his role as prefect of the Ambrosian Library. Indeed, both volumes of *"Sacro Tavolo"* include the correspondence of the most prominent names, clerical and non-clerical, of the era, with the section on "Modernism," for instance containing the letters from and to Alfred Loisy.

Volume II organizes correspondences to the pontiff and his staff within the major categories of "Relations with the Episcopate," "Concern for Cultural Patrimonies," "The Cults of Saints and Relics," "Religious Life," "Church and State in Italy," and "The Church in the World," which had correspondence dealing with, in the case of the United States for instance, such issues as the Catholic immigrant communities and missionary activities in Alaska. Also there is the pontiff's correspondence dealing with his great concern for the plight of the "Jews in Russia," and in particular with the case of Menachiel Beilis and calumnious charges of ritual murder. This second volume concludes with a section devoted to "The Person of Pius X" as "Benfactor and Patron, and "Thaumaturge." Once again it presents the correspondence with such personages of this pontificate as Mother Francesca Cabrini and Monsignor Giacomo Della Chiesa, later Pope Benedict XV, and Edward Cardinal Manning, as well as ordinary individuals, who wrote seeking the pontiff's blessing and even his financial assistance.

It can be said then that the scope of this work is to offer to students of the pontificate of Pius X, but obviously not only them, a wide view of the issues dealt with in the papers that crossed the papal desk ("sacro tavolo") and this pope's *modus operandi* (using the tools of this particular "secretariat"), in a way so as to perceive "from the inside" the climate and culture of the pontificate, and less relatively to its different aspects.

As noted, the archives of this "secretariat," so to speak, from which the materials are drawn have ended up dictating the editorial criteria of the various papers studied in this work. The great variety of the items that daily crossed the pontifical desk, their often unedited and even fragmented nature (in comparison to the equally complex items that the pontiff also received from the various curial offices), their singularity, all do not lend themselves in many cases to an easily organized thematic or chronological sequence. Nevertheless, the editors made an excellent effort to achieve a certain real homogeneity of the subjects. To maintain a sense of unity also, the authors tried to use coherent historical descriptions, especially in treating various subjects within the same particular piece of correspondence. While the vast majority of the correspondence dealt with is unedited, in certain rare cases the editors reprinted some already edited letters because of their connection to the other writings.

All the documents have been scrupulously annotated, along the lines also of a singular theme, with special attention given to the persons and subjects

of the correspondences themselves. In the case of lesser-known individuals (including ecclesiastics) or events, the editors have also provided background data, which probably was not always easily available, so as to place the documents in a more accurate context.

The transcription of the documents in this work follows the general criteria for editions of early twentieth-century sources. The very frequent use of capital letters, for example, in nouns and pronouns, especially as they refer to the pontiff, and as they are in the original documents are therefore generally maintained, but with some sense of editing. Therefore, "papa," "cardinale," "congregazione," "sacro anello," etc., will appear instead. Finally, special attention in given to the annotations or references made by the pope himself, especially in the frequent cases when Pius X had personally prepared the draft for a response. Such annotations and references carry also the formula "by the hand of Pius X," and can serve too as another identifying and unifying aspect of the writings of the "sacro tavolo."

Fairleigh Dickinson University WILLIAM ROBERTS

Russicum: Pioneers and Witnesses of the Struggle for Christian Unity in Eastern Europe. By Constantin Simon, S.J. Volume 1: *Leonid Feodorov, Vendelín Javorka, Theodore Romža: Three Historical Sketches*. (Rome: Opere Religiose Russe. Pontificio Istituto Orientale. 2001. Pp. 181); Volume 2: *The First Years 1929-1939* (Rome: Opere Religiose Russe. 2002. Pp. 280.)

The Catholic Church's relationship with Russia and its Orthodox Church has long been difficult. To be sure, the Russian Empire included a significant number of Catholics, but almost all of them were ethnic Poles, Germans, or Lithuanians. During the reign of the autocratic Tsar Nicholas I (1825-1855), Orthodoxy was defined as the privileged religion of the country, and efforts to convert Orthodox to other faiths became punishable by imprisonment or Siberian exile. It was only in 1905, with Nicholas II's Decree of Toleration, that most of these restrictions were lifted and Orthodox could once again legally become Catholic. Catholics were now free to carry out mission activity in the country during a brief period that would end with the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Officials in the Vatican were watching developments in Russia carefully. As an enormous country with strong Christian roots and a rich theological and spiritual heritage, there was a strong desire to find ways to reconcile the huge Russian church with the even larger Catholic one. Many came to believe that missionaries working among the Russian Orthodox could be successful only if they fully adapted themselves to Russian ways of thinking and became experts not only in Russian history and culture, but also in the Russian liturgical tradition, celebrating the liturgy in a way identical to the complex Orthodox prototype.

During the brief years of religious tolerance in Russia, these efforts led to the creation of a very small community of Russian Catholics of the Byzantine rite centered in St. Petersburg. It was composed mostly of a small band of westernizing intellectuals, and completely vanished with the onset of communist persecutions. But in the early years after the revolution, many Vatican officials were convinced that communism would be a horrific but short interlude in Russian history. Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) in particular wanted to prepare a well-trained group of priests who would be ready to enter the country as soon as the borders re-opened. Central to this project was the creation of a college in Rome where their training would take place. The Pope's desires were fulfilled in 1929 when the Russian Pontifical College of Saint Therese of the Child Jesus—known as the "Russicum"—was opened.

Constantin Simon, a Jesuit professor of church history at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, has provided a very useful two-volume history of these events. In the first tome, he furnishes historical sketches of three major personalities in the movement. The first, Leonid Feodorov (1879-1935), was an Orthodox convert who served as head of the small Byzantine-rite Catholic community in Russia, later condemned to a prison camp and death in internal exile. The second is Vendelín Javorka, S.J. (1882-1966), who, after guiding the Russicum for five years as its first rector, went in 1934 to work among Russians in Manchuria, and then in 1941 to the frontier province of Bukovina where he was arrested by the invading Soviet forces in 1944. A few months later he was sentenced to ten dreadful years in Soviet prisons (one of the four charges against him was "trying to reunite the Russian Orthodox Church to the Roman Catholic Church"), after which he was released to spend his remaining years in obscurity in his native Slovakia. And finally, there is the Russicum graduate Theodore Romža (1911-1947), the Greek Catholic bishop of Mukačevo, who was poisoned by the communists. Both Romža and Feodorov were beatified by Pope John Paul II during his visit to Ukraine in 2001.

In the second volume, Simon traces the history of the foundation of the Russicum and the first ten years of its existence. The fascinating story is told with rich detail, and describes the many difficulties and controversies that had to be faced. It was not easy, first of all, to create an all-Russian environment in the midst of central Rome. The Jesuit staff was not of one mind when it came to attitudes toward the Orthodox: some were disdainful and supported whatever missionary efforts were necessary to convert them to Catholicism; others encouraged an attitude of respect that foreshadowed the sister-church relationship set forth at Vatican Council II. Some supported certain latinizations in the spirituality and liturgical practice at the Russicum, while others insisted on a perfect imitation of Russian traditions in these matters. It was also difficult to find ethnic Russian candidates for the college; in the end many were from the west but willing to immerse themselves totally in Russian ways in preparation for the great mission they thought would be theirs. Indeed, grandiose ideas were common at the time; many saw themselves as the vanguard of a huge

Catholic effort to convert Russia which, once this goal was achieved, would provide a base for a subsequent missionary thrust south into India and the rest of Asia. But communism would grind on for another several decades, and virtually all of the early graduates of the Russicum either faced severe punishment or martyrdom within the Soviet Union, or would spend their active years ministering to miniscule Russian Catholic communities in other parts of the world.

The two volumes suffer somewhat from a number of typos, inconsistent transliteration of the Cyrillic, a fair amount of repetition of material and, above all, the absence of an index. These imperfections aside, remarkable stories of faithfulness and heroism are found within these pages, stories that need to be told and remembered.

St. Paul's College, Washington, D.C. RONALD G. ROBERSON

In Defense of Christian Hungary: Religion, Nationalism, and Antisemitism 1890-1944. By Paul A. Hanebrink. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 255. $39.95.)

Rarely have I come across a more engaging, better composed study dealing with the relatively recent history of a small European country. Professor Paul A. Hanebrink earned my deepest admiration for his sharp discernment, transparent clarity, and elegant style in presenting a half-century history of the most turbulent times of modern-day Hungary. His numerous references, and an incredibly huge, comprehensive, up-to-date bibliography are indication of the massive research effort brought to fruition in this volume. True to Hanebrink's stated goal, the focus of his attention is on the role of religion, more particularly that of the leadership of the established churches—notably the majority Roman Catholic Church and the largest of the Protestant churches, the Reformed or Calvinist Church—in fostering Hungarian nationalism and also the rise of anti-Semitism.

The starting point for Hanebrink is the closing decade of the nineteenth century, when Hungarian political culture was dominated by the ideas of Western European Liberalism. It was the time when in the face of fierce opposition from the conservative Catholic hierarchy, but with the enthusiastic support from the Protestant leaders, clergy and lay alike, a number of laws were enacted by parliament, among them the law introducing civil marriage and the law on Jewish reception, granting the Jews not only full civic rights, which they already had, but also to the Jewish religion full equality with the established Christian churches.

The bright picture which Hanebrink paints of the modern, liberal, secularizing Hungary, soon underwent somber changes during the Great War, and the chaotic times that followed. The defeated country was forced to cede two-

thirds of its historic lands with a third of its ethnic Hungarians to its enemies, the remaining rump being overwhelmed with refugees, while the government had been taken over in the fall of 1918 by well-meaning democrats, who were in March 1919 overthrown by doctrinaire Bolshevik communists. This "dictatorship of the Proletariat" led by Béla Kun lasted only until August 1919, but it left in its wake an indelible memory of unfulfilled promises, misery, terror, and also outrage over the desecration of religious and national symbols dear to the majority of Hungarians. Little wonder that these events caused a 180-degree turn toward rightwing nationalism in the minds of many people who placed the blame for the erosion of the traditional mores of Hungarians squarely on the shoulders of the *laissez-faire* Liberalism of the previous regimes and the Jews. The latter, compared to their small proportion in the overall population (5%), played an enormous role not only in the economy, but also in the cultural life and in politics. At no time was this more evident than during the 1919 Commune, when the political and cultural leadership, as well as the personnel of the terror squads, were almost totally of Jewish origin.

The following twenty-five years had been the time of that "Christian Hungary" which gave the title to this book. As Hanebrink rightly observed, a purified, spiritually reborn Christian Hungary, which was the sincere desire of the leaders of the Christian churches and their committed followers, remained just a slogan for the politicians, and a rallying cry for the various rightwing groups and parties, a convenient cover for their anti-Semitic feelings and activities. For these people "Christian" had nothing to do with being followers of Jesus of Nazareth; it simply meant "non-Jewish" at best, a "hater of Jews" at its worst. The author eloquently demonstrates how during World War II, especially in its last year when Hungary—despite being allied to Germany, in the spring of 1944 was militarily occupied and politically subjugated by German troops—this anti-Semitic agitation culminated in the deportation and mass murder of over half a million Jewish citizens (including converts to Christianity) of that much vaunted "Christian Hungary." Of course, it was not only Jews who suffered during this bloodiest phase of the war. All around millions were killed, raped, maimed, and bombed out of their homes. Nevertheless, the Shoah remains a singularly inhuman, most terrible event in human history.

Having thus summarized the narrative of Hanebrink's book, I feel compelled to point out some serious shortcomings of this otherwise much appreciated scholarly study. My first observation would concern the missing analysis of the roots of anti-Semitism, with the resulting lack of impartial objectivity in dealing with this complex and emotionally highly charged subject. While the central theme of his study is about the prevalence of anti-Semitism in "Christian" Hungary, leading to one of the greatest tragedies of history, the author fails to provide the reader with the easily available data of the magnitude of Jewish predominance in Hungarian economy and culture, their number among the university students, etc., a situation incomparably more acute than in any other country, including Germany. One finds the same lack of information about the

absolute prevalence of Jews among the leadership of the 1919 Béla Kun dictatorship. Informing the readers about the enormous imbalance between the wealth of a tiny minority, perceived as still aliens, as contrasted to the millions eking out a living in abject poverty—added to this the odium of their role in the 1919 Commune—would have shown that the "Jewish question" in Hungary was not merely a phantom invented by some Christian churchmen and assorted anti-Semites, but that it was a real problem, crying out for some remedy. (I purposely avoid the ominous sounding word "solution.")

Furthermore, it certainly does not do justice to the memory of the widely revered saintly Catholic bishop, Ottokár Prohászka to call him simply an anti-Semite and quote only such words from him which sustain this charge, while ignoring his true religious genius, reforming zeal, his tremendous impact on the social conscience of all Hungarians, Catholics and Protestants. Similarly, the towering figure of Hungarian Protestantism, Reformed bishop László Ravasz, did not deserve to be dismissed as just another anti-Semite. Finally, the statement in the concluding paragraph of the book, "As deportation trains carried some 440,000 Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz, Hungary's Christian churches were silent," is definitely not true and could be explained only by the anti-Christian, and pronouncedly anti-Catholic bias of the author which colors his writing throughout. It should be noted that a few pages before the above quoted sweeping statement the same author wrote about the negotiations and rescue efforts of the church leaders—true, it was largely unknown to the wide public at the time, but since then it has been published and, as his footnotes show, known to Hanebrink. Also in that the deportations were finally halted and thus the majority of Jews in Budapest survived, the churches played a pivotal role. Moreover, it is estimated that at least 30,000 Jews found shelter in Christian church institutions and about the same number were hiding with Christian families who were willing to risk their own freedom and even their very lives.

The fact remains that in Hungary some 200,000 Jews survived the war, the largest number anywhere in Nazi-occupied Europe. One can say, of course, that all these rescue efforts were too little and too late. But the same can be said of all the governments and of all the nations who were witnesses to the horrors of the war but did little to prevent or end it.

Concordia University, Montreal (Emeritus) LESLIE LASZLO

The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-Communist Poland. By Geneviève Zubrzycki. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 277. $67.50 clothbound; $27.50 paperback.)

This is a brilliant book, both in terms of the author's insights and depth of understanding, and in terms of the coherence and logic of her presentation of her material. Geneviève Zubrzycki, an assistant professor of sociology at the

University of Michigan, spent more than three years doing fieldwork in Poland, interviewing appropriate persons in Cracow, Katowice, Oświęcim, and Warsaw, and visiting the sites she discusses in her book. In addition to onsite fieldwork, she also made extensive use of published materials in Polish, English, and French. The result is, she points out, "the only extensive sociological analysis of Polish nationalism that focuses on the post-Communist period" (p. 28), taking up her subject through the prism of controversies about the Auschwitz concentration camp.

The symbolic center of focus for her is the War of the Crosses of Auschwitz, as it has been dubbed in journalistic accounts, which reached its climax in 1998-99, and the differing ways in which Poles and Jews have remembered what happened at Auschwitz during World War II. For Poles, the town known to most of the world as Auschwitz is Oświęcim, and, at the first level of meaning which Poles came to assign to the camp, it was remembered that Auschwitz was originally established as a detention center for Polish political prisoners, intellectuals, professionals, and priests; indeed, partly for that reason, Poles came to think of themselves as having been the principal martyrs at the camp (pp. 102-103).

At a second level, Polish communists conflated the victims at Auschwitz into an opaque category of "Polish citizens," thereby effectively making Jews invisible among the victims. As she notes, this served to turn the camp, for Polish communists and all who went to school in communist times, into a symbol not of the Holocaust but of the martyrdom of the anti-Nazi and anti-fascist resistance. And whereas the Jews remember Auschwitz as the place where between 1.1 million and 1.5 million persons were killed, 90% of them Jews (p. 114), Poles who went to school in socialist times were taught that Jews were only one of a number of groups to be liquidated at the camp. Polish communists inflated the number of dead at Auschwitz to some 4 million (p. 105). As late as 1995, a survey found that some three-quarters of adult Poles identified Auschwitz as "the place of martyrdom 'of the Polish nation' or 'of several nationalities'" but did not show any awareness that the overwhelming majority of the victims at the camp had been Jews (p. 137).

Finally, Catholic clergy and members of religious orders were among the first victims at Auschwitz; two of those who lost their lives there were later canonized: Fr. Maksymilian Kolbe, who had edited an anti-Semitic daily before the war, and Sister Teresia Benedicta (Edith Stein), a Jewish convert to Catholicism. The latter was executed because the Nazis considered her Jewish, but the Catholic Church has claimed her as a martyr for the Catholic faith.

Because of these three levels of meaning connecting Auschwitz to a Polish national narrative, some Poles (such as Father Waldemar Chrostowski) have been hostile to what they have perceived as a programmatic "de-Polonization" of the former camp and appropriation of the site as an exclusive symbol of Jewish suffering. But, for the residents of the town of Oświęcim (which is adja-

cent to the site of the former concentration camp of Auschwitz), it is clear that the past haunts the present, as shown, for example, in the worldwide controversy when a disco opened in the town (p. 123). During the struggle over the crosses, Zubrzycki notes, "Jews were offended, repulsed, hurt, and angered by the presence of the papal cross at Auschwitz, while many Poles were offended, hurt, and angered by demands to remove the symbol" (p. 213). Having learned their history differently, the placement of the cross inevitably came to be understood differently by Polish Catholics and by Jews.

All in all, this is an impressive book and no university library should be without it.

Norwegian University of Science & Technology SABRINA P. RAMET
Trondheim, Norway

American

The American Religious Experience: A Concise History. By Lynn Bridgers. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group. 2006. Pp. vii, 254. $65.00 clothbound; $22.95 paperback.)

The paperbound edition of this book is clearly intended for classroom use and should do well in that setting. It is, to be sure, "a concise history," and could be even more concise if repetitions, especially in the early chapters, were eliminated. Also, for the sake of concision, digressions into immigration history and world religions could be eliminated or abbreviated, as well as biographical sketches that divert attention from the main topic.

In most of the chapters, the author is reluctant to stand as her own authority. She takes cover under the word "considered," for example, the Bay Psalm Book is "considered the first book of any kind printed on American soil" (p. 17), or John Wesley "often considered the founder of the Methodists" (p. 23). In one brief paragraph (p. 23), the word "considered appears four times. The author needs to pronounce and defend her own judgments.

After some early chapters devoted largely to colonial America, the author follows a topical outline that moves much closer to the present. She gives fair treatment to the Amish and the Mennonites, for example, as well as the Quakers and Shakers. In Chapter 8, "Bacon, Swedenborg, and Transcendentalism," she provides more attention to Henry David Thoreau and John Muir than one might normally expect. Chapter 9 offers excellent treatment of anti-Catholicism in the nineteenth century, but stops short of the twentieth, thereby missing such fine opportunities as Al Smith and John Kennedy.

Chapter 10 on American Judaism, in contrast, does give ample attention to the twentieth century. A chapter on the transformation from established

Anglicanism to free market Episcopalianism is well done, though some attention to Jefferson's Statute on Religious Freedom (1786) would have helped explain the necessity of this transition. Chapter 11 on "Lutherans, Germans, and Scandinavians" follows as best one can the many divisions in that denominational family based on ethnicity, theology, language, or geography, or some combination thereof. The author addresses the twentieth-century efforts to sharply reduce these many fragmentations.

In the "Evolution of the Black Church" (Chapter 13), Professor Bridgers carefully describes the creation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1816 and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in 1821. Unaccountably, however, she provides no comparable discussion of the much larger black Baptist bodies, the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A. (1880), and a similarly named Convention organized in 1915. Chapter 14 focuses its attention more exclusively on "Baptists and Baptism," though again no significant attention is given to the black Baptists.

Remaining chapters treat a wide array of subjects: Pentecostalism, Hispanics, Native Americans, Mormons, as well as Chinese and Japanese immigrants with accompanying religious affinities. Her final chapter, "Pluralism and Periphery," begins with welcome attention to William James and W. E. B. DuBois, then moves to reflections on unity and diversity, along with Americans' embrace of the practical over the abstract. "American religion," she writes, "demands a vibrancy that recognizes the importance of personal religious experience and creates channels through which the individual can share that religious experience with others" (p. 237). All of this provides much life and color to the "American religious landscape," to use one of the author's favorite phrases. Students should find here much to inform and entertain them.

University of California, Riverside (Emeritus) EDWIN S. GAUSTAD

Defying the Inquisition in Colonial New Mexico: Miguel de Quintana's Life and Writings. Edited and translated by Francisco A. Lomelí and Clark A. Colahan. [Series on the Nuevomexicano Literary Heritage.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 218. $39.95.)

It is rare to have any written record concerning the spiritual reflections of the common person, let alone such an individual as Miguel de Quintana (b. 1677–d. 1748), who came from Mexico City to New Mexico as a settler of the Spanish frontier in 1694. The main reason for the preservation of Quintana's spiritual verses was the use of the Office of the Inquisition as a political tool in an attempt to silence and castigate a voice of criticism against the local clergy of the small frontier Villa de Santa Cruz de la Cañada, the most northern European settlement of the Spanish Americas in the eighteenth century.

Francisco A. Lomelí and Clark A. Colahan present the literary voice of Miguel de Quintana to modern readers and successfully place him as an important figure of New Mexico's literary tradition. Lomelí and Colahan's careful analysis of Quintana's spiritual verses reveals a personal spirituality firmly grounded in the Franciscan tradition of Roman Catholicism. The majority of the book consists of English translations and Spanish transcriptions of the various writings of Quintana, allowing readers of one or both languages access to these rare writings. The verses record the encouragement and guidance of "heavenly voices," such as these words of the Queen of Heaven, "Do not dread suffering/ Suffer, because your hardships/ will find relief, Miguel/ for I will be there to intercede." Evident in Quintana's writings is the Franciscan emphasis on poverty and humility, as well as empathy and compassion for the suffering of Christ and the significant role of the Virgin Mary as intercessor.

The fertile influence of the rich and deeply rooted Spanish Catholic tradition that flourished in Mexico City in the seventeenth century nourished the mind and spirituality of Quintana. Unfortunately, his personal motives for volunteering as a settler of New Mexico are not revealed in any of his surviving writings. As a husband and father Quintana sustained his family working as a farmer and a scribe. As a literate individual he was sought by others to record official civil and ecclesiastical proceedings, to write letters, and is known to have written *coloquios*, plays in the form of extended dialogue.

Quintana's criticism of a local Franciscan friar and his defiance of this friar's demand to confess to him stirred a personality conflict that developed into a denunciation to the Inquisition in July, 1732. The formal basis of the denunciation centered on Quintana's written spiritual prose and poetry, which local Franciscan clergy viewed as containing heretical assertions. Although Quintana maintained his innocence throughout the five years of investigation, he chose to bend as a reed with humility toward the authority of the Inquisition rather than to resist or push back. Following a recantation in 1737, he was exonerated, but only after experiencing much psychological and spiritual turmoil, which is apparent when reading his verses.

In Part One of the book, Lomelí and Colahan lead the reader through the historical and cultural context of Quintana's era with scholarly insights into the common elements of Quintana's expression that show how his writings fit squarely within the accepted Spanish Roman Catholic mysticism and spiritual expression of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Parts Two and Three they have compiled and organized Quintana's poetry, letters, and essays from a variety of sources, many of which were transcribed from documents in Quintana's handwriting. This book represents an important contribution toward the ongoing documentation of New Mexico's literary tradition, a tradition that extends to the late 1500's. It is also an exceptional source for understanding the personal expression and experience of Roman Catholicism in Spain's North American frontier.

Lakewood, Colorado JOSÉ ANTONIO ESQUIBEL

Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community Among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871. By David J. Silverman. [Studies in North American Indian History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 303. $60.00.)

Was adoption of Christianity by Native Americans necessarily the beginning of the end for distinct native cultures? Missionaries and colonists who worked to convert the Indians generally aimed not at mere personal salvation but rather the transformation of native ways into a more European ("civilized") lifestyle. Recent historians intent on correcting long-held European biases in colonial history argue that, regardless of intentions, Christian evangelization represented a foreign force that, over time, invariably displaced native values and corroded community ties. That Christian conversion could actually have assisted some native bands in preserving their cultural identity has been argued less frequently.

David Silverman joins those scholars who rigorously attempt to reconstruct an Indian point of view on the complex history of European and native interrelationships from the seventeenth century forward. In *Faith and Boundaries*, he asks how certain Wampanoag communities on Martha's Vineyard (off Cape Cod, Massachusetts), after managing to avoid the open warfare with Puritan colonists that engulfed most mainland tribes, were able to survive into the nineteenth century and, after coping with enormous hardship and decline, retain even today a distinctive identity in an identifiable territory. His answers are subtle and manifold, but central to them is recognition of the agency of the Wampanoag themselves. Silverman finds that Christianity, rather than being a mere tool of European conquest, was deliberately wielded by the natives for their own cultural survival, albeit with great development and change over the two-hundred-seventy-year period he surveys. Silverman's breadth of research, his clear and consistent line of analysis, and his skillful balance of engaging story-telling and detailed documentation, make the work a fascinating and valuable resource.

Silverman's analysis unfolds in seven chapters, each corresponding to a distinct cultural challenge faced by the Vineyard natives in the centuries following the English invasion: conversion, development of new communal institutions, English racial hatred, land encroachment, changes in leadership, indentured servitude for debt, and exogamous marriage to African Americans and other non-Indians. Each chapter strengthens Silverman's case that the "resourcefulness and adaptability" of Christian Wampanoags allowed them to survive as a distinct community. The Indians relied on their own local Protestant church organization (first Congregational, then Baptist) to sustain the underlying communal values, many particular stories and customs, and for a considerable time even the language, of their ancestors.

Silverman is careful not to draw a utopian picture of native and colonial coexistence on Martha's Vineyard, making only the modest claim that here "the

two peoples managed to live in close proximity for hundreds of years without slaughtering one another" (p. 8). Although his argument challenges some standard interpretations of the actual and potential roles of Christianity in Native American history, he is in no way an apologist for the Puritan colonists. Indeed, he continually exposes their initial mixed motives, frequent outright hypocrisy, and ever-more-blatant racism. The narrative remains steadily focused on the Wampanoag response to the seemingly endless dilemmas forced upon them, and the reader senses in alternation the pride, puzzlement, curiosity, anger, and anxiety of the native community as the story of both their exploitation and their ongoing communal survival unfolds.

The one lingering disappointment of the book is the unfulfilled promise of its title. *Faith and Boundaries* presents very effectively the development of Wampanoag Christian institutions and the surprising successes and dismal failures of Indians and Europeans in maintaining the constantly shifting cultural and physical boundaries between themselves. "Faith" in more than its superficial sense, however, never really focuses this narrative. Silverman dwells on the external *function* of religion, whether sincere or cynical, as a tool in the maintenance of the Indian communal identity. To this extent, although he intends to do so, he never fully succeeds in dismissing the frequently-heard charge that native "conversions" were necessarily more strategic than sincere. Although Silverman does not entirely ignore the issue, the reader waits in vain for in-depth speculation on how deeper ethical, spiritual, and theological dimensions of Christian tradition (rather than Puritan culture) coincided with, complemented, transformed, or undermined native values. Such analysis would be particularly welcome in the discussion of the long years after it became clear that the Wampanoag could never become "Christian enough" to overcome the profound racial fears and hatred of the Europeans.

Despite this drawback, however, Silverman presents a book that raises, even when it does not satisfyingly answer, many profound and provocative questions about the historical periods he examines, about the origins and ongoing nature of race relations in America, about the historical and theological purposes of Christian evangelization, and about the very meaning of culture, community, and their continuity.

College of the Holy Cross WILLIAM A. CLARK, S.J.

The Captors' Narrative: Catholic Women and Their Puritan Men on the Early American Frontier. By William Henry Foster. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 205. $29.95.)

The Captors' Narrative is a revelation. Through an intricate, sophisticated, and informed reading of archival material from French Canada and New England from 1690 to 1760, as well as through an ingenious "reading between the lines" of published Indian captivity narratives, William Henry Foster has

opened a new window onto the colonial period. For the first time, the meaning and significance of captivity for the captors (in this case, French Catholics in Canada) has been revealed, even as Foster reconstructs the experience of both captives and captors, especially as this was shaped by cultural constructions of gender and class.

In the double-entendre in the title of a study, *Captured by Texts: Puritan to Post-modern Images of Indian Captivity* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), I sought to suggest that, on the one hand, important pieces of historical and ethnographic information had been captured in the hundreds of published captivity narratives. On the other hand, these texts are not transparent windows onto the past, since every generation's writers and narrators of these tales were themselves caught in cultural webs of signification that constrained the ways in which they could tell their stories. In his brilliant study, Foster affirms this point, extends it in important ways, and discloses the motives for capturing prisoners of war and engaging in the extensive trade in captives.

Perhaps the most important contribution of *The Captors' Narrative* is the disclosure of the important structuring role that gender played in both the experience of captivity and in the retrospective narration of captivity. New England Puritans regularly held collective days of humiliation, in which the community confessed its shortcomings and sins before God and asked for forgiveness. Foster, though, demonstrates that male captives suffered a different form of humiliation, both among the Indians and French Catholics, provoked by the captives' forced assumption of female forms of labor. In different, but not dissimilar, ways, Indians and French Canadian women stripped male captives of their sense of manhood. Indians frequently cut off captives' index fingers, making it impossible for them to engage in the male act of bow hunting. Instead, the male captives, who were not adopted to replace a deceased male relative, were relegated to doing women's work—grinding and cooking corn, gardening, hauling firewood, and so on. In both Indian and French Catholic communities, male captives were largely under the direct control of women, a situation that inverted the expected "normal" gendered power relationships. Foster convincingly argues that the conspicuous silences in male-authored captivity narratives about the captives' lives under the thumb of women are the direct result of the humiliation these men experienced. As a result, the power and agency of women in the colonial world has been largely effaced from the historical record.

Foster masterfully reconstructs the important roles that French Catholic women played in the colonial period. With husbands frequently away from home, engaging in the fur trade or military service, women managed farms, businesses, and estates. Catholic sisters also exercised important social and economic power. Most readers will be surprised to learn that Catholic nuns and secular women both participated in the slave and captive trade networks in the New World. Just as Katherine Burns has disclosed the critical social,

political, and economic power cloistered women exercised in colonial Peru (*Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* [Durham: Duke University Press, 1999]), Foster demonstrates the ways female agency was enabled and exercised in the North American context. *The Captors' Narrative* is a ground-breaking contribution to our understanding of the importance of gender and class in the colonial period.

The University of Missouri-Kansas City GARY L. EBERSOLE

Children of Coyote, Missionaries of St. Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850. By Steven W. Hackel. [Early American History and Culture, Published for the Omohundro Institute of Williamsburg, Virginia.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 476. $59.95 clothbound; $22.50 paperback.)

Steven Hackel's book, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of St. Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850*, examines the Spanish Franciscans' treatment of the indigenous Indian population and traces the history of the California missions from their beginnings through the period in which Mexico secularized the missions. In his first chapter, Hackel described the pre-contact Indians as having a flexible government and society that was well adapted to the environment and was able to meet the short- and long-term needs of the community including trade, food, and healthcare. Hackel used this description as a contrast to his portrayal of the missions that he saw as bringing cultural devastation to that part of the world. Assessing the environmental impact of the settlers, Hackel maintained that the rapid growth of the Spanish herds and the introduction of new plant species upset the local ecological balance and the traditional hunting and gathering lifestyle of the Indians. The introduction of diseases, especially syphilis, that spread quickly through the Indian population in the missions combined with the low birth rates resulted in a steadily decreasing Indian population. Hackel describes the missions as places of horrible suffering and death, punctuated by the senseless beating of Indians by the Franciscans.

Hackel has a dim view of the Franciscans' religious program. Rather than trying to adapt to the Indians' beliefs or trying to build on them, the Franciscans, Hackel maintains, simply tried to eradicate the Indians' religious beliefs, which the Franciscans saw as demonic. Unwilling to learn the Indians' languages, the friars sought to further the destruction of Indian culture by imposing the Spanish language. Hackel repeatedly uses the term "indoctrination" to describe the Franciscans' efforts to instruct the Indians, in order to convey the idea that the Franciscans forced the unwilling Indians to memorize prayers and follow the strict morals of the Catholic Church. In Hackel's book, accounts of anything positive that the missionaries accomplished are quite rare. At these missions, evangelization, for Hackel, consisted of pressur-

ing and humiliating any Indians who sought to maintain their traditional beliefs, and whipping those who violated the morals of the Church; indeed Hackel says that the "Franciscans considered violence toward Indians integral to their missionary approach. . ." (p. 326). Hackel is truly tireless in providing criticism of the Franciscans: the friars used soldiers to force labor from the Indians, they arranged marriages for the Indians, they humiliated them with intrusive questions prior to marriage, they "scrutinized Indians' sexuality and marital fidelity" (p. 200), and the "Franciscans no doubt pressured the young to marry early. . ." (p. 216). Hackel frequently uses phrases like "the Indians might have," "could have," "must have," "perhaps," and "doubtless" to vent his own criticisms of the Catholic doctrine since he has no evidence to support these musings. For example, Hackel says, "Catholicism's strict linking of marriage and sexuality could have only intensified the emotional burdens that accompanied rape" (p. 225-226). The following is another of the many examples of Hackel's enthusiasm for speculation: "Perhaps adding to the Indian's frustration and consternation was a Catholic provision known as the Pauline Privilege. . . . Yet, from these exceptions, Indians might have come to wonder why the Franciscans insisted that no marriages were dissoluble. . ." (p. 192). In his introduction, Hackel further illustrates his personal aversion to the Catholic conception of marriage when he says, "The Indians encountered a Catholic system that insisted upon uncompromising adherence to monogamy and marital fidelity yet contradicted itself in tolerating or pardoning exceptions" (p. 3). Furthermore, Hackel has no problem explaining why Indians left the missions, but he is rather puzzled concerning those Indians who accepted the Catholic faith. "What lay behind these Indians' seeming embrace of Catholicism is not clear" (p. 162). He, nevertheless, hastens to explain, through a syllogism of several "most likely" and "might have" phrases, that the Indians accepted Catholicism because the Christian cross was similar to the Indian "prayer poles," and the Virgin Mary was similar to an Indian fertility goddess. This explanation certainly clears up the mystery of the Indians' conversion beyond any reasonable doubt.

On the positive side, Hackel's lively book is filled with copious details and engaging statistics. If you have an interest in average annual crude birth rates, crude death rates, fertility rates, and tables outlining the monthly distribution of births and conceptions, you will find this book fascinating. The availability of such detail in statistics, however, leads the reader to wonder why Hackel was not capable of finding any details concerning the Franciscans' theological ideas with respect to the missions. "Doubtless" the Franciscans "must have" been so tired from punishing the Indians that they had no energy left for theological inquiry. "Perhaps" Hackel needs to restrain himself from mixing his personal views on Catholicism with the history of the missions.

Marist College ROSS ENOCHS

Charles Carroll of Carrollton: Faithful Revolutionary. By Scott McDermott. (New York: Scepter Publishers. 2002. Pp. 352. $24.95.)

Faithful and revolutionary. Catholic and American. So the portrait of Charles Carroll emerges from the pages of this most recent biography of the sole Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence. Relying primarily on secondary sources, McDermott presents an engaging introduction to the life of Charles Carroll and his family. After noting "the Signer's" inauspicious origins at the illegitimate son of Charles Carroll of Annapolis, McDermott presents a summary history of the English Reformation. This four-page treatment of an enormous subject, which suggests that Henry VIII's actions in subverting the Church in England owed their philosophical justification to the ideas of William Ockham and John Duns Scotus, should not have been attempted. Additionally, current authorities on the Calvert family will wince at McDermott's suggestion that the founder of Maryland, George Calvert, was forced to resign from the government of King James I after he had "announced his Catholicism publicly." These early stumbles appear to be the result of an over-reliance on some outdated and tendentious secondary sources. Basing his text on the more recent scholarship of Thomas O'Brien Hanley, Ronald Hoffman, and Sally Mason, McDermott's narrative is on firmer ground when he takes up his discussion of the Carroll family.

Following the earlier work of Hanley, McDermott asserts that Charles Carroll's education at the Jesuit exile school of St. Omer's was pivotal in forming his political ideas. St. Omer's exposed the future founding father to the political writings of the Spanish Jesuit, Francisco Suarez. This instruction, and more importantly, his preference for the political philosophy of Montesquieu over that of Locke, led Carroll to maintain that the American experiment would reach its greatest potential as a republic rather than as a strict democracy founded on general suffrage. This discussion of the probable influences on Carroll's political thinking is interesting. However, McDermott's sudden leap at this point from the eighteenth century into the culture wars of the twenty-first century inserts a polemical tone into his account.

Carroll's development as a political leader in Maryland and a Revolutionary War patriot occupies the largest portion and forms the most interesting part of McDermott's book. The Carroll family's status as one of the wealthiest in the American colonies had shielded them from most of the social disabilities associated with anti-Catholicism. Yet only the general furor in the years leading up to the Revolution would enable Charles Carroll to rise above the weight of religious prejudice to take a leading part in moving Maryland to renounce its allegiance to Crown and Parliament. In describing Carroll's role as an emissary of Congress, (along with John Carroll and Benjamin Franklin) to enlist Canadian support for the revolution, McDermott cites a remark of John Adams that Carroll was "a Roman Catholic but an ardent patriot" as if the two were mutually exclusive. Apart from a few lapses, this book provides an interesting account of how Charles Carroll "the Signer" was truly faithful and revolution-

ary, Catholic and American. McDermott's work is a good introduction to the life and times of Charles Carrroll for the general reader.

Archdiocese of Washington RORY T. CONLEY

The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America, 1789–1880. By Candy Gunther Brown. (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 336. $59.95 cloth-bound; $19.95 paperback.)

Candy Gunther Brown, an assistant professor of American Studies at Saint Louis University, in *The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America, 1789–1880*, investigates how book cultures work and specifically how the evangelical print culture of the nineteenth century sought to transform American society. Her book covers the period from the establishment of the first evangelical printing house, the Methodist Book Concern in 1789, to the publication of Lew Wallace's evangelical best-seller, *Ben-Hur*, in 1880. In her interpretation of the evangelical experience, she argues that conversion is the beginning, and not the end, of that experience and that the evangelical impulse that motivated religious groups to enter the commercial marketplace did not become the secularizing experience that recent scholars have suggested.

Evangelicals saw themselves as set apart from Roman Catholics by their reliance upon the Bible as sole religious authority and by their belief in the priesthood of all believers. These views united evangelicals into a Church Universal even though they were separated by denominations and doctrine. More important than their differences was the evangelical conviction that they were a community of pilgrims moving through the world together toward eternal life.

The growth of print culture in the nineteenth century was made possible by the spread of literacy, technological innovations such as the steam press, and improvements in transportation and the postal system. By 1850 there were 400 publishing firms in the United States, and virtually every major firm had a denominational affiliate. Evangelicals entered the world of publishing because they recognized the significance of print culture, and they hoped, by joining it, to sanctify that culture. Brown defines this process in terms of presence and purity: evangelicals were determined to establish a presence in the publishing world, but equally determined to maintain their purity in it. She refers to this effort as "a balancing act," as she describes the efforts of evangelical editors, most lacking editorial or commercial experience, to reach a market of consumers without being contaminated by the marketplace.

Perhaps the most interesting sections of this book are those which deal with two issues still critical to publishing: editorial control and copyright.

Most evangelical editors were ministers who saw their publications as extensions of their pulpits. Many readers, however, regarded themselves as participants in the discourse, empowered by the belief in the priesthood of believers to challenge editorial control. These tensions were largely missing from Roman Catholic publications, which numbered sixty by 1850, because of a tradition of hierarchical control of doctrine. Prior to the 1840's, no journal exercised copyright, and there was no international standard until 1891. Evangelicals believed that religious writing belonged to the whole community of believers rather than to individual authors, and editors freely appropriated texts, altered, condensed, and added to them as they chose, rarely paying a royalty or even recognizing the author. Brown cites the case of the English evangelical Edmund Bunny, who happened upon the writing of the Jesuit, Robert Parsons, in 1585, and finding it "too good to be lost," proceeded to "cut the Popery out," and reissued the work in his own name (p.79). His example set the tone all the way to the end of the nineteenth century when some evangelicals were still arguing against copyright. In the end, evangelicals transformed neither the world nor the print culture, though they left their mark on both. As Brown concludes in her well researched study, the evangelical sense of identity as a band of pilgrims set apart ultimately removed them from the world they hoped to transform.

Austin, Texas PATRICIA S. KRUPPA

Horse-and-Buggy Mennonites: Hoofbeats of Humility in a Postmodern World. By Donald B. Kraybill and James P. Hurd. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 362. $40.00 clothbound; $19.95 paperback.)

The subtitle, "hoofbeats of humility in a postmodern world," encapsulates the book's contents. This study is about the Groffdale Mennonite Conference, 33% of whose population of about 18,000, live in Lancaster county in Pennsylvania. This group, often referred to as Wengers, is now located in nine states. Canadian Old Orders are not included.

Numerous interviews, some with tape recorders, and participant observation, are the basis of data gathering, with astute analysis. Numerous direct quotations from interviews are used; in a few cases there are gentle critiques of their own practices.

The peculiar life style of these horse-and-buggy Mennonites is vividly portrayed: clothing, business and farming methods, family, church rule, entertainment, education, youth and values, to name a few. The authors push us to go beyond visual appearance, beyond any quick and simple judgement. The writers show the Old Order rationale of their culture, and subtly appeal to postmoderns to examine where modernity, technology, and individualism have possibly impaired us.

The wheel, its hub, spokes, and rim show us much of Old Order life (Chapter 3). Wheels relate to: transportation buggies, horse-drawn wagons, tractors, fork lifts, lawn mowers, and most importantly, tractors and cars. Which vehicle(s) might use a rim of steel, solid rubber or be air inflated? Old Orders recognize that one is viewing something much larger than mere steel and rubber. The question addresses comfort, efficiency, more speedy transportation, a potential loss of identity, individualism, and a compromise with the world, of which the Old Orders are to be "separate."

Old Orders do not subject themselves to the flow and breaks of our calendar. The church calendar, such as Christmas, Easter, and Ascension are more valid than state and labor holidays. The four seasons of the year, night and day, morning and evening are central. Work is God-given and pleasurable, enriching life. Parents delight in being with their children throughout the day. Many fathers choose to work at home in close proximity to their family, rather than an eight-hour shift away from home, which would give them more money. Similarly, a one-room school within two miles from home is preferred to a school bus pickup to a distant town where questionable values and behavior are tolerated. Parents make every effort to initiate their young adult offspring in business, preferably a farm, often at tremendous cost. Community and church take precedent over the accumulation of money and conspicuous consumption.

These people are a persevering group. We see significant divisiveness within this community in 1812, 1893, and 1927, as well as potential splits between and after these historic points. We recognize the constant, very careful balance within and between clergy and lay folk, all to hold the principles of tradition, the *Ordnung* (rules of the church), and life in their contemporary world. Clergy are the pivotal center of change. "If (they) grow(s) too strict, young people may not join. . . . If too lax, the flock may stray into danger" (p. 93). ". . . [C]hange involves the delicate work of moving cultural fences without tearing them down" (p. 210). Choices are pondered, at times over a twenty-year period, and rational/reasonable choices are made.

Modern and postmodern folk will not understand Old Orders unless comprehending the meaning of an old Anabaptist concept, *Gelassenheit*. This word ". . . captures the deepest root value of Old Order life. . . . (It) carries multiple meanings of—yieldedness, surrender, submission, humility, calmness. (It) stands in contrast to the individualism of American culture" (p. 27). For Old Orders, *Gelassenheit* means surrendering to God, to the authority of the church, and to one another. One is meek, willing to suffer, rather than defending oneself. Thus the authors frequently refer to a "redemptive" community, because this is the fulcrum of life and meaning.

The adoption of *Gelassenheit* goes beyond the church. It impacts one's life style in terms of association with the world. Most importantly, it effects modernization. It is not a simple question of adopting cell phones, a computer, or

an automatic washer. Such decisions go beyond whether one can afford, or would profit with the possession. Thus the community carefully and cautiously selects the item(s), as well as the timing of change. The clergy readily state that any item may not be sin in itself, but may have a bearing on other community members: a possible shift in an unwanted direction.

Old Orders believe face-to-face relations are crucial to a meaningful wholesome life. Automobiles (television and computers) exponentially expand one's horizons, at the expense of meaningful relationships with one's family and those in one's immediate geographical surroundings. These items uproot God-given presuppositions of good living.

Kraybill and Hurt address modernity as it relates to Old Orders in the last chapter. Modernity focuses upon worldview and values, as well as structures of social organization. The chapter carries provocative subtopics such as "Selective Modernization," "A Different View of Progress," and, finally, "Humility in a Post Modern World." The authors view the five dimensions of modernity for Old Orders as technology, separation, abstraction, choice, and individuation. They raise larger questions for our society, such as the cost of progress.

The reader receives no assistance from the authors in critiquing this Christian community. Has the writers' high regard for this population, and their own Mennonite sympathies, given them license to step over this academic vigor? The book is superbly written, giving an insightful, thorough, detailed portrayal of Old Order Mennonite life. It is the first of its kind, a monumental contribution.

Wilfrid Laurier University (Emeritus) JOHN F. PETERS

A Coat of Many Colors: Religion and Society along the Cape Fear River of North Carolina. By Walter H. Conser, Jr. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. 2006. Pp. xi, 372. $50.00.)

In *A Coat of Many Colors*, Walter H. Conser, Jr., has greatly advanced our knowledge and understanding of religion and its role in the lives of North Carolinians of the Cape Fear region of the state. The Cape Fear area, embracing nine counties in southeastern North Carolina through which flow the Cape Fear River, Northeast Cape Fear River, and their tributaries, played a conspicuous role in the onset of the American Revolution, maritime commerce and railroading in the nineteenth century, the American Civil War, and the world wars and shipping industry in the twentieth century. Anchored by the port of Wilmington in the southeast, the region from the outset displayed a cosmopolitanism and hence a miscellany of religious sentiment unusual, if not unique, to North Carolina.

With a masterly grasp of his subject, Conser offers an inclusive examination of religion in the Cape Fear. He successfully recounts his story on three levels.

First, *A Coat of Many Colors* is a regional history with a focus on Wilmington. According to Conser, over more than two centuries Wilmington was "something" of a microcosm of the religious growth and diversity evidenced throughout the Cape Fear. Second, the author places the religious experience of the Cape Fear against the larger backdrop of the American South, which permits the exploration of such themes as the religious establishment in the colonial era, the development of religious toleration, the experience of the evangelicalism of the Second Great Awakening, the appearance of associations devoted to moral reform, the importance of race, and the increasing religious diversity occasioned by immigration. Third, and on a more abstract plane, Conser considers the dichotomous tension between the traditionalist and modernist approaches to religion, characterized as "a turn away from the authority of hierarchy, custom, and institutions . . . toward self-autonomy and individual expression"(p. 4).

Conser casts a wide net, at least chronologically. He opens with a chapter on Native Americans and concludes with the early twenty-first century, but throughout he centers on Wilmington and its environs, where currently religion in many manifestations may be found: various Protestant denominations; Roman Catholicism; Orthodox and Reform Judaism; Islam; Mahayana, Theravada. and Vajrayana Buddhism; the Metropolitan Community Church (a ministry to homosexuals, bisexuals, and transsexuals); the Covenant of Cape Fear Pagans; and more. Variety indeed characterized the Cape Fear religious experience, justifying the title of this volume. Additionally, although properly cast as a monographic study, *A Coat of Many Colors* considers religion within the broad context of Cape Fear society. In the process the author provides the reader with a compendium of information about North Carolina life over several centuries, including subjects as diverse as archaeology, immigration patterns, architecture, sanitation, and World War II. This volume must be appreciated not only as a disquisition on religion but more broadly as a useful reference work for the Cape Fear region.

A Coat of Many Colors is a finely crafted, meticulously researched, and thoroughly documented survey of a subject that has received little attention in North Carolina and the Cape Fear region. Scholars particularly, but lay readers as well, will find this volume to be a valuable addition to their libraries.

University of North Carolina Wilmington ALAN D. WATSON

The Civil War as a Theological Crisis. By Mark A. Noll [The Steven and Janice Brose Lectures in the Civil War Era.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. Pp. xii, 199. $29.95.)

Historians have argued for years about what caused the Civil War: slavery, social differences between North and South, economic differences, or a failure

of politics. Now Mark A. Noll suggests a new entry: irreconcilable differences over what the Bible had to say about slavery. In a fascinating proposition, Noll argues that differing understandings of the Bible helped drive the wedge between Americans who supported slavery and those who did not.

The fundamental question was whether to believe the Old Testament ideas that seem to endorse bondage or to take the larger message of the New Testament, which promotes empathy and compassion. One problem with the Old Testament view, which was favored by slaveholders and their supporters, is that it ignored the fact that slavery in the Old Testament was not necessarily permanent, especially if the slave converted, nor did it extend to a slave's children. Noll points out this flaw particularly well when he examines Europeans' take on the American argument. The obvious problem with the New Testament, the view favored by those opposed at least to the extension of slavery, is that it never refutes slavery directly. And what about the abolitionists? They undermined their own cause early on, Noll says, by rejecting any part of the Bible that did not agree with their point of view.

Because of the particular way Americans absorbed the Enlightenment, they could not agree to disagree over varying interpretations of the Bible. The Enlightenment had made Americans certain they could divine the truth, and anyone who disagreed with their view was flat-out wrong. Then, as now, this made biblical interpretation a fraught, contentious, and ultimately deeply divisive issue that helped drive the nation to war.

This is a very promising argument, but Noll's project has shortcomings. The most gnawing is that he focuses almost exclusively on a small cadre of intellectuals and theologians, yet makes broad claims for American society based on this narrow sample. There is little evidence of how deeply these theological arguments penetrated into the consciousness of regular Americans. Noll offers a glimpse here and there, but not enough to support the extent of his assertions. Noll is willing to look to more popular sources such as the London *Times* in his excellent chapters on the European view of the American debate. This raises the obvious question of why he did not use that kind of material, along with letters and diaries, for his discussion of the domestic dispute.

My second criticism has to do with the title and its relation to the contents. This book is really about the *antebellum era*, not the Civil War, as a theological crisis. Noll says little about the war itself. At best, it is mentioned glancingly in a single chapter (the Europeans get two chapters). Did the war itself present so little in the way of theological crisis? How did preachers explain the hundreds of thousands of dead and wounded men? The suffering of their families and of refugees forced out of their homes by war? How did the men who had rationalized slavery through the Bible explain emancipation, either during or after the war? How could they square that with their antebellum views? In the introduction, Noll posits that the breakdown of antebellum arguments helped secularize the nation after the war, but again, this tantalizing statement

receives only brief treatment in the body of the book. This leaves one to wonder whether it was disillusionment with the arguments, disillusionment with God, or a new interest in science that prompted some Americans to turn their backs on religion.

The Civil War as a Theological Crisis is an intelligent, nuanced look at theologians in the antebellum period. The book offers a convincing argument about the breakdown in their discourse, but fails to follow through on its promises of broader reception, a wartime view, or the postbellum fallout.

University of Kansas JENNIFER L. WEBER

American Sanctuary, Understanding Sacred Spaces. Edited by Louis P. Nelson. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 280. $65.00 hardbound; $24.95 paperback.)

This fascinating collection of essays seeks bravely to "redefine the study of American sacred space." Its articles consciously foreground the "multifarious," tracking the most varied of sacral allusions in this country's contemporary environment. Collectively they illustrate how sacred space, while perhaps undergoing an atomization due to our nation's increasingly diverse character, has far from lost its relevance to the average citizen. The case studies are broadening and often riveting.

As the volume argues, American sacred practices have expanded well beyond traditional "places of worship" and "institutionally sanctioned ritual." Thus our analytical techniques must cast a "wide net" as well. The editor shapes this volume around the "everyday beliefs and practices of the laity," seeking to expand beyond typical definitions of the sacred such as Eliade's ontological marking of a center or the Platonic Tradition's conflation of beauty with the holy. The volume explores numerous examples that under those definitions might be considered too lightly inscribed, too sociopolitical, too unstable, or too contested to qualify traditionally as sacred space.

Most intriguing about this volume is its focus on sacred *space*, in contrast to a more typical focus on sacred *buildings*. Several of the volume's most fascinating essays explore how various religious markers have been used to delimit and identify sacred precincts with little or no dependence upon, or reference to, the design of an all-encompassing, physically built surround. The Hebrew traditions of the *eruv* (amalgamating many dwellings into a single communal "domain" for ritual purposes) and the *mezuzah* (an exterior doorpost scroll indicating Jewish observance within the home) show communities or families subtly tracing sacred lines or gateways within otherwise undifferentiated, secular space. Contemporary expressions are contrasted with historical cases, showing how modern life can simultaneously empower and erode such non-brick-and-mortar devices. Other articles explore evocations of the

sacred in wide-open spaces such as in New York's Central Park, traditionally African-American yard show displays, and cemeteries. An essay on our National Mall in Washington explores how memorials interweave the sacred with messages of politics and power and thus socially energize vast surrounding spaces in unstable but nonetheless potent ways.

The breadth of faiths studied is another strength. Many traditional religions—Anglican, Catholic, Congregationalist, Jewish, and so forth—are examined anew in the evolving and challenging context of the American melting pot. For Catholic sacred space, the financial realities and awkward fate of disused urban churches in "Rust Belt" locations are trenchantly contrasted with the new trend toward huge downtown showcase cathedrals in rapidly growing Hispanic communities like Los Angeles. Longstanding faiths that are new to America also receive attention: an essay examines, for example, how rapidly growing faiths here like the Hindu tradition conduct their public debut. In addition, altogether new and dynamic American sacred trends, such as the Evangelical mega-church-cum-community-center, are opened for scholarly analysis. The volume balances its contemporary coverage with several essays on very specific and poignant details of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century American meetinghouses and parish churches.

One overall concern with the volume is coverage of the period 1865 to 1945, when the vast majority of sacred spaces in America were built. On this period the collection is largely silent—offering just the brief, retrospective "Rust Belt" example. Those years were redolent with formalized liturgical hierarchy, gradual development of architectural form, and the expression of relatively continuous, though evolving, traditions. This is no less American than our contemporary shift toward atomization. One would have wished for more on this absent period to generate an effective contrast with the volume's incisive studies of recent times. By so fervently seeking an alternative methodology for today, a prior century-long trend drops from view. Another concern is whether this volume's everyday-oriented and quite personal approach, invigorating as it is, ultimately has the same potential to help us compare, analyze, and classify varied examples of sacred space as do other definitions such as Eliade's. The collection's final essay suggests such a methodology by parsing the fine distinctions of creed, ritual practice, and code. In actual application, though, the results seem quite conventional.

Nonetheless, again and again the volume delivers on its promise to shake the cobwebs from sacred space studies, examine seriously the field's periphery, and see it afresh from the eyes of a contemporary citizen navigating this plethora of ways to find "sanctuary" in the United States today. Overall, this wide net offers many rewards.

The Catholic University of America RANDALL OTT

Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century. By Ryan K. Smith. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 224. $55.00 clothbound; $19.95 paperback.)

Seen on millions of necklaces and along roadsides throughout the land, the Latin cross is the pre-eminent symbol of Christianity in the United States. For many Americans, a cross surmounting a structure with pointed-arch (Gothic) windows filled with stained glass constitutes the iconic image of a church. The ubiquity of these symbols today makes it difficult to recall that in the early nineteenth century most Protestant denominations regarded the display of crosses and the presence of items such as candlesticks and flowers on communion tables as Roman Catholic affectations. In *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century*, Ryan K. Smith traces the often acrimonious process by which Protestants adopted features of Catholic church design and worship settings as their own. Counter-intuitively, the context for these appropriations was not ecumenical but an era of virulent anti-Catholicism.

Dr. Smith is assistant professor of history at Virginia Commonwealth University. This concise, well-written book is based on his doctoral dissertation at the University of Delaware (2002). Smith argues that American Protestants adopted Catholic iconography in response to a complex set of circumstances including the rapid and highly visible expansion of Roman Catholicism in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, appreciation of the roles emotion and the senses can play in directing the attention of congregants towards God, and broad aspirations among Americans for cultural refinement and material comfort. Chapters dedicated to "The Cross," "The Gothic," and "The Flowers," provide case studies of Protestant appropriations of Catholic imagery: use of the Latin cross, construction of Gothic Revival churches, and the embellishment of worship services with flowers, candles, and robed choirs.

Assimilation of such features was widespread by the end of the nineteenth century, but the pace and degree of change was not uniform. Smith effectively guides the reader from broad patterns to specific examples drawn from close readings of contemporary journals that reveal how denominations and individual congregations grappled with (or ignored) the inherent contradictions between their anti-Catholicism and appropriation of Catholic imagery.

The embrace of Gothic architecture was a particularly complex matter. Although Gothic cathedrals and parish churches continued to serve Catholics (and Protestants) throughout Europe, new churches in the early nineteenth century typically were classical structures based on the conventions of Renaissance architecture. The return to Gothic in the middle decades of the century was as much a revival for Catholics as it was for Protestants. While Catholics did not have to search their souls on the matter of the doctrinal appropriateness of ornate churches, they did have to con-

sider the cultural associations of a Gothic (or Romanesque) design and its effectiveness in stirring the hearts of the faithful and the curious. Protestants and Catholics drew on common sources, such as the writings of the architect A. W. N. Pugin (1812-1852), shared architects, and watched each other closely for any evidence of competitive advantage. The appropriation of Gothic imagery was a two-way street.

Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses is a valuable addition to the literature on American church design. Smith brings together strands of research on the histories of the Roman Catholic Church, Protestantism, and architecture that too often have been viewed in isolation and convincingly demonstrates how they interlock as threads of a shared story.

University of Texas at Austin RICHARD CLEARY

Race, Religion, Region: Landscapes of Encounter in the American West. Edited by Fay Botham and Sara M. Patterson. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2006. Pp. x, 190. $40.00.)

These eight essays seek further to enrich historical analysis of the American West with what the editors term the "three R's" of race, religion, and region. The first three chapters explore religion and community formation in early twentieth-century Los Angeles. William Deverell and Mark Wild examine Social Gospel minister G. Bromley Oxnam's Church of All Nations in Los Angeles, which served a diverse working-class population but also came under fire from conservative defenders of Americanism in the 1920's. Michael E. Engh's essay focuses on a liberal Catholic Americanizer, Mary Julia Workman, who established the Brownson Settlement House in Los Angeles in 1901. With a clientele composed primarily of Japanese and Mexican laborers, Workman also faced a growing chorus of 100 Percent Americanism after World War I. Daniel Cady, in a study of Robert Shuler and the Ku Klux Klan, argues that historians have not been as cognizant of the cultural impact of white transplants from the South, particularly upon Midwesterners living in southern California. This helps explain the success of Shuler's Trinity Methodist Church, South, and the Klan as examples of a "general appropriation of southern social strategies by non-southern whites" (p. 42). Together, these three essays demonstrate the prodigious challenges that faced those seeking to resolve racial and religious tensions by advocating tolerance of diversity.

Chapters four through six explore "how physical bodies shaped religious and racial encounters in the West" (p. 12) and includes the strongest piece in the collection, Laurie Maffly-Kipp's essay on how late nineteenth-century Americans viewed Chinese religions. While impressed with the trappings, Americans were dismissive of Chinese idols, rituals, and temples as being genuinely religious, an attitude that echoed Protestant perceptions of Catholicism. Another good point in Maffly-Kipp's piece has to do with American

Protestants' dismay at the Chinese work ethic, which was frightening because of its seemingly "inscrutable" motivation. Pablo Mitchell shows that African Americans and Penitentes in New Mexico, while numerically small, were assailed in the popular press for "performing strange and abnormal acts with their bodies" (p. 91). Sharing an interest in demeaning and persecuting these "Others" may have aided in creating a measure of unity based on social and racial superiority among Anglos and Hispanics. Tisa Wenger concludes this section with her examination of early twentieth-century modernists, like John Collier, whose interest on behalf of Pueblo Indians in particular and the reform of federal Indian policy in general was motivated by primitivism. Paradoxically, the modernists' desire to aid the Pueblos by freezing them in time limited their ability to see native peoples as themselves changing and modern.

The final two essays concentrate on contemporary communities. Armand L. Mauss summarizes Mormon ideas about the positions of Native Americans and African Americans as they pertained to lineage. He attends primarily to how the troublesome policy (rescinded in 1978) of denying blacks eligibility for the Mormon priesthood was gradually undermined as preoccupation with "lineage rankings" collapsed during the twentieth century. Mary Jane O'Donnell considers the Islamic Center of Southern California, established in 1953, and how both its leadership and members have struggled to fashion a Muslim identity that allows congregants to "participate in American society while holding firm to their Islamic ideals" (p. 126).

The infusion of religion into the discussion of race in the West is a timely and welcome development. Although the work in this volume is almost exclusively concerned with Southern California and New Mexico, it is nonetheless a useful beginning to deepening the scholarly discussion, in both historical and contemporary terms, of cultural encounters in the American West.

South Dakota School of Mines and Technology FRANK VAN NUYS

Danger on the Doorstep: Anti-Catholicism and American Print Culture in the Progressive Era. By Justin Nordstrom. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. x, 296. $30.00 paperback.)

Focusing on a largely neglected era, the decade of the 1910's, Justin Nordstrom's analysis of anti-Catholicism renders it predominantly ideological in the sense that it was more about the incompatibility of Catholicism and Americanism than about ethnicity or religion.

Primary among its themes were nationalist and patriotic ones that portrayed Catholics as threatening, if not dangerous, to the republic. Secretive, possibly disloyal, manipulative, and corrupt, Catholics constituted a potential fifth column. Catholic philanthropy and social services were attacked as screens for greed or ways to harm the vulnerable; Catholic schools, convents, orphanages,

and other institutions, merely fronts for power and influence, if not dens of depravity. These themes, present in other eras of our past, were now put to more specifically ideological and nationalistic purposes.

In Nordstrom's view nativists were not merely narrow-minded ignoramuses; they were people caught in a web of social and economic changes they found threatening. The preservation of white, small-town America in the face of rapid urbanization and political fragility seemed to be the only way to retain their way of life.

He closely analyzes the language, images, techniques, and messages of anti-Catholic publications to demonstrate their appeal. Based in rural areas of the nation with small Catholic populations (chiefly the South and border states), *The Yellow Jacket*, *Watson's Magazine*, *The Menace*, and others relied on small-town patriotic and nationalistic attitudes. Muscular, male protective instincts were stimulated by typically progressive publicity and print culture techniques.

Once apprised of the truth of Catholic duplicity and depravity small-town patriotic manhood would be aroused to join together against supposed priest- and pope-ridden power, money, and perversion. The most innocent and helpless of all, women and children, required the protection of an awakened manhood aware of its precious political heritage and willing to fight to defend it.

Departing from the pattern of earlier episodes of anti-Catholicism, Catholics fought back. Catholic anti-nativists asserted their patriotism and American nationalism, exposed the lurid lies of the nativist press, called fellow Catholics and non-Catholics to fight their slanderous attacks, and they vindicated Catholic womanhood. The Knights of Columbus Commission on Religious Prejudices funded an extensive and costly campaign of counter-nativist propaganda and published extensive reports. It worked to prevent nativist publications from being sent through the U.S. mail on obscenity grounds and funded lawsuits against nativist publishers. This hurt the nativist bottom line, but World War I and Catholic war service did even more to silence the nativist press. Nordstrom makes clear that Catholics responded to an essentially ideological challenge in characteristically ideological ways as well as with print culture techniques similar to those of their adversaries. Catholic manhood and Catholic patriotism demanded print culture defenses.

While retaining a sharp analytical focus on the 1910's, Nordstrom connects the anti-Catholicism of that decade with earlier outbreaks (antebellum era, 1890's) and later ones (1920's, 1950's). He firmly establishes the surprising extent and popularity of nativism of the decade. He strongly connects it to many disparate strands of scholarship and convincingly explains its "hiatus" after World War I. Finally, Nordstrom acutely analyzes the Catholic counter-attack. An impressive monograph, its solidity is marred only by some relatively

minor proofreading errors (fig.5, p. 217 misidentifies Lincoln as Jefferson in a cartoon, Cardinal Gibbons is identified as being from New York rather than Baltimore, he uses "proscribed" when he means "prescribed" and uses "tact" when he means "tack").

Loras College DAVID L. SALVATERRA

Pioneer Spirit: Catherine Spalding, Sister of Charity of Nazareth. By Mary Ellen Doyle, SCN. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. 2006. Pp. xvi, 286. $45.00.)

Catherine Spalding (1793-1858) entered the newly formed religious community of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth on January 21, 1813 at the age of nineteen. Within six months she was formally elected Mother and superior of the six-member community, and served in that position (the first time) for ten years. She is considered, along with Bardstown Bishop John Baptist David (1761-1841), a cofounder of the Kentucky-based community.

Mary Ellen Doyle's biography of Spalding is a fine contribution to the growing literature on the history of women religious communities and their foundresses. Utilizing annals, letters, and other primary archival sources, Doyle clearly documents the role Mother Catherine played in the growth of both the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth and Kentucky Catholicism. During her four terms as Mother Superior, institutions consistent with the community's apostolate were opened, beginning with Nazareth Academy in 1813. In addition, membership increased (and sometimes decreased), and in 1842 sisters were sent to establish institutions in the Diocese of Nashville.

Even when not serving in a position of leadership, Spalding contributed to the growth of her community in a variety of ways. Sent to assist in the establishment of Louisville's Presentation Academy in 1831, Mother Catherine found herself helping sisters assume the role of nurses during the cholera epidemic that swept the city in 1832. The number of deaths resulting from that disease would help lead to the formation of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, an institution that remained near to Spalding's heart until her death at age sixty-five.

Pioneer Spirit, however, is more than a biography of the cofounder of an American religious community. By situating Spalding's life within the context of the history of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, readers are better able to appreciate what it meant to found and administer a religious community on the American frontier. Including stories that have not been told often (at least publicly) allows Doyle to paint a reasonably complete portrait of Mother Catherine. Her accounts of the relationship between Father Charles Coomes and Sister Perpetua (Frances) Alvey (the two were married by a Methodist minister in 1827); the disagreement that led to an eventual split within the community; and the tension between Spalding and her distant cousin Martin John

Spalding make for good reading and do much to enhance our understanding of Catherine Spalding.

Doyle is mindful of the fact that one cannot write about either Spalding or her community without acknowledging the institution of slavery as it existed in the antebellum South; and she is willing to tackle the relationship between Catherine Spalding and the slaves owned by the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth in an honest and forthright manner. As an 1840 entry in Spalding's journal reported, the community had bought '"five negro men; two women; two girls, and two boys. . . . [T]he council decided it was better to buy servants for the farm, etc., than pay so much for hire and then often get bad ones (pp. 119-120).'" After narrating and analyzing the place of slavery in both Spalding's life and the history of the SCN's, Doyle concludes that despite Mother Catherine's ". . . atypical and genuine kindness and concern (p. 122)" for slaves owned by the community, she ". . . simply did not see the radical injustice of slavery" (p. 125). Spalding was indeed a product of her times, good and bad, and is recognized as such in Doyle's biography.

Historians of women religious will find *Pioneer Spirit* especially valuable for the light it sheds on the founding of an American frontier community. It is also recommended, however, for scholars and general readers interested in the history and growth of American Catholicism.

La Salle University MARGARET M. MCGUINNESS

Good Hearts: Catholic Sisters in Chicago's Past. By Suellen Hoy. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 243. $50.00 clothbound; $22.00 paperback.)

Some ten years ago, I stood for hours in a line that weaved around four city blocks, waiting to pass by the coffin of Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, the beloved leader of Chicago's Catholic community. Thousands gathered to honor Bernardin, but as I read Suellen Hoy's *Good Hearts*, I realized that my most vivid memory of the evening was how, while waiting in line, we visitors shared joyous stories of attending Chicago's parochial schools. The nuns who ran those schools had shaped us and shaped our faith more profoundly than any cardinal could. Yet their lives were rarely remembered with the same pomp and celebration.

Hoy reminds us that for too long the history of religious women has been ignored or dismissed despite their central role in building the American Catholic Church and many of this nation's charitable institutions. In *Good Hearts*, a collection of mostly previously published essays, Hoy reveals the dynamic lives that nuns led. Tracing their story from the 1846 arrival of the Irish Sisters of Mercy through demonstrations in the 1960's, Hoy offers

glimpses of thousands of activist nuns who changed the face of Chicago. They exercised far greater autonomy and authority than their Protestant counterparts, although the Church's ecclesiastical structure and their own spiritual training downplayed public recognition of their achievements and left them relegated as minor players in the city's history as well. Initially they attended to the needs of the poor immigrants through parochial schools, hospitals, orphanages, and homes for "fallen women." As neighborhoods changed, religious women embraced the new arrivals, whether black or white, Catholic or Protestant.

Hoy also emphasizes the importance of class in defining the nuns' lives and the goals they set for their students. Many orders maintained a hierarchy of choir and lay sisters in the twentieth century, although an increasingly larger percentage of the sisters were drawn from the ranks of working-class immigrants or their children. In the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth, many nuns accepted as permanent the socioeconomic system that made charity necessary, and thus "channeled their efforts toward alleviating the symptoms of poverty through personal works of mercy and charitable institutions" (p. 5). Nonetheless, they saw education as the key to social mobility, and by the 1940's, began to adopt direct action methods to address racial injustice and economic inequality.

In the only new essay, "Marching for Racial Justice in Chicago in the 1960s," Hoy effectively argues that the radicalism demonstrated by some sisters in the 1960's—such as participation in Civil Rights protests-was not a revolution prompted by Vatican Council II and the publication of *The Nun in the World*, although both were influential. Rather, Hoy contends that these protests were the culmination of decades of interaction with African Americans through schools, settlement houses, and various forms of social work. Moreover, she adds that subsequent challenges to the church hierarchy in the 1960's "grew out of an honest desire by a large number of contemporary sisters 'to serve God best' rather than serve a system that often felt oppressive (p. 129)."

Hoy brings these disparate essays together with a brief nine-page introduction, but a longer, more integrative piece might work better. *Good Hearts* does not purport to offer a complete history of religious women in Chicago, although Hoy and this reviewer agree that such an important story needs to be told. Nonetheless, Hoy has made an impressive start with this collection, drawing attention to women who were powerful agents of social change and providing a book that scholars of religious history, urban history, and women's history must read.

University of Houston KATHLEEN A. BROSNAN

Parish Priest: Father Michael McGivney and American Catholicism. By Douglas Brinkley and Julie M. Fenster. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, William Morrow. 2006. Pp. xvi, 237. $24.95 paperback.)

McGivney was one of the first names I ever heard. John J. McGivney, who was the younger brother of the famed founder of the Knights of Columbus, happened to be my pastor in St. Charles Parish, Bridgeport, Connecticut. Our family treasured a snapshot of Monsignor John surrounded by a small circle of costumed girls who had been chosen to present him bouquets at an anniversary celebration. The family legend was that the fatherly priest had apparently noticed my beautiful sister—one of the flower-bearers—and had spontaneously lifted her upon his shoulders. When I began to study the Church in Connecticut, I often thought back to that heartwarming episode. Now, however, it is his elder brother who has captured my attention, as well as that of other historians.

Parish Priest: Father Michael McGivney and American Catholicism is about John's sibling, who died over forty years prior to this celebration. Michael, who served the Diocese of Hartford in New Haven, Thomaston, and Terryville for only thirteen years *in toto*, might have been quickly forgotten like so many other great nineteenth-century pioneer priests. But Michael's stellar achievement—the establishment of the Knights of Columbus—ensured his lasting fame and made his organizational feat the central focus of much study and acclaim.

One might have thought that Douglas Brinkley and Julie M. Fenster, authors of *Parish Priest*, would have dwelt upon Michael McGivney's ingenious creation of the Knights in their brief, extremely well written biography. Instead, they have chosen to concentrate upon Father McGivney's unassuming Irish-American style of priestly service as their focus. In the process, they have brought to our attention important characteristics that made McGivney not only memorable but eminently worthy of our respect. Here was a man, they tell us, whose main desire was not so much to build a self-help organization that later assisted millions of Catholics as it was to provide solid, spiritual support to the struggling immigrants of his New Haven parish. If attention today has often centered on the negative publicity surrounding a few errant clergy, the authors have decided instead to emphasize only one reality: that Michael McGivney was a priest who clearly understood that his vocation was simply that of being shepherd.

To accomplish their aim, the co-authors clearly spent much time combing the archival materials that have been carefully gathered and preserved at the international headquarters of the Knights in New Haven. From newsy tidbits that they found in local papers to items published in the state's *Connecticut Catholic*, they have reconstructed a refreshing view that gives us a glimpse of a humble, parish priest. Through their meticulous work, we are introduced to a priest who labored quietly in the shadows of Yale's tower of learning and

amidst a bustling business enterprise wholly led by a Yankee elite. As the curate at St. Mary's, he used his unremarkable position to strengthen his people spiritually and socially so that they could sense their true belonging within this unfriendly Protestant environment.

From these sources in particular, we are able to see Father McGivney in a new, more pastoral, light. They show how the young priest motivated his immigrant congregants, quietly encouraging them to expect that they, too, could fulfill the American dream. He especially guided the youth to find their place by directing dramatic productions, organizing team sports—especially baseball—and becoming involved in parish festivals, picnics, and dances. He clearly wanted Catholics of all ages to realize that they also belonged to the multicultural, entrepreneurial society that was rapidly developing around them.

Throughout their brief study, Brinkley and Fenster take pains to demonstrate how Father McGivney's commitment to each member of his parish was particularly notable. Using oral histories and court testimonies, for example, they illustrate the ways in which he demonstrated his interest in those in need. In fact, they begin their study by introducing us to an adolescent boy over whom Father McGivney assumed legal guardianship rather than allow the fatherless lad to become a ward of the state. They tell us, moreover, of the constant visits he made to the city prison so that he could counsel one young Irish laborer convicted of murder and facing execution. They narrate how Father McGivney personally provided religious instruction to a young woman who sought entrance to the Church despite her parents' disapproval.

Parish Priest concentrates on all of these seemingly small aspects of Father McGivney's pastoral aims in order to show us a priest whose simple desire to provide for his people proved his dedication to God and to the Church. They emphasize that, in this man, one found a friend, a counselor, a spiritual leader, a promoter of Catholic values, and a man of God. Through their monograph, we come to understand why today's heirs of the Knights of Columbus he began so long ago want to promote the canonization of Michael McGivney. For its fine perspective, as well as its insights into the life and spirit of one pioneer priest, this monograph is a fine addition to American studies.

Holy Apostle College and Seminary
Cromwell, Connecticut
DOLORES LIPTAK, RSM

Steadfast in the Faith. The Life of Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle. By Morris J. MacGregor. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 426. $39.95 clothbound; $19.95 paperback.)

David Brinkley in his 1989 book, *Washington Goes to War*, describes the World War II metamorphosis of the capital city from "a small Southern town that happened to host our nationally elected officials," to "the hub of interna-

tional affairs and government." Morris MacGregor provides a similar service ecclesiastically as he chronicles the life of Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle. The cardinal's nearly quarter-century (1949-1973) as first resident archbishop of Washington witnessed not only the growth of the Catholic presence in the area, but also the emergence of a Catholic Washington identity both at home and abroad. Although the book covers O'Boyle's entire life, his earlier years seem to be primarily a preparation for his time in the nation's capital.

In a very readable biography, MacGregor traces O'Boyle's roots in early twentieth-century working-class Scranton, and his first parish experience in St. Columba's, an "*On the Waterfront*" parish in New York City's Chelsea District. Both experiences had a strong impact on the future cardinal, and would help prepare him for a twenty-two-year career in the large and complex network of New York Catholic Charities. O'Boyle's organizational skills and success in bringing modern social service principles and practices, which he studied at the New York School of Social Work, to archdiocesan agencies such as the Catholic Guardian Society and the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, helped propel him onto the national scene as well. During the 1930's and 1940's he rendered service to the National Conference of Catholic Charities, the National Catholic School of Social Service, and War Relief Services (WRS).

O'Boyle's presence on the Washington scene at WRS and his ability in dealing with governmental and non-governmental agencies during the war and postwar periods caught the attention of the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani. Add in O'Boyle's organizational skills, and he was a logical choice to help organize a newly-activated archdiocese in the national capital in 1949. For many people, the memory of O'Boyle's Washington years is that of an archconservative, beleaguered prelate dealing with difficulty with issues of post conciliar theological dissent and academic freedom at The Catholic University of America, and with the 1968 controversy sparked by the papal encyclical, *Humanae Vitae*. While treating those controversies thoroughly and fairly, MacGregor does not let them overshadow the accomplishments of the O'Boyle years, including his sterling record on labor relations, and his work on behalf of the Declaration on Religious Liberty at the Second Vatican Council. In particular, his ground-breaking, determined, yet measured, efforts on behalf of racial integration in Washington and southern Maryland cast O'Boyle as a visionary religious leader, and balance what some may regard as his heavy-handedness in later controversies.

The author's task was not necessarily an easy one. Unlike other prelates with an interest in history and, perhaps, even an eye toward their own place in it, O'Boyle seemed almost cavalier about leaving a record of his time and work. MacGregor seems almost apologetic that, "to a great extent this biography depends on interviews" (p. 406). But the forty-eight interviews with a wide range of O'Boyle's family, friends, co-workers, and opponents are actually a strength of the book. The interviews provide a nuanced and human picture of

the cardinal that would be the envy of many biographers. For example, his cousins' reminiscences about O'Boyle's palpable anguish over the priests departing the ministry during the birth control controversy (p. 365) are an insight not normally gleaned from chancery office correspondence and add greatly to the appeal of this book.

As with any work, there are minor errors, especially toward the end of the book, that another editing-run might have picked up. For example, the Greek Melkite Patriarch of Antioch during the Council was Maximos IV Cardinal Saigh, not Maximus Singh (p. 273); Cleveland is not an archdiocese (p. 367); and the Archbishop of Louisville in the 1970's was Thomas J. McDonough, not Donoghue (p. 398). And had the author searched the University of Notre Dame Archives, that treasure trove of Catholic Americana, he might have found some of the war years material missing from the archives of Catholic Relief Services. But, all in all, this is a wonderful biography that provides much depth and insight into American Catholic leadership in the years between the War and the Council. This is MacGregor's third work on aspects of the history of Catholic Washington. Every diocese should be blessed to have such an able chronicler.

Immaculate Conception Seminary RAYMOND J. KUPKE
Seton Hall University

The Church in the Barrio: Mexican American Ethno-Catholicism in Houston. By Roberto R. Treviño. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 308. $59.95 clothbound; $22.50 paperback.)

Roberto R. Treviño's study provides an excellent schematic for understanding the role of the Catholic Church in the Mexican American community in Houston. In my own early studies of Mexicans in Houston and Chicago it became obvious that the Catholic institutions played a central role in the life of barrio dwellers in the United States. At best, however, my own work and those of others in the pioneering era of Chicano history during the 1970's, only scratched the surface of this process. Moreover, before the rise of modern Mexican-American studies, scholars viewed the Church and its functions in the Hispanic Southwest through the classic borderlands perspective which did not focus on immigrant communities.

Recently, scholars have started to look more closely at the Church's importance in twentieth-century Mexican-American communities. Even though most of these studies are anchored in folklore, anthropology, or religious studies, such scholars as David A. Badillo are paving the way for a historical perspective. He has recently published a book on Latinos and Catholics that assumes macro proportions. Few studies have viewed the impact of the Church by using a micro-methodology which yielded a much-needed understanding of United States Mexicans through a community study approach pioneered by the historians of the 1970's.

I am aware of the recent, unpublished works by Deborah Kanter and Gina Marie Pitti that take this approach (studying Chicago and San Jose respectively), but Treviño's is the first to publish his findings within such a genre. The author places Catholicism and Mexicans in Houston within the context of the various historical layers. Although Mexicans have been in the Houston area since the Spanish, Mexican, and Republic periods and after the town became part of the United States, it was not until the modern industrial period when Mexicans responded to labor needs in Texas in the early twentieth century that they appear in Houston in larger numbers. The vast majority being Catholic, they presented a challenge to the city's church officials that could not be ignored. Unfortunately, religious practices of the immigrants often clashed with the modern Catholicism that emerged in the United States in the nineteenth century. Many came from priest-scarce regions where rituals and even theology were maintained at the folk level. Consequently, ecclesiastical leaders dismissed the new arrivals as ignorant of Church teachings. Nonetheless, the Church accommodated Mexicans within an expanding structure of churches. Some like Our Lady of Guadalupe were new, while others became Mexican as previous parishioners abandoned buildings to the newcomers as they became the majority in central Houston congregations.

In spite of the tense relationship that existed between Mexicans and church officials, a solid Catholic structural foundation became established, serving as nexus for future secular, political, social, and cultural underpinnings as Mexican communities evolved in the course of the century. Thus Treviño continues to put the story within the context of community layering. For example, from the 1930's to the 1950's the Mexican church leaders also served as leaders in such political organizations as the League of United Latin American Citizens, serving to promote political Mexican Americanism (during an era when ethnic Mexican leaders in the United States sought constitutional rights as citizens), while at the same time providing a platform for acculturation, especially of the young, into American society.

The Church itself, at the national level, became an advocate for social reform, and by the time of the Chicano Movement of the 1960's, such organizations as PADRES (Mexican American Priests) and activist Hispanic nuns provided parallel support to secular Chicano Movement activism. Often church facilities served to house Chicano movement activities such as the school walkouts of the early 1970's. Even though the book is a micro study of Houston, it can serve as a paradigm that can be applied to this process elsewhere.

Arizona State University F. Arturo Rosales

Latinos and the New Immigrant Church. By David A. Badillo. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xxvi, 275. $60.00 cloth, $22.95 paperback.)

This book arrives on the academic scene in timely fashion. The existing English-language histories of Latino Catholics, often listed with the less fashionable "Hispanic Catholics," are either highly focused on one specific locality or can be contained only in multiple volumes. Examples of the first type are Angélico Chávez' classic *Our Lady of the Conquest* about New Mexico (1948) and Ana María Díaz-Stevens' *Oxcart Catholicism* about Puerto Ricans in New York, which won the Cushwa Prize in 1993. Into the second type fall the three-volume series out of Notre Dame, edited by Jay Dolan. David A. Badillo has written a worthwhile history of Latino Catholics that includes ample reference to these other works but manages to condense it into one volume of 275 pages.

Because it would have been impossible to cover every historical aspect, Badillo has wisely chosen to examine specific events at key moments in United States and Catholic history. Instead of a kind of tourist guide to Latino Catholic history trying to cover everything in a sort of once-over flight, Badillo has written a book that provides open windows to a theme of growing importance. The result is clearly superior to the kind of brief summaries of people and places that would have robbed history of much of its complexities. The reader is led to understand the roots of Latino Catholic identity by an examination of its Iberian and Latin American origins before nineteenth-century invasions by United States' troops raised the Stars and Stripes over the people's heads. Iberian-American Catholicism still reigned in our hearts, however, and Badillo does not shy from explaining the dilemma of a Catholicism based in the United States that was asked to Americanize the conquered in the Latino homelands as it was already Americanizing the immigrants from Europe. It is my experience that there is considerable intellectual resistance to the idea that Latinos and Latinas are principally "conquered peoples" rather than "immigrants seeking the American Dream." Perhaps the resistance can be blamed on a reluctance to judge the United States as guilty of imperialism, but this point is crucial to a non-politicized understanding of church history. Badillo handles this difficult statement about as well as I have seen, being neither too partisan in his judgments nor too shallow in his criticisms.

The book navigates the principal Latino groups in each of several chapters dedicated to Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and newer groups like the Dominicans and Central Americans. In Chapter Four, he examines the historical role of bishops, many of whom adopted strikingly different pastoral approaches to Latino ministry (and some who did nothing at all). Fresh information is provided in chapters on "Suburbanization and Mobility in Catholic Chicago" (6), "Church Leadership in Texas and New York City" (7) and about the impact of globalization on U.S. Catholics (8). These last three chapters may read as much like social science as like history, but given the relatively recent

emergence of Latinos and Latinas as a rising force within U.S. Catholicism, this is a strength rather than a failing for the book.

The most interesting interpretative insight I found was in the seven-page epilogue, entitled "Latino Religious Tradition as Metaphor." It may be that my satisfaction with this short essay is influenced by the frequent and favorable citations that Dr. Badillo has made of my own work. Nonetheless, he convincingly argues that Catholicism has a double mission for many Latinos and Latinas: to preserve the faith and to express their cultural independence. This was the point elaborated in my book with Ana María Díaz-Stevens, *Recognizing the Latino Religious Resurgence in U.S. Religion* (1998), and Badillo has incorporated much of this interpretation in his recounting of select events, albeit with less attention to theology and the sociological theory of social movements.

The citations of primary and secondary sources are impressive; the index is complete and except for a few clumsily worded sentences here and there, the volume is without a significant list of typographical errors or tortured passages. While this book is no substitute for more specific studies or more comprehensive series, it meets all the standards of an accessible paperback for course adoption.

Brooklyn College ANTHONY M. STEVENS-ARROYO

Black Puerto Rican Identity and Religious Experience. By Samiri Herández Hiraldo. [New Directions in Puerto Rican Studies.] (Gainesville: The University Press of Florida. 2006. Pp. xxii, 292. $55.00.)

Through Dr. Hernández Hiraldo's investigation we are able to enter a world that is known mainly for its religious African folklore. A serious anthropological research on the multidimensional religious experience of the Loízans has never been accomplished until this field study was made. What we find here is kind of top secret and very revealing of this community's ups and downs. Through almost an entire year of field word, the author not only shows us that Loizans are spiritists (or witches) and Catholics, but also she takes us into a Protestant world we usually are not conscious of. And I think this is her main contribution. But my main concern is the position in which she places the Catholic Church. As a historian I think the way she handles the Catholic history of the region and of Puerto Rico as a whole is very weak. Even the sources she uses for her historical data on Catholism in the Island are not the best ones. Also I wonder why she gives more pre-eminence to the Protestant material and analysis when she herself acknowledges that the Loizans' mainstream religious inclination is toward Catholism, regardless of whether they are regular practitioners or Catholics by name (*católicos de nombre*).

She places a heavy emphasis on describing the different Protestant churches rituals and pastoral care, putting aside a religious dimension of the

Loizans which is still important in their lives even though the author is not willing to admit it: the African religious heritage and its actual mingling with Spiritism and the newcomer Santería. I don't want to think that because of the author's own Protestant background she is unconsciously inclined toward favoring the subject of the different Protestant churches in Loíza which she shows that she understands better than when she is dealing with the Catholic subject. As an example at hand, she leaves the reader with the impression that what has saved the Catholic Church in Loiza and in the whole Island is the Charismatic movement. She does not mention other facts maybe unknown to her since she writes from her Protestant background. Also I think that another reason for presenting such an approach is that she departs from her experience with the Trinitarian fathers, who were very pastoral and up-to-date in their parish administration. But they constituted a fractional presence in the Puerto Rican Catholic Church, related only to the San Juan Metropolitan area, and not to the five dioceses in Puerto Rico. Taking them as a paradigm for Catholics' pastoral progress in the whole Island is not the best example since most of the Church in Puerto Rico is conservative. Besides, one cannot ignore the fact that in Loiza there survive in some people traits of the African religious heritage which is something some of the people from that region try to hide. It would have been interesting if Dr. Hernández Hiraldo had included more research on this subject. In the Catholic pastoral world of this region, which I personally happen to know, this is a very serious concern that we can't ignore. Even more now that it is been reinforced by the appearance of Santería, a Yoruba religion, and many Loízans are descendants of the Yorubans. The problem is twofold: it affects more the Catholic religion and people don't like to talk about their double life as churchgoers and as practitioners of Santería or of Spiritism. I hope the author will have these concerns in mind for a future revision of her very important work.

Hormigueros, Puerto Rico FLOYD MCCOY

Latin American

Malintzin's Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico. By Camilla Townsend. [Diálogos.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 287. $23.95 paperback.)

Camilla Townsend's new book, *Malintzin's Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico*, is a worthy addition to the University of New Mexico Press's fine series of books, "Diálogos," edited by Lyman Johnson. Given the historiographical impact of women's and gender history, it is not surprising that Malintzin (or Malinche, as she is also known) has garnered increased attention from historians, ethnohistorians, and art historians. However sparse the historical record about Malintzin may be, more is known about her than about any other indigenous woman of conquest-era Mesoamerica. Yet there are two prob-

lems any scholar writing about her will encounter: first, the paucity of sources; second, the fact that her life was atypical. Townsend's approaches to these problems are worthy of consideration.

Her primary solution to the first problem is to place Malintzin's life in the context of her times, explaining the complexities of Malintzin's gender and ethnic identity, her role in the conquest, and describing the lives of her descendants as well. While placing some emphasis on Malintzin's *inner* life by asking how she might have understood and what she might have thought about the many dramatic events that shaped her life, much of the book is an examination of the process of conquest, emphasizing indigenous perspectives and experiences. Showing herself to be an energetic researcher and judicious reader of sources, Townsend takes a fresh look at both the conquest historiography and sources. Describing the indigenous participants as rational actors who understood the Spanish to control a highly effective military technology, she sees that technology, in combination with the spread of smallpox beginning in 1521, as having led to the defeat of the Mexica.

Townsend organizes her narration of these events around the life and role of Malintzin. The decentering of Cortés is more than mere rhetorical strategy, because Townsend ably demonstrates Malintzin's important role as translator, strategist, and consort of Cortés. Throughout, Townsend uses the evidence—biographical, cultural, historical—to its fullest and not only describes Malintzin's actions but probes the reasons behind them. On Malintzin's thoughts as the Spanish set off towards Tenochtitlan in 1519, she writes, "It most likely did not seem incomprehensible to her that this group of strangers was determined to cross the land, find Moctezuma, and attempt to conquer him" (p. 54). Often using words such as "probably" and "certainly," the thought processes of major figures in these important events are analyzed. Townsend goes far beyond Frances Karttunen's chapter on Malintzin in her book, *Between Worlds,* in which she also explores the issue of Malintzin's motivation. Karttunen, however, limits her speculation to the question of why Malintzin participated in the conquest as translator for the Spanish. Townsend explores a wider array of issues relating to Malintzin's life and amorous and familial relations.

Yet a contradiction exists in the way Townsend analyzes Malintzin's life, both the life lived among others that can be traced through extant sources, and the interior life that she sensitively, yet speculatively, probes. Noting how Cortés's success at certain points depended on Malintzin, she goes on to state that "it seems equally sure that had she not existed, some other Spaniard on some other expedition would have come across another woman much like Malinche, for she was a typical product of the Mesoamerican world as it was then" (p. 6). While true that her early life was typical, after 1519 her life was not. Given the very small number of other female translators, it is highly unlikely that another woman would have played a similar role. It is this atypi-

cality that accounts for her historical significance. Thus the book's biographical and cultural analyses are not wholly congruent, but this criticism detracts neither from the importance of the questions Townsend poses nor the grace with which she tells the story of an enigmatic women who participated in the momentous events that reshaped her world and the worlds of many others of the continent and across the globe.

University of Houston SUSAN KELLOGG

Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans. By Nicole Von Germeten. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2006. Pp. xiv, 288. $55.00.)

In *Black Blood Brothers*, Nicole Von Germeten offers a substantial and original contribution to our understanding of the colonial Afro-Mexican experience. The book's originality resides in the examination of Catholic confraternities led by New Spain's sizable black population. In mining long-neglected *cofradía* (a term curiously under-utilized in this study) records including founding constitutions, membership lists, account books, and petitions that are complemented by a corpus of wills and a diverse selection of ecclesiastical records, the author brings significant archival substance to a still neglected past. Building on the method that Ben Vision initially pioneered in his study on Afro-Mexican militiamen, Von Germeten brings an institutional approach to her analysis of black life. In both cases, this approach has resulted in rewarding historical studies. After reading *Black Blood Brothers*, even the specialist's knowledge of the Afro-Mexican experience will be broader and deeper.

Organized around the institutional trajectories of African and Afro-Mexican-led confraternities, *Black Blood Brothers* touches on far more than the existence of New Spain's black *cofradías*. "While this study explores other aspects of confraternal culture, such as local pride, baroque piety, and charity," Von Germeten rightly suggests, "the emphasis here is on the social aspects of confraternities and the role they played in the changes Africans and their descendants experienced from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, especially as they moved up the social ladder from slaves to more prosperous colonial subjects" (p. 3). Confraternities, in other words, offer a lens onto the shifting social dynamic informing the experiences of Africans and their descendants. Introduced by two thematic chapters establishing the parameters of confraternity history in New Spain and in particular among Afro-Mexicans, the five case studies of urban resistance and accommodation, social mobility in the provinces, and Spanish patronage and its limits form the book's core. By means of an approach that filters the Afro-Mexican experience through the storied history of confraternities the reader comes to share Von Germeten's perspective on the relationship between the institutional and the social.

Novelty aside, this study offers tough going for the reader. Much of the difficulty rests with the book's organization, argument, and in particular the presentation of the evidence. Von Germeten introduces the confraternity as a vehicle intent on facilitating a proper burial and a "good death." In turn, the reader is informed of a particular form of religious practice identified as "Afromexican baroque piety," which the author suggests is "best seen in public displays such as alms-collecting, flagellant processions, lavish processions, and fiestas" (p. 11). But the reader searches in vain for a discussion on death in the African and black imaginary. When, how, and why did Africans embrace the Christian afterlife? Even the slightest engagement with the Sarah Nalle's study of post-Tridentine Catholicism and João José Reis's funerary practices in colonial Brazil would have been instructive. Instead the study seems curiously detached from a contextualized discussion of Christianity in New Spain, especially in the lives of Afromexicans. Oddly enough, most of the sources on which this study relies have an ecclesiastical provenance. Narrating how the clergy effected the transactions that generated these sources and thereby demonstrated an interest in African and black souls seems fundamental for a history a Christian institution. This lapse mars the book's argument and the overall impact of the prodigious archival research.

In the final analysis, however, Von Germeten has made an important contribution to the study of the Afro-Mexican experience and racial formation in New Spain. Readers might quibble over her interpretive gestures and circumscribed historiographical forays but will surely marvel at the archival treasure that she has mined. For this reason alone this book deserves a wide readership.

Rutgers University HERMAN L. BENNETT

Between Legitimacy and Violence. A History of Colombia, 1875-2002. By Marcos Palacios. Translated by Richard Stoller. (Durham and London: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 300. $79.95 clothbound; $22.95 paperback.)

This is a very well written and informative book. The author addresses the long-term failure of the Colombian national state to modernize, to eliminate persistent internal violence, and to develop institutions and forms of representation that accurately reflect social change and channel it in salutary directions. This is not for lack of trying: Palacios reviews successive efforts, major and manor, running from mid-nineteenth-century Radical Liberals to the Rafael Nuñez' Regeneration, the Conservative Republic, the Liberal Revolución en Marcha, the Hispanophila of Laureano Gómez, the National Front and the 1990 Constituent Assembly. All are punctuated by continuing violence, and weakened by the enduring, if gradually attenuated, power of regionalism.

A primary theme throughout the book is the impact of the country's fragmented geography, the long-term underdevelopment of its agrarian economy, and the resultant severity and extension of poverty. The discussion of geogra-

phy is excellent, but given its importance, one is surprised to find no maps of any kind in the book. A related theme is the persistent weakness of the national state and the inadequacy of public institutions of all kinds, including systems of banking and taxation. The author also examines the long-term presence of the Liberal and Conservative parties, through which competitive and relatively comparable elite groups have sustained their rule by managing patrimonial loyalties and loosely linked regional machines. The counterpart of this elite pattern has been the weakness of trade unions, peasant associations, and much of what passes elsewhere for "civil society." The continuing power and institutional presence of the Catholic Church is a notable element in this equation. Finally, of course, this is a national history punctuated by repeated moments (often lengthy moments) of intense violence. Since 1875, the count includes four civil wars (1876-77, 1885-86, 1895, and 1899-1902), one undeclared civil war (the *Violencia* of the 1940's and 1950's), along with persistent pockets of violence associated with struggles over land, with politics and vendettas, and with trade in a variety of valuable goods (most notably emeralds and drugs). Other trends that have helped make Colombia the way it is today include accelerated development of mass transport (from river fleets to railroads, roads, and airplanes), the growth of literacy and the spread of mass communications, and the notable pattern of multi-polar urban development with four major cities (Bogotá, Cali, Medellin, and Barranquilla), each with a distinct identity.

The first three chapters detail the decline of radical liberal rule, the impact of late nineteenth-century civil wars, the rise of Nuñez and the Regeneration, and main lines of political history through to the great depression and the Liberal victory of 1930. During this period, the human and economic geography of the country begin to change as the extended peace (or at least the absence of open war) facilitated development of the coffee economy in the West, the economic surge of the Valle del Cauca, and the decline of once dominant regions like Santander and Boyaca. The author examines the character of Liberal rule (1930-1946), the crises that undermined it, and the rise, among Conservatives, of Laureano Gomez as kingmaker of party and country. This lays the groundwork for chapters 4 and 5 on the Violence and its impact and the subsequent search for an "elusive legitimacy" in the reconstruction of the state undertaken during the National Front period following agreements that settled, or at the very least greatly attenuated inter-party violence. The analysis of the Violence is thorough and compelling. Although the author concentrates more on elite interaction than on the savagery of local conflicts, he details important links between local and regional violence and national party leadership. In some areas violence became a way of life, a business (with kidnaping for ransom) and often a matter of local self-defense. Continuities with the violence later associated with the drug trade are well established.

The last two chapters return to general themes of continuity and possible points of change. Among notable elements of continuity are continued internal migration, limitations to mass education, persistent poverty and inequality,

and the pattern of multiple big cities. Transformative points include growing industrialization, the emergence of an energy sector, and an evolving popular culture, related here mostly in terms of music and responses to violence. Efforts to reform state and government persist as is visible in the 1991 Constitution and the movement that spurred it. The author is skeptical about the impact of these transformations and with apparent reason.

The book closes with a view of Colombia as divided between a "legitimate" state whose existence is limited to the major cities, which is surrounded by zones of conflict. This continues a longstanding pattern of fragmented political authority and sporadically functional national institutions. The difference is that what could once be attributed above all to the impact of physical and human geography that reinforces localism, now responds to alternative forms of insertion in to the world economy. The author provides an illuminating bibliographical essay at the end.

University of Michigan DANIEL H. LEVINE

Australian

God's Willing Workers: Women and Religion in Australia. By Anne O'Brien. (Sydney: UNSW Press. 2005. Pp. 314. Aus. $49.95.)

To extend the frontiers of history we need up-to-date maps of the past, that is, works of synthesis pulling together recent research and giving it coherent shape. This Anne O'Brien has done triumphantly in her survey of women and religion in Australia. *God's Willing Workers* is rich, fertile historical writing opening the way to new endeavors in this line of country. More than that, the indefatigable author has done her own exploring in novel sources such as nuns' manuscript memoirs and taped interviews, so that her book is not just old material in a fresh form but new discoveries.

Protestants and Catholics share the pages of this book. It is too early to expect to find Islamic women here since their history has not yet been written; but there is a body of work on Jewish women on the shelves that is ignored here, perhaps for reasons of space. The Christian women who appear here tend to be what sociologists would call "religious professionals": Catholic nuns, Protestant missionaries, deaconesses, and lay leaders in bodies like the Grail and St. Joan's Alliance. Women in the pews, ordinary parishioners, have yet to tell their stories, although a start has been made in the Commission for Australian Catholic Women's *And the Dance Goes on* (2005) and Professor Greg Dening's *Church Alive!* (2006).

Christian women's experiences of church, whatever the denomination, are similar. Powerful males disregard their wishes, try to impose controls on them, and ignore their rights. In spite of this the women survive in their vocations

by perseverance and subtlety. Theirs is a hard road to holiness. Thus in Sydney, Cardinal Norman Gilroy's frosty relations with the women of St. Joan's Alliance can be seen as a parallel to his contemporary Anglican Archbishop Howard Mowll's heavy-handed control of deaconesses, which got heavier in the episcopate of Mowll's successor, Hugh Rowland Gough.

In O'Brien's view, the turning point for modern Catholic women was the anti-contraceptive encyclical of 1968, *Humanae Vitae*. Where Vatican Council II had seemed to promise a more open, freer model of church than the old pay-pray-obey one, the enforcers of *Humanae Vitae* wanted a return to blind obedience. There is some evidence to suggest that Catholic women of this time contracepted at about the same rate as the general Australian community; and that after three or four children they resorted to abortion at the same rate. So began their long estrangement from the Church. O'Brien thinks that this is the reason why no specifically Catholic feminist groups appeared in these years. Instead, Catholic women joined mainstream feminist bodies or found congenials in broad Christian groupings. It was noticeable how many Catholic (or ex-Catholic) women became prominent in the women's movement—training in public speaking and apologetics in Catholic girls' schools had given them the formation to be leaders.

One of the delights of this book is its gallery of portraits of Christian women who might otherwise be unknown. In Bruce Kaye's collection, *Anglicanism in Australia: A History* (2002), Anne O'Brien has an essay on women which carries a snapshot of Narelle Bullard, an Anglican missionary in Africa for nearly four decades; now she expands this to give a fuller picture of Bullard, with her hopes and disappointments and tested faith. She stands alongside admirable Catholic nuns whose lives are here recovered from congregational archives. O'Brien's book will surely encourage other historians to tell the stories of women who barely appear here, such as the wives of clergy and the nuns who founded and ran those big Catholic hospitals, significant elements in the Australian story, but who rarely attract the attention of historians.

Catholic Institute of Sydney EDMUND CAMPION

The Pope's Battalions: Santamaria, Catholicism and the Labor Split. By Ross Fitzgerald with the assistance of Adam Carr and William J Dealy. (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press. Distributed in the U.S.A. and Canada by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2003. Pp. x, 342. $31.95.)

More than half a century ago, the Catholic Church set out to take over Australian political life. The Church set up an underground organization to infiltrate political parties, to control their agenda, and to assume the leadership of their personnel. With church money, church facilities, and church authority, the organization had some noticeable successes. By 1952 it felt able to report

that within a few years, Australian governments, federal and state, would be legislating its policies.

If this sounds shocking today, one should reflect that in a democracy it is legitimate for any interest group to organize politically. Even anti-democrats, such as Communists, have this right. Indeed, it was the threat of Communist power in Australia that had prompted the beginnings of the ecclesiastical organization, to negate such Communist power; only later did other possibilities become apparent. By then, however, the ecclesiastical organization had become a major faction inside the Australian Labor Party, thus attracting the animus of its factional enemies.

By then, too, some Catholics were beginning to have doubts: should the Church play politics? In terms of democratic theory it might be acceptable; but what about Catholic theology? Was this why Christ had founded the Church? By and large, such questions came from lay intellectuals, who suffered some obloquy for their questioning. Ecclesiastics were slow to take a stand, until finally the Vatican stepped in and got the Church out of factional politics—formally, if not always in actual fact.

The man who headed this Catholic excursion into politics was Bartholomew Augustine Santamaria, a quicksilver lawyer and charismatic speaker who became an inspirational leader. Growing up in the pioneering days of the lay apostolate, he was dedicated to realizing the vision of contemporary Catholic social thinking, however this might be achieved. When the Vatican dumped him, he felt aggrieved but he never reneged on his commitment to Catholic social theories nor to his loyalty to the Church. Facing factional defeat within the Labor Party, Santamaria took his cadres into a new political grouping that kept Labor out of office for more than two decades. As a result, many Australian Catholics are now aligned with the political Right.

In outline, this is the story told by Ross Fitzgerald in *The Pope's Battalions*. It is a dense book, thick with facts and figures that will delight specialists in political history. Fitzgerald is right to thank warmly his research assistants, whose work adds greatly to the value of the book. General readers may be disheartened by the excessive detail. They will not see the wood for the trees; and they will regret that the author has not written a livelier book. On this score, Fitzgerald had the bad luck to write before the recent publication of Santamaria's letters. These are a signal proof of Newman's saying that "a man's life lies in his letters"; and their successful publication prompts a desire for a full biography of this significant Australian Catholic.

Catholic Institute of Sydney EDMUND CAMPION

BRIEF NOTICES

Hughes, Jill B. (Ed.). *The Register of Walter Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1296-1321*, Volume II. [The Canterbury and York Society, Vol. XCVII.] (Rochester, New York: Boydell and Brewer Press for the Canterbury and York Society. 2007. Pp. xiv, 367. $47.95, £25.)

Bishops' registers are an important source. They do, however, vary in interest and may contain little more than standardized entries. It might be expected that an intriguing bishop such as Walter Langton might have an interesting register. It is not, after all, many bishops who are accused of doing homage to the devil and of strangling their mistress's husband. Further, Walter was Edward I's most important minister in the king's later years, and he was subjected to a major state trial under Edward II. Yet this volume of his register contains no hint of such matters. It consists of 177 printed pages of names of those ordained by Langton, with details of who presented them. An appendix demonstrates that Langton officiated regularly at ordinations, above all in December, even during the years when he was serving as treasurer. This volume also contains a valuable itinerary, which makes it very clear that after he had fallen out of royal favor he spent most of his time in his admittedly very large diocese, apart from attending parliament on a regular basis. Another appendix gives *in extenso* some of the documents that are calendared in the first volume. It is very good to have this part of the register in print, for the sake of completeness; it is, however, the case that it is the first volume that is likely to be consulted regularly, rather than this one. MICHAEL PRESTWICH (*University of Durham*)

Rodriguez, Janel. *Meet Fulton Sheen: Beloved Preacher and Teacher of the Word.* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Servant Books/St. Anthony Messenger Press. 2006. Pp. x, 158. $9.99 paperback.)

In light of the fact that the cause for the canonization of Fulton Sheen is currently underway, and that he has recently been proclaimed a "Servant of God," perhaps a short introduction to the man and his life fills a niche for those unfamiliar with him. He was generally recognized and eulogized as the greatest preacher and evangelist of the twentieth century in the United States, by journalists and historians alike, at the time of his death in 1979.

Father Andrew Apostoli, C.F.R., vice-postulator of the cause, writes in the foreword that Bishop Sheen was a "common household name" to one genera-

tion of Catholics, but often known by today's younger generation only "by hearsay." The strength of Ms. Rodriguez's book can be found in its "readable and attractive style" which covers the main stages of Sheen's illustrious career—philosopher and professor, prolific writer, preacher of the electronic gospel and convert-maker, anti-communist crusader and missionary, and post-Vatican II Bishop of Rochester (New York)—while also focusing on Sheen's character and personal piety. His devotion to the Virgin Mary was well known, as was his practice of the Holy Hour, which inspired many other priests in their vocations. So, for the novice, this book serves a useful purpose, and should encourage those impressed by Sheen's story to explore further.

But, Rodriguez offers little that is new. As the footnotes and sketchy bibliography indicate, she relied heavily on collections of Sheen's words (of the "best" and "quotations" genre) and three more substantive biographies: Sheen's autobiography *Treasure in Clay; America's Bishop* by Thomas C. Reeves; and my own *Fulton J. Sheen: An American Catholic Response to the Twentieth Century* (a good proofreader/editor would have noticed that she left out the essential *Catholic* in the title). In the final analysis, Sheen's unparalleled life merits a deeper look, commensurate with his own description of a "life worth living" as one of both mystery and adventure. KATHLEEN L. RILEY *(Ohio Dominican University)*

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

The First Vice-President of the American Catholic Historical Association, the Reverend Robert Bireley, S.J., will be chairman of the Committee on Program for the eighty-ninth annual meeting, which will be held in New York on January 2-5, 2009. Proposals for papers or (preferably) complete sessions, including a brief abstract of the paper and pertinent biographical data about the presenters, should be submitted to Father Bireley by January 28 if they are to be considered for co-sponsorship by the American Historical Association or otherwise by March 1 at the following postal address: Department of History, Loyola University, 6525 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626, or at his e-mail address: rbirele@luc.edu. With the exception of participants representing another society in a joint session, only members of the Association are eligible to present papers, and no one who will have presented a paper at the eighty-eighth meeting will be permitted to present one at the eighty-ninth.

The next spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held at Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, on April 3-5, 2008. The chairman of the organizing committee, Cyriac K. Pullapilly, solicits proposals for complete sessions in any area of church history. Participants who present papers must be members of the Association. Proposals, including a brief abstract of each paper and pertinent biographical data about the presenters, should be submitted to Professor Pullapilly by February 1 either by post in care of the Department of History, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556-5001, or by telephone: 574-284-4473, or by fax: 574-284-4866, or by e-mail: pullapil@saintmarys.edu.

Research Centers and Tools

On May 8, 2007 the Vatican announced without previous warning that the Vatican Apostolic Library will be closed to the public for a period of three years, beginning on July 14, 2007 and ending in September 2010, in order to carry out renovations in some parts of the Renaissance building in which it is housed. Among the foreseen projects are a strengthening of the floors and a rationalization of access to books by relocating a number of sectors. While the 20,000 scholars who use the Library annually will have no access during this period to its 1,600,000 printed books, 8,300 incunabula, and 75,000 manuscripts, they will be able to utilize the other services of the Library such as the photographic reproduction of manuscripts. The Vatican Secret Archives will

remain open during the renovations. Scholars who wish to petition the Holy Father to alleviate the impact of the decision to close the Library may contact Professor Giuseppe De Gregorio (gius.degregorio@libero.it), Presidente della Associazione Italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, to have their names added to the petition his organization is sending to Pope Benedict XVI.

Among the seminars to be offered at the Folger Institute in Washington, D.C. during academic year 2007-2008 is one in the spring semester (Thursdays 1:00 to 4:30 P.M.) by John W. O'Malley, S.J., entitled "The Jesuit Enterprise." It will seek to situate the various Jesuit projects in the contexts of the Counter-Reformation as well as in other cultural enterprises. The deadline for application for admission and grant-in-aid is September 4, 2007; for admission only it is January 4, 2008. For further information see www.folger.edu or telephone (202) 675-0333.

St. Norbert College, De Pere, Wisconsin, has announced the establishment of a Center for Norbertine Studies. For almost nine centuries, the Canons Regular of Prémontré have followed the example of St. Norbert of Xanten in serving Church and society as contemplatives in action. Abbot Bernard Pennings and his confreres brought the Norbertine charism to Wisconsin and founded St. Norbert College over a century ago. The Center will strive to explore, in collaboration with Norbertines throughout the world, how their precious heritage, so rich in its cultural expression and influence down through the centuries and in today's diverse global community, can inform and help shape spiritual, intellectual, and cultural life on the campus. The purpose of the Center is to study, reflect upon, and disseminate knowledge and understanding of how the Norbertine motto *docere verbo et exemplo*—to teach by word and example—is embodied and carried into the future in the context of the Catholic liberal arts tradition of the College. The Center for Norbertine Studies is located on the second floor of the Todd Wehr Library, Room 250. For further information, please contact the Center's Director, Dr. William P. Hyland, at william.hyland.snc.edu.

The Huntington Library has made available on line though its Early California Population Project the histories of 110,000 early Californians, using such information in the mission registers as 101,000 baptisms, 28,000 marriages, and 71,000 burials. The database allows scholars to explore such topics as individual life histories, ecclesiastical administrative practices, fertility and mortality rates, and migration and settlement patterns. Searches of the database can be done using categories of personal names and family relationship, ethnicity, cause of death, military status. Access to the online database is at www.huntington.org.

Early English Books Online, a project of the ProQuest Company's Chadwych-Healey database in the humanities and social sciences, has made available 125,000 rare volumes of printed works ranging from 1473 to 1700, including texts on religion. For a demonstration, visit http://eebo.chadwyck.

com and for more information, contact pqsales@il.proquest.com or telephone 800-521-0600, ext. 3344.

Exhibitions

From May 24 to June 10 an exhibition entitled "Dürer in Italy" was held in the former stables (le Scuderie Pontificie) of the Quirinale Palace in Rome. It featured over one hundred of his paintings, drawings, and engravings that demonstrated how his style was transformed by contact with Italian art and how his religious thought was initially very traditional, but even during the time that he supported Luther he retained such Catholic elements as a deference to church authority, its sacraments, its saints, and popular religious practices.

The parish church of S. Maria Maggiore in Vasto (CH), Italy claims to contain one of the thorns from the crown of Christ. Recovered by King St. Louis of France and donated to the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, some of its thorns were given as gifts over the century to various sanctuaries. Ferrante Francesco II d'Avalos, delegate of the Philip II of Spain to the Council of Trent, was given one of the thorns by Pius IV. D'Avalos donated it to the church in Vasto, where it miraculously survived a devastating fire in 1645 to be venerated by the faithful each year on the Friday before Holy Week when the relic is carried in solemn procession through the streets of the city.

Conferences

On March 22 and 24, 2007 the American Cusanus Society sponsored at the meeting of the Renaissance Society of America held in Miami, Florida panels in which three papers of interest to church historians were presented: "'Reject Aeneas, Hold Fast to Pius?' The Rhetoric of Virtue in the Piccolomini Library Frescoes" by Kim E. Butler, "Pius II and Papal Authority in the Frescoes of the Piccolomini Library" by Emily O'Brien, and "Nicholas of Cusa and Meaning in Non-Linear Depictions of Sacred Space in Renaissance Painting" by Charles H. Carman.

On April 26-28, 2007 a conference was held at the University of Florence with the title "Information and Historical Periods: Writings, Sources, and Data Bases." Hélène Millet gave a paper that dealt with the data bases for the *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*.

On May 4-5, 2007 the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Binghamton University sponsored a conference entitled "Accademia Dempsiana" to honor Charles Dempsey on the occasion of his retirement from teaching. Among the papers presented were: "Divine Incarnation and Natural Transmutation in Piero di Cosimo's *Adoration of the Child*" by Giancarlo Fiorenza, "The 'Dispute over the Immaculate Conception' Attributed to Guillaume de Marcillat at the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin" by Alessandra Galizzi

Kroegel, "'From Sickness Unto Death': Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* Reconsidered" by Frances Gage, "Guercino's *Penitent Magdalene* for S. Maria Maddalena delle Convertite: Saints and Sinners on Rome's Via del Corso" by Pamela Jones, "'*Ut Icona Poesis*': Gabriello Chiabrera, Bernardo Castello, and the *Sacro Volto* in Genoa" by Peter Lukehart, "From Poliziano to Catherine of Siena: Orfeo and Inspired Speech in the *Quattrocento*" by Jane Tylus, and "Gregorio Lazzarini's *Judith and Holofernes*: Decapitation, Islam, and the Venetian State" by Karen-edis Barzman.

On May 10, 2007 the American Cusanus Society at the 42nd International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan sponsored two panels at which papers on church history topics were presented: "*Enphypostasia Mystica*: Reflections on the Christology of Nicholas of Cusa" by Philip McCosker, "Empire, Emperor, and Council of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's *Pentalogus*" by Emily O'Brien, and "Pius II and Bohemia: History and the Heretical Nation" by Philip Haberkern.

On May 25-26, 2007 an international conference entitled "Futuro latino: la lingua latina per la costruzione e l'identità dell'Europa" was held in Rome and Vatican City. Sponsored by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche and the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, the conference investigated the role of Latin in the formation of the European community, its significance for scientific and cultural development, and its relevance in the culture of the contemporary world. The European Commissioner for Education, Ján Figel, suggested how to promote its study, while Wang Huansheng spoke of the interest in China for this language.

On May 28-29, 2007 the Canadian Catholic Historical Association held its Annual Conference at St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan. Among the papers presented were: "A Re-appraisal of 19th-Century Oblate-Aboriginal Relations: Oral History and Archival Documents in the Middle-Ground of Memory" by Keith Thor Carlson, "Ojibwa and Christian Sources for William Whipple Warren's Robust Moral Code" by Michael Pomedli, "Reading the Faith: Instructional Texts in Ontario Catholic Schools" by Elizabeth Smyth, "Canadian Social Catholics Begin to Restructure the Institutional Church: Reassessing the Relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the CCF, 1931-1944" by Robert H. Dennis, "'To Enlarge Our Hearts and To Widen Our Horizon': Archbishop Neil McNeil of Toronto and the Origins of Social Catholicism in English-Speaking Canada" by Peter E. Baltutis, "A Crime Against Moral and Divine Law; Catholic Protests Against Eugenic Sterilization in Manitoba During the 1930s" by John Mays, "Gender and the Care Divide: Filipino Catholics in Canada, 1992-2005" by Glenda Lynna Anne Tibe Bonifacio, "Belgians and School Questions in Western Canada" by Cornelius Jaenen, "Father Andrew MacDonell (1870-1958): A Scottish Benedictine and His Passion for Canada" by Glenn Wright, "The Second Synod of the Diocese of London" by Pasquale A. Fiorino, "'An Imperialist Irishman': Bishop Michael

Fallon, the Diocese of London, and the Great War" by Adrian Ciani, "Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate (SSMI)" by Christine Lei, "Governance and Mission within the Sisters of Charity: Chapter Reports as Primary Sources" by Elizabeth McGahan, "Tapestry of Change: Ursulines of Prelate, 1919-2007" by Magdalen Stengler, OSU, "Coming of Age in the Convent During the Great Depression" by Heidi MacDonald, "John Webster Grant's Contribution to Aboriginal Historiography" by Sussan Neylon, "John Webster Grant's Contribution to Catholic Historiography," by Marc McGowan, "John Webster Grant as a Church Leader" by John Young, "Researching Prairie Church History Online: Materials Related to the Catholic Church on the Peel's Prairie Provinces Web Site" by Robert P. Cole, "Realizing the Digitial Dream and Avoiding the Nightmares: Looking at the Impact of Digital Repositories on the Study of the History of Religion in Western Canada" by Chris Hackett, "'The Pirates of the Penitentiary': Patronage and Religion in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia" by Patricia Roy, and "Shaping a Gentle Province: The Role of Catholic Sisters in Saskatchewan" by Teresita Roy, OSU.

On September 28-29, 2007 the Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique will hold a congress at the Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières. Among the papers to be presented are: "Catholicisme et conservationnisme au Québec: le cas de l'abbé Léon Provancher, 1820-1892" by Frédéric Barriault, "Lionel Groulx et ses lectures européennes (1921-1939)" by Patrick Dionne, "Oeuvre spirituelle ou éducative? L'École de musique Vincent-d'Indy des Soeurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie, de 1932 à 1978" by Dominique Laperle, "Regards bioarchéologiques sur les coutumes funéraires aux XVIIe-XIXe siècle" by Gérard Gagné, "Le cimetière Saint-Louis de Trois-Rivières" by Violaine Damphousse, "'La foi de leurs pères': la mission catholique de l'Île-à-la-Crosse et l'apothéose du Métis, 1846-1898" by Timothy P. Foran, "Pratiques religieuses des Acadiens du sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse à la fin du XIXe siècle" by Micheline Laliberté, "'Adolescent, qui es-tu': l'éducation morale et religieuse des adolescents à l'école publique québécoise, 1952-1959" by Charlène Paradis, "L'Action paroissiale des Pères Jésuites de la Paroisse Immaculée-Conception (1909-1939)" by Frédéric Boutin, "L'Église catholique acteur de la francophonie en Amérique du Nord: L'exemple de la culture acadienne" by Gwénaël Lamarque, "L'Église catholique et la société québécoise de l'après-guerre: un modèle pour l'Amérique latine?" by Maurice Demers, "L'Ordre Jacques-Cartier" by Denise Robillard, "Institutions et identité religieuse dans la ville: Montréal, 1861-1901" by Sherry Olson and Rosalyn Trigger, and "Les pèlerinages à Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, Notre-Dame-du-Cap et l'Oratoire Saint-Joseph: un phénomène entre tradition et modernité" by Suzanne Boutin.

On April 11-12, 2008 a conference entitled "The Risorgimento Revisited" will be held at the Italian Academy of Columbia University in New York. Among the topics to be explored are "Religion and Religious Identity." Those wishing to present a paper at the conference should have submitted by April

30, 2007 a title and brief abstract with a statement of their academic or professional affiliation to Silvana Patriarca (patriarca@fordham.edu) and Lucy Riall (l.riall@history.bbk.ac.uk).

Canonizations and Beatifications

On May 8, 2007 the Congregation for Saints' Causes (consisting of thirty cardinals and bishops from around the world) voted unanimously to recommend that Benedict XVI declare Pope Pius XII "Venerable." It was hoped that such an action would help bring to an end the controversy as to whether the pontiff did enough to assist the victims of the Nazis. He had authorized false baptismal certificates for Jews, the opening of the doors of monasteries and convents to hide them, and the distribution of visas to them in order to save their lives. In his Christmas messages during the war, Pius XII denounced theories of racial superiority and the killing of hundred of thousands of people because of their nationality or race. Soon after the Congregation's announcement, Abraham Foxman, director of the American Anti-Defamation League, urged Benedict XVI to suspend action on the recommendation until all the documents in the Vatican Archives regarding Pius XII are made available.

On June 2, 2007 Pope Benedict XVI approved the decree for the canonization of the third-order Poor Clare Sister Alphonsa of the Immaculate Conception (born Anna Muttathupandathu) (1910-1946) of India and the laywoman Narcisa de Jesús Martillo Morán (1833-1869) of Ecuador. The beatification of the theologian, philosopher, and founder of the Institute of Charity and of the Sisters of Providence, Father Antonio Rosmini (1791-1855), was also approved. The cause of 320 candidates for beatification was advanced by the recognition of their martyrdom and miracles. Of these, 127 are religious martyred during the Spanish Civil War in 1936, including the Augustinian priest Avellino Rodríguez Alonso with ninety-seven fellow religious of the same order, and Sister Emmanuela of the Heart of Jesus (born Manuela Arriola Uranga) with twenty-two companions of the Institute of Handmaiden Adorers of the Most Holy Sacrament and of Charity. The Jesuit priest Peter Kibe Kasui and 187 companions were martyred in Japan between 1603 and 1639. The Austrian peasant, husband, and father of three, Franz Jägerstätter (1907-1943), who was guillotined in Berlin for refusing to collaborate with the Nazis, was declared a martyr.

On June 3, 2007 in St. Peter's Square with the presidents of Malta, Poland, Ireland, and the Philippines in attendance, Benedict XVI canonized four saints: George Preca (1880-1962), Szymon of Lipnica (c.1435-1482), Karl van Sint Andries Houben (1821-1893), and Marie Anne-Eugénie de Jésus Milleret (1817-1898). George Preca, who spent his life in Malta, became a diocesan priest in 1906 and founded the Society of Christian Doctrine in 1907 for lay persons dedicated to prayer, a simple evangelical lifestyle, and the catechesis of youth. After many difficulties, the society was canonically established in 1932. As stu-

dent at the University of Krakow, Szymon heard St. John of Capistrano and was inspired to join the Observant Franciscans. He became a famous preacher and promoter of the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, dying from the plague which he contracted from caring for those afflicted with the disease. The Dutch Passionist priest, Karel van Sint Andries (born Johannes Andreas) Houben, spent many years of his priestly ministry in Ireland from 1856 onward at the monastery of Mount Argus in Dublin, providing wise counsel and caring for the sick. Miraculous healing power is attributed to the intercession of St. Charles of Mount Argus. Anne-Eugénie Milleret de Brou was born and raised in Metz in a non-believing, financially comfortable family, but moved to Paris with her mother when the parents separated on the collapse of the father's fortune. The death of her mother and the sermons of the youthful Abbé Lacordaire led to her conversion, and in 1839 she founded the Institute of Sisters of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin dedicated to Christian education. Six years later her spiritual director, Father Emmanuel d'Alzon, founded the Augustinians of the Assumption. Today there are almost 1,200 Assumptionist sisters in thirty-four countries.

Publications

The twenty-seventh *Dies academicus* of the Accademia di San Carlo (Milan), which was held on November 25-26, 2005, was devoted to the theme "Cultura e spiritualità borromaica tra Cinque e Seicento." The papers presented on those days have been edited by Franco Buzzi and Maria Luisa Frosio and are now published in Volume 20 (2006) of *Studia Borromaica* (published by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana): Alain Tallon, "San Carlo Borromeo e la Francia: santità e relazioni internazionali nel secondo Cinquecento" (pp. 31-42); Franco Buzzi, "«Ante orationem praepara animam tuam». Il *De Oratione* di Carlo Borromeo e la spiritualità del suo tempo" (pp. 43-90); Danilo Zardin, "Il «Manuale» di Epitteto e la tradizione dello stoicismo cristiano tra Cinque e Seicento" (pp. 91-116); Marzia Giuliani, "«Lectiones Familiares». L'attualità dei padri e la spiritualità borromaica fra Cinque e Seicento" (pp. 117-143); Simon Ditchfield, "San Carlo and the Cult of Saints" (pp. 145-154); Claudia di Filippo, "Le donne nella chiesa borromaica" (pp. 155-184); Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, "La questione del clero indigeno nella missione cattolica in Cina nel sedicesimo e diciassettesimo secolo" (pp. 185-194); Jean-Louis Quantin, "De la rigueur au rigorisme. Les *Avvertenze ai Confessori* de Charles Borromée dans la France du XVIIe siècle" (pp. 195-251); Bernard Dompnier, "La devotion à Charles Borromée dans la France du XVIIe siècle. Représentations d'un saint et histoire de son culte" (pp. 253-292); Andrea Spiriti, "Da Carlo Borromeo a Carlo VI: iconografia politica nella Karlskirche di Vienna" (pp. 293-316); Pietro Delpero, Rappresentazione iconografica di Carlo Borromeo in area bavarese tra Sei e Settecento" (pp. 317-337); Robert L. Kendrick, "Federico Borromeo e l'estetica della musica sacra" (pp.339-350); and Roberta Carpani, "Percorsi della cultura biblica e modelli di santità nel teatro e nella spettacolarità lombarda nell'età di Federico Borromeo" (pp. 351-391).

The "very special" issue of *Mémoire Spiritaine* for the second half of 2006 (Number 24) consists of a monograph by Paul Coulon entitled "Libermann 1822-1826: De l'école talmudique (Metz) au baptême en Christ (Paris)" (pp. 3-173).

Five articles in the *Australasian Catholic Record* for April, 2007 (Volume 84, Number 2), deal with "Australian History," as follows: Josephine Laffin, "The Public Role of Bishops: Matthew Beovich, the ALP [Australian Labor Party] Split and the Vietnam War" (pp. 131-144); Mary Elizabeth Calwell, "Influences, Insights and Implications" (pp. 145-153); John Braniff, "State of Play: A Survey of Current Australian Historiography in Catholic Church History and the History of Education" (pp. 154-168); Robert Rice, "Archbishop John O'Reily: First Bishop of Port Augusta and Second Archbishop of Adelaide—Some Aspects of His Theology and Practice" (pp. 169-184); and Tony Paganoni, "The Italian Community in Australia: Historical Notes on Pastoral Care, Its Development to Date and Future Options" (pp. 185-203).

The Passionist Heritage Newsletter 14, no. 1 (Winter, 2007) contains two articles by Father Robert Carbonneau, C.P., on fund-raising in America: "Early Passionist Fund-Raising," pp. 1-3, 7, and "Passionist Fund-Raising: *The Sign* and the Missions," pp. 4, 6.

Personals

Professor Giuseppe Alberigo, a corresponding fellow of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1995, professor emeritus in the Department of Political Science of the University of Bologna, and Director of the Istituto per le scienze religiose in Bologna, died on June 15, 2007 after two months in a coma following a severe stroke.

The Reverend Paschal M. Baumstein, O.S. B., was awarded an honorary doctorate of humane letters by Belmont Abbey College on April 20, 2007 in recognition of his life of scholarship, especially his study of the thought of Anselm of Canterbury.

Professor Frank J. Coppa of St. John's University has been appointed associate editor of the *New Catholic Encyclopedia.*

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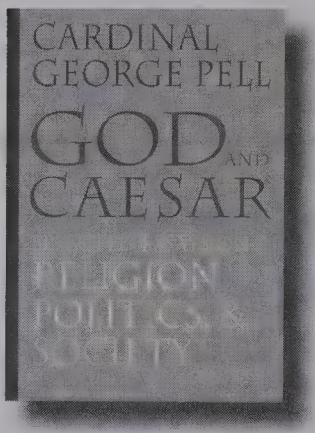

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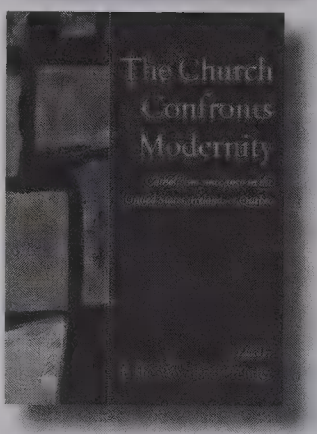

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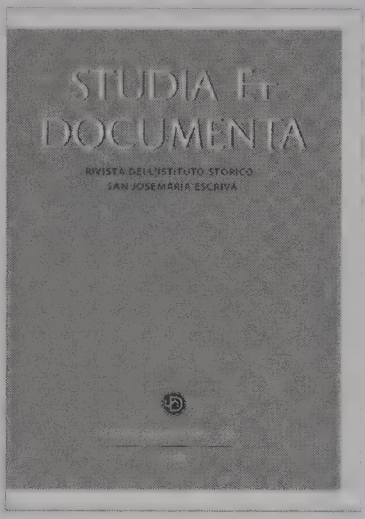

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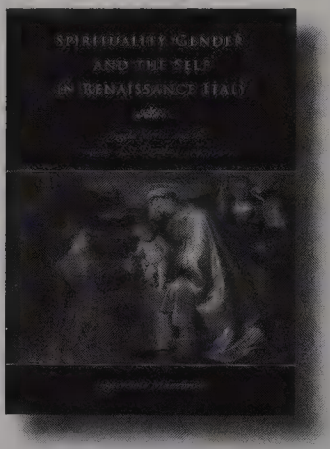

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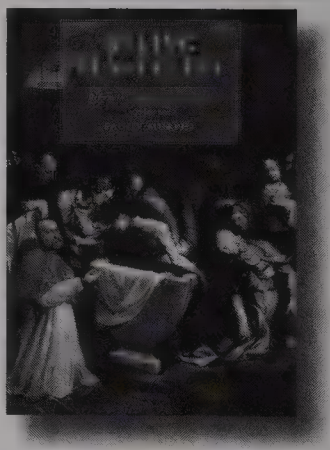

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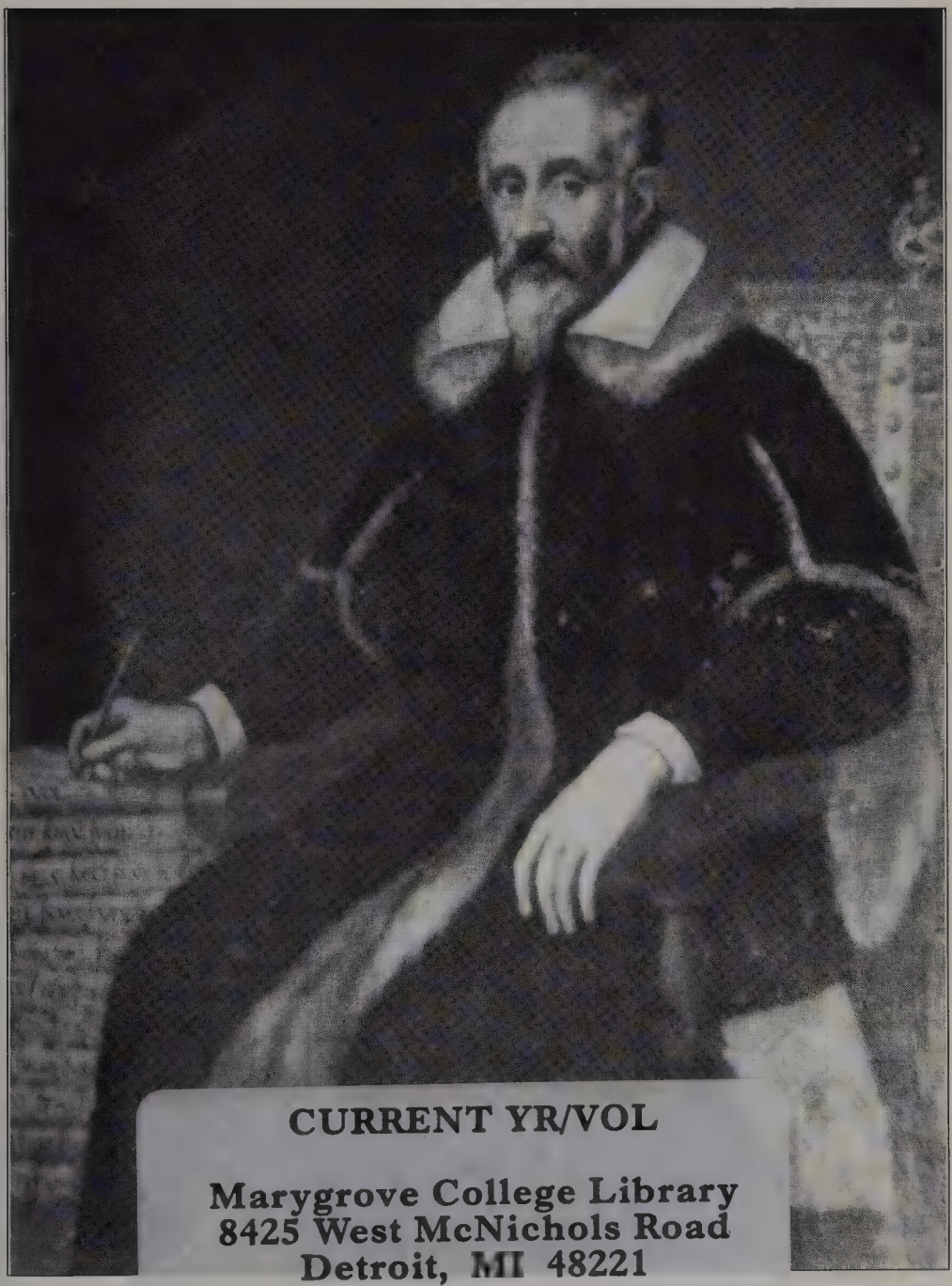

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Subscription price: Institutional: United States and Canada $50.00; foreign $55.00; single issue $15.00.

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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS
The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064

Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

The Catholic Historical Review is indexed in the *Catholic Periodical Index* and in *Religion Index One: Periodicals, Index to Book Reviews in Religion, Religion Indexes: RIO/RIT/IBRR 1975- on CD-ROM* and *ATLA* [American Theological Library Association] *Religion Database on CD-ROM* (http://www.atla.com). The articles are analyzed and indexed in the *Bulletin Signalétique Sciences Humaines* and in *IBZ* (International Bibliography of Periodical Literature). The medieval articles are indexed in the *International Medieval Bibliography* and in the *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law.* The modern European articles are abstracted in *Historical Abstracts*, and the American articles in *America: History and Life.* The book reviews are indexed in *Book Review Index*, and *An Index to Book Reviews in the Humanities*, and in *IBR* (International Bibliography of Book Reviews).

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The Catholic Historical Review

VOL. XCIII OCTOBER, 2007 No. 4

BISHOP LUCAS OF TÚY AND THE LATIN CHRONICLE TRADITION IN IBERIA

BY

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Lucas, bishop of Tuy, was a canon of the shrine of San Isidoro in León, protégé of Queen Berenguela, and figure at the court of her son, King Fernando III, of Leon-Castile. He was also the compiler and author of a world chronicle, Chronicon Mundi, *finished about 1238. This study is particularly directed to the final nineteen chapters of his work that treat his own times, between 1188 and 1236. It is an analysis of his attitudes toward the medieval Iberian kings and kingship of that period, toward those monarchs' activities in the* reconquista *directed against Muslim Iberia, and toward the contemporary Church and churchmen.*

Lucas' Chronicon, *together with the* De Rebus Hispaniae *of Archbishop Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada finished in 1243, and the* Cronica Latina Regum Castellae, *completed after 1238 probably by the chancellor of the realm and later Bishop Juan of Soria and Burgos, form part of a remarkable contemporary trilogy of Latin historical works associated with the court of Fernando III. All have also been given a modern critical edition just recently, 2003, 1987, and 1997 respectively, putting their study on a new and more reliable scholarly level. While earlier scholarship had tended to be somewhat dismissive of the* Chronicon *of Lucas, it here emerges as a robust contribution to the very lively Latin historical compositions of the early thirteenth century in León-Castile.*

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The third and fourth decades of the thirteenth century saw the production in Castile of three major Latin historical works, Archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae* (1243), Bishop Juan of Osma and Burgos' *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae* (c. 1240?) and Bishop Lucas of Túy's *Chronicon Mundi* (c. 1237-1238?), the earliest. This sudden spate of compositions is ordinarily regarded as all the more remarkable in that it is usually held that there had been no such general, Latin historical works produced during the preceding seventy years.

Archbishop Rodrigo's *De Rebus* has received the greatest scholarly attention because it was central to the later elaboration of the vernacular historical tradition and therefore, not surprisingly, was the first of the trio to benefit from a modern, critical edition.[1] Bishop Juan's *Chronica Latina* has latterly been rendered into an adequate critical text but awaits a fuller treatment of both its difficult manuscript transmission and its enigmatic literary form.[2] Most recently of all, Bishop Lucas' *Chronicon Mundi* finally found a thorough and most competent editor.[3]

All three of these clerical historians knew one another personally and their careers, at the court of Fernando III, king of Castile (1217-1252) and then of León as well (1230-1252), were intertwined professionally, as we shall see below. That royal court, like all royal courts of

[1]Roderici Ximenii de Rada, *Historia De Rebus Hispanie sive Historica Gothica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde (Turnholt, 1987) is Volume 72 of the Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis (hereafter cited as CCCM). The *De Rebus* is the simplest of the three to date, since the best manuscripts bear the notice that it was finished on March 31, 1243. It is hereafter cited as DRH.

[2]*Chronica Latina Regum Castellae*, ed. L. Charlo Brea in Chronica Hispana Saeculii XIII, eds. Luis Charlo Brea, Juan A. Estévez Sola, and Rocío Carande Herrero (Turnholt, 1997), pp. 9-118. The latter forms Volume 73 of the CCCM and is hereafter cited as CLRC. Even more recently a most useful English translation with notes has appeared: *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile,* trans. Joseph F. O'Callaghan (Tempe, Arizona, 2002). The date of the *Chronica's* completion has not, and perhaps never will be, finally established for the most obvious fact about it is that we, almost certainly, do not have the original text in its complete form. The last, abrupt notice that it provides is of Fernando III's entry into Burgos in November of 1236. This notice is followed by the enigmatic, "Hoc opus explevi tempore, credo, brevi. Laus tibi, Christe" (p. 118). This statement refers to the copyist's completion of the particular manuscript, a collection of earlier works, in which the CLRC is found.

[3]*Lucae Tudensis Chronicon Mundi*, ed. Emma Falque (Turnholt, 2003), as Volume 74 of the CCCM. The chronicle ends with the description of the capture of Córdoba by Fernando III in 1236. It must have been finished before 1243 for the *De Rebus* is so massively dependent upon it. The *Cronicon Mundi* is hereafter cited as CM.

the period in Western Europe, was relatively small, perhaps two hundred persons in all excluding servants and minor military personnel, and it was peripatetic.[4] It is indubitable from the documents of the period that our authors were in contact for the long periods in which they were in attendance on the king, even if they had not attested that fact themselves in their chronicles.

More pertinently here, it is unlikely that Archbishop Rodrigo's *De Rebus* could have found its actual literary form, and so achieved the massive influence that it was subsequently to exert, without its wholesale reliance upon Bishop Lucas' *Chronicon Mundi*. The modern editor of the former says simply that the latter constituted the spine of all but the initial two of the nine books of the Archbishop's chronicle.[5] On the other hand, dependence of the *Chronica Latina* upon the *Chronicon Mundi* seems to have been non-existent. From the *De Rebus* it may have taken only the general form of two chapters.[6] In this light, the centrality of the work of Bishop Lucas for both the transmission of the earlier tradition of the Latin chronicle in the peninsula and its culmination in the vernacular historical products of the later thirteenth century becomes clear.

The world chronicle as a genre that utilized the Hebrew scriptures, these latter accepted as a more or less literal account of the progress of humanity from creation forward, then combined with the products of the classical historians, and culminating in the acceptance of the Roman Empire as the providential vehicle for the universal spread of the Christian Church and cult, originated in the eastern Mediterranean

[4]For a brief description of its customary itinerary through the realm, see the synopsis of José Manuel Nieto Soria, "La monarquía fundacional de Fernando III," pp. 44-45 in *Fernando III y su tiempo, 1201-1252* (León, 2003), pp. 31-66.

[5]DRH, p. xxix.

[6]A serious shortcoming of Charlo Brea's edition is the near-complete absence of any discussion of the *Chronica Latina's* sources or methods. I have such a consideration presently in hand. The work was composed over some considerable time and, on the basis of internal evidence, was likely to have been completed sometime after 1239. O'Callaghan, *Latin Chronicle,* pp. xxviii-xxx, gives a handy introduction to the current state of that particular problem. The narrative similarities in the respective accounts of the brief reign of Enrique I of Castile (1214-1217), DRH, pp. 281-85, and CLRC, pp. 73-76, suggest dependence. The direction of that influence is related to the deducible time of their composition which, in turn, is ultimately related to the presently insufficiently explored questions of the various redactions of the CLRC. There are other parallelisms that raise further questions of dependence, or the utilization of a common source. Nor, at this point, can the simple effect of describing the same events with largely the same Latin vocabulary be entirely discounted.

with the fourth-century Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea. This genre was translated from the Greek by Saint Jerome and Rufinus and domesticated in the Latin west above all by the immensely popular work in the Middle Ages of the Iberian protégé of Saint Augustine, Paulus Orosius, whose history was completed in A.D. 418. In the Iberian Peninsula the genre received its predominant form with Bishop Isidore of Sevilla (c. 601-636), whose *Chronicle* became the foundation for subsequent continuations there. Naturally the gradual disappearance of the Roman political order in the western world created obvious problems for the continued coherence of the world chronicle as a genre everywhere in the west. That difficulty was eventually solved by linking various Germanic kings and dynasties, in Iberia the Visigoths, to both the Christian Church and the Roman imperial authority.

The modern study of the complexities of this development has proceeded more slowly in Iberia than in the remainder of western Europe and has been peculiarly bedeviled by the particularisms, not to say separatisms, of the peninsula, whose passions and rivalries persist even to the present day. Historical data has been appropriated to serve religious, political, regional, linguistic, and social agendas by both Iberian and non-Iberian historians. The rather more modest and circumscribed attempts of the past chroniclers of the peninsula themselves to comprehend their own heritage have often been neglected, or overshadowed, by more modern pre-occupations.

In English a most valuable survey of the general course of Iberia's reflection upon its own history has recently been provided by Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain.*[7] In Spanish, the similar account is to be found in the older work of Benito Sánchez Alonso and in the more recent account of Juan Gil.[8] A closer examination of the very early medieval development of the Latin historiographical tradition in the peninsula has been provided by Eloy Benito Ruano.[9] An intensive critical survey of the Latin historiography of the period of the High Middle Ages in Iberia has yet to be written, but the basis for one is currently being provided in the most welcome editions of the particular works mentioned above.

[7] *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993).

[8] *Historia de la historiografía española*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1947) and Juan Gil, "La historiografía," in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal,* Vol. XI, ed. José María Jover Zamora (Madrid, 1997), pp. 3-109.

[9] "La historiografía en la Alta Edad Media española," *Cuadernos de Historia de España,* 17 (1952), 50-104.

In this context, to date, the usual verdict of the Iberian historiographers on the *Chronicon Mundi* has been generally severe and, in some measure, mistaken. But then until the recent edition of Profesora Emma Falque no one had done a comprehensive examination of Lucas's sources or his use of them. However her work illustrates in detail that his *Chronicon Mundi* was, in its first three books, primarily a compilation, combination and emendation of the earliest major works of the Latin Chronicle in the peninsula.[10] In her analysis of the sources of the Fourth Book, particularly relevant to the study here in hand, and their use, Falque followed closely my own earlier examination of that subject.[11] Consequently, that material needs to be repeated only when it bears upon the practices of Bishop Lucas in what must be styled his own composition proper of the history of the years immediately prior to his own times and of contemporary events. It is largely on these latter materials that a fuller evaluation of the achievement of Bishop Lucas as a historian may be effected.

When Lucas was born is of course unknown. We hear of his status in the royal monastery of San Isidoro of León as a canon and deacon.[12] He also became something of a protégé to Queen Berenguela, daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castile, who from 1197 to 1204 had been married to Alfonso IX of León, gave birth to the future Fernando III, king of Castile (1217- 1252), then of León as well (1230-1252). Berenguela was regent of Castile from 1214 and subsequently queen-mother of the reunited kingdoms down until her death in 1246. At her behest Lucas compiled and composed his *Chronicon Mundi.* That request was made, in all probability, after the year 1230 when the hitherto warring kingdoms of León and Castile were reunited under Fernando III. The task was completed after the fall of Córdoba in 1236 and certainly

[10]CM, pp. xxii-xxiii and xxxiii-lxix. Scripture aside, Lucas's only presently identifiable major non-peninsular source was Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica,* but he depended upon this Parisian schoolman (+ c. 1179) and that work, completed about 1170, quite heavily. CM, pp. 358-362.

[11]*Ibid.*, pp. lxx-c. Bernard F. Reilly, "Sources of the Fourth Book of Lucas of Túy's *Chronicon Mundi*," *Classical Folia* 30 (1976),127-137.

[12]CM, pp. viii-xii provides the essentials of his known biography and the literature thereon, relying especially on the recent and close readings by Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993) as well as the latter's "On further thought: Lucas of Túy, Rodrigo of Toledo, and the Alfonsine Histories," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales,* 27 (1997), 415-436, and his "Dates and doubts about don Lucas," *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilsation hispaniques médiévales,* 24 (2001), 201-217.

somewhat before the Archbishop Rodrigo completed his own work in 1243.[13] Lucas died in 1249.

This study will be concerned primarily with the narrative, methods, and concerns of Lucas, beginning in Chapter Eighty-two with the accession of Alfonso IX of León in 1188 and forward through the reigns of his contemporary Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214), the brief reign of Enrique of Castile (1214-1217), and the ultimate successor of both, Fernando III of Castile. That was the period about which the bishop may be presumed to have had access to the information of companions and contemporaries in the royal court, or near contemporaries. At the same time, the presumptive lack of alternative written accounts forced him to compose rather than just to compile, continue, and emend.

As was customary in the Latin chronicle tradition, his history was the history of kings. The kings of León had also had an imperial past, of course. As recently as Alfonso VII, one of them had been crowned, in 1135, as emperor and his diplomas thereafter asserted a dominion over the entire peninsula. His son, Fernando II, and his grandson, Alfonso VIII, employed the title *rex Hispaniarum* sporadically in their documents. Nonetheless, the title of "imperator" in the *Chronicon* appears almost exclusively in the language borrowed from his predecessors. In Lucas' preface he sometimes speaks the classical language of "princeps" and "ducibus" but, here as elsewhere in those sections of the text that may be confidently be ascribed to his personal composition, the contemporary terminology of "rex" and "regnum" predominate in his language as it does in his thought. "Imperator" and "imperium" do not appear in it at all, though they may be employed when Lucas is simply repeating the language of his sources.[14]

To be sure, this is "Christian" kingship. It is incumbent upon kings to acknowledge the triune god of Christianity, to follow the "Catholic

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. xvi-xxi. Profesora Falque reviews the literature and comes to the same conclusions that I had advanced in 1976. A most recent study of the manuscript tradition would support a date from late 1237 to 1238. Enrique Jérez, "El Tudense en su siglo: transmisión y recepción del *Chronicon Mundi* en el Doscientos," in *El relato historiográfico: Textos, y tradiciones en la España medieval,* ed. Francisco Bautista (London, 2006), pp. 19-57. See particularly pp. 32-35.

[14] CM, pp. 3-4. Of Alfonso VI of León-Castile he copies "Qui ad tantam devenit gloriam, ut imperatorem Yspanie faceret se vocari." Ibid, p. 304. On the latter's grandson, Alfonso VII, Lucas is similarly faithful to his source as he renders "Ab illa die vocatus est imperator Ispanie. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 311.

faith" in word and deed, to protect the peace of the realm, to execute justice without regard to persons, and to defend the realm against its enemies without counting the sacrifice entailed. Moreover, the king must preserve himself from fleshly indulgences, wine, women, and luxuries are singled out, which render him unfit for war or lead to eternal damnation. He must guard as well against the lies and intrigues of those around him. He is to rule for the benefit of the ruled.[15]

Nevertheless, Lucas was constructing a history, not a theology, of political life. His approach to peninsular kingship followed the pragmatic tradition of the established chronicle tradition. That is, despite the residual sense that Iberia was one entity, already from the early chronicles written in the mountain redoubt of Asturias of the ninth century, the plurality of kingship within it was recognized as a given. Empire and the assertion of hegemony might sometimes briefly have been noted as one of the preoccupations of particularly fortunate individual monarchs, and their chanceries, but historians need must recognize the practical fragility of such pretensions.[16]

A plurality of kings flowed easily from his pen; "reges Yspanie," "Yspanie regibus," "omnibus Yspanie regibus," and "reges hyspanos,"[17] Notwithstanding, that does not impede his characterization of individual potentates of subsidiary realms. Surely the "kings" of León and the "kings" of Castile constitute a counterpoint on virtually every page of his narrative. These were the two great monarchs of the central *meseta* of Iberia and any of its contemporary historians could not but recognize that fact in their accounts. But lesser players, a "rex Portugalie, "[18] a "rex Navarrie,"[19] as well as a "rex Aragonum,"[20] find their appropriate place in his history without any hint that they are somehow subordinate in their proper kingship as such. The same matter-of-fact acceptance is reflected in the mention of "regem Legionensem et regem Castelle et omnes Yspanie reges Christiani et Sarraceni."[21] Though Lucas's narrative moves through the great peninsular battlefields of his

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

[16]The subject is a traditional preoccupation of Iberian medieval scholarship. Those pursuing it can still hardly do better than to begin with the contrasting approaches of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos* (Madrid, 1950) and of José Antonio Maravall, *El concepto de España en la Edad Media,* 2nd ed. (Madrid 1964).

[17]CM, pp. 322, 324, 331, and 336.

[18]*Ibid.,* pp. 320, 321, 331, 335, and 336.

[19]*Ibid.*, pp. 321, 322, 328, and 329.

[20]*Ibid.*, pp. 321, 328, and 329.

[21]*Ibid.*, p. 326.

times at Alarcos (1195), Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), and culminates with the relation of the fall of Córdoba itself (1236), though his routine characterizations of the major foe are the "Sarraceni," or the "Mauri," or the "barbari," and their opponents are just as routinely described as "Christiani," there is no implication that the "kings" of the enemy are of any lesser rank or dignity.

But it was with the kings of León and Castile, with whom he was chiefly concerned, that his characterization became specific. Alfonso IX of León (1188-1230) at his accession Lucas described as "comely, eloquent, clement, manly, energetic on the field of battle, and of reliable Catholic faith."[22] His nephew and frequent antagonist, Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214), Lucas portrayed similarly as "great in wisdom, adept in counsel, energetic in battle, most generous, and strong in the Catholic faith."[23] The successor of both, son of the first and grandson of the latter, Fernando III of León-Castile (1217-1230-1252), the bishop painted as "pious, prudent, humble, Catholic, and graced with a character good beyond his years during his minority. When the boy became king in his own right he boasted the adult virtues of "severity in justice, punishing the guilty, but merciful and clement to enemies once overcome . . . never grasping in spirit, but wise after the fashion of his grandfather and of a sturdy and clement spirit after that of his father."[24]

Apparently these several virtues did not become vices even during some three years of incessant warfare between León and Castile when Alfonso VIII of Castile and Alfonso IX of León contended with one another like "two ferocious lions." Even though the apparition of the Virgin and her divine son outside the royal city of León warned against the cruelty of that continuing warfare, it took some considerable further time to patch up a peace between the two.[25] It may be that the relationship of the two contenders to Lucas's own patroness had an inhibiting effect here, even though the protagonists themselves were

[22]CM, p. 320. "pulcher, eloquens, clemens, fortis viribus et armis strenuus et in fide catholica solidatus."

[23]*Ibid.*, p. 321. "sapiencia magnus, consilio providus, armis strenuus, largitate precipuus et fide catholica roboratus."

[24]*Ibid.*, pp. 332-333. "in humilitate iusta severitas, qua reprobos puniebat, et in severitate iusta misericors et clemens humilitas, qua prostratis inimicus parcebat. Eius regalis animus avaricia numquam potuit inflammari . . . requieverit super eum spiritus sapiencie, qui fuit in Adefonso rege Castelle auo suo, et spiritus fortitudinis et clemencie, qui erat in Adefonso rege Legionensi patre ipsius."

[25]*Ibid.*, pp. 323-324. "Duo ferocissimi reges quasi duo ferocissimi leones. . . ."

deceased by the time of this writing. However, the author's abstention from judgment is striking.

The most proper direction of these warlike predilections, however, was the struggle against the "barbari," the "Sarraceni," the "Mauri." Lucas celebrated the "reconquista" like a proper man of his time, even though he never employed that term itself. The expansion of one's realm was one of the callings of kingship. The celebration of the repopulation of localities such as Plasencia, Beja, Moya by Alfonso VIII of Castile not only aggrandized the realm but constituted victory over the enemy of the faith as well.[26] Indeed these repopulations are described as the cause of the end of the truce between Castile and the Almohads that led to the campaigns that culminated in the climactic battle and Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212.[27] So too, Alfonso IX of León was praised not just for his repopulations in Christian Galicia, in Asturias, in the Bierzo but also in Estremadura where he advanced the frontier at the expense of the Muslim.[28] As for Fernando III, the *Chronicon* concludes with a virtual hymn of praise for his restoration in 1236, after his capture of Muslim Córdoba, to the great pilgrim church of Santiago de Compostela of those bells carried off from it three centuries earlier by the Muslim warlord, al-Mansur.[29]

Important as the function of war chief was to kingship, and the chronicle celebration of it in the period, it never entirely obscured the parallel importance of the royal contributions to the works of peace. Chief among these was the exercise of the royal justice, the control of the over-mighty, and the repression of brigands and evil-doers of all types. Already in his preface and his description of the virtues of several of his monarchs, Bishop Lucas had attended to this aspect of the royal activity, but he was conspicuous in his rich elaboration of this established chronicle tradition.

For example, after the marriage of the Princess Berenguela to Alfonso IX of León in 1197, when peace broke out between the latter and the father of his bride, Alfonso VIII of Castile, Lucas immediately turned his narration to the celebration of the positive results that it allowed. He describes the construction of the monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos, where Berenguela was eventually interred, with its

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 321.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 327.
[28] *Ibid.* pp. 326-327.

richness in gold, silver, and precious stones, the royal palace that was built adjacent to it, and the hospital erected nearby on the public road for pilgrims on their way to Santiago de Compostela. But he also notices the royal foundation in Palencia of a university, or *studium generale,* with its masters in theology and the liberal arts, in the time of the bishop of that city, Tello Téllez de Meneses (1208-1247).[30]

Bishop Lucas also turned his attention to the ameliorations and improvements in the Leonese realm of Alfonso IX during the same peaceful respite. He noted reform of the mores and laws of the citizens of León and the satisfaction of their grievances. He mentioned that the queen saw to the construction of a royal palace in the city and the extensive works that she carried out on the royal monastery and pantheon of San Isidoro there. Like everyone else, one thinks, the good bishop was struck by the wave of construction in the new Gothic style that was then occurring almost everywhere in Christian Iberia, in good measure replacing the older Romanesque architecture. At León he cited the new cathedral that had been begun by Bishop Manrique de Lara (1181-1205)[31] and the new church dedicated to Saint James of Compostela and later consecrated by Archbishop Pedro (1207-1224) of that shrine see. Archbishop Pedro had been dean of the cathedral chapter, then briefly bishop of León (1205-1207) before being translated to the church of the apostle. Finally, Lucas adverted to the massive and learned works on Holy Scripture compiled by San Martín (d. 1203), a canon of the monastery of San Isidoro in León.[32]

Once again, during the reign of Fernando III, Bishop Lucas focused his narrative on the works of peace. Bishop Maurice of

[29]*Ibid.,* pp. 341-342.

[30]*Ibid.*, pp. 324-325.

[31]*Ibid.*, p. 326. The bishop's name was rendered as "Mauricius" in the Latin text and the editor has cited no variants.

[32]*Ibid.,* Lucas had also included a brief biography of San Martín in his own collection of stories and *miracula* concerning the relationship of Saint Isidore of Sevilla and the Leonese shrine devoted to the latter saint. Francisco Javier Fernández Conde, "El biógrapho contemporáneo de Sancto Martino: Lucas de Túy." *Isidoriana, I. Ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII centenario de su obra literaria (1185-1985)* (León, 1987), pp. 303-335. The former work cannot be confidently dated as either prior or subsequent to the CM itself. It must also be distinguished from the anonymous *Translatio Sancti Isidori.* Falque, CM, pp. xii-xv. It seems from the letter to him that precedes the former in the manuscript that Lucas was at least acquainted with Suero Gómez de Madrid, the first provincial of the Dominican province in Iberia. Fernández Conde, "Biógrapho," p. 304, n. 5.

Burgos (1213-1238) was mentioned for his initiation of the great Gothic cathedral there. Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1209-1247) was similarly praised for making the same sort of beginning on a Gothic cathedral in Toledo. Moreover, the chancellor of Fernando III, subsequent Bishop Juan of Osma (1231-1240) and finally bishop at Burgos (1240-1246) was lauded for his extensive rebuilding of the cathedral in Osma as well as well as the reconstruction of the collegiate church of Valladolid, where he had earlier been abbot, in the Gothic style.[33] At Astorga he cited the extensive building program of Bishop Nuño (1226-1241) that repaired the massive walls of that city along with its episcopal palace and the cloister of the cathedral. Farther west the attention of Bishop Martín Rodríguez (c.1217-1238) to the erection of bridges and hospitals in the Zamora district was noted.[34] Yet farther west, in Galicia, Lucas gave similar praise to Bishop Lorenzo (1218-1248) of Orense for the latter's restorations in the cathedral, the episcopal palace, and the bridge over the Miño River outside that city and to Bishop Esteban at Túy, Lucas's immediate predecessor as it happened, for the completion and consecration of the cathedral there.[35] More generally the latter also mentioned the building of monasteries and the preaching of the gospel throughout the peninsula by the new Dominican and Franciscan orders.[36]

In fact, in the opinion of Bishop Lucas this period was a sort of golden age. It was a blessed time in which the Catholic faith was honored, heresy was repressed, and the cities and castles of the Saracens were ground down. The Christian kings battled for the faith and everywhere triumphed. The clergy threw up churches and monasteries. The peasantry improved their fields, husbanded their stock, enjoyed their peace, and no one dispossessed them.[37]

[33]Falque, CM, p.334. It is noteworthy that Lucas was most probably acquainted with all three at court and that, strikingly, both Archbishop Rodrigo and Bishop Juan were contemporary historians.

[34]*Ibid.* Bishop Martín had been translated to the bishopric of León (11/24/1138-1/16/1142) possibly just during the time when Lucas was composing his *Chronicon.*

[35]*Ibid.*

[36]*Ibid.*, pp. 334-335. "per totam Yspaniam."

[37]*Ibid.*, p. 334. "O quam beata tempora ista, in quibus fides catholica sublimatur, heretica praevitas trucidatur et Sarracenorum urbes et castra fidelium gladiis devastantur. Pugnant Yspani reges pro fide et ubique vincunt. Episcopi, abbates et clerus ecclesias et monasteria construunt et ruricole absque formidine agros excolunt, animalia nutriunt, pace fruuntur, et non est qui exterreat eos."

Altogether, this marked expansion of the traditional, mainly political, preoccupations of the Iberian chronicle continued nevertheless to be set within the typical methodology and eclecticism of that genre. Bishop Lucas's modern editor has demonstrated exhaustively his dependence upon the seventh-century *Chronica* of Bishop Isidore of Sevilla, which latter work had indeed been fundamental to the entire subsequent development of the chronicle tradition in the peninsula, as well as upon the ninth-century chronicles of Asturias, the eleventh-century chronicle of Bishop Sampiro, and the twelfth-century chronicles of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, on the *Historia Silense,* roughly contemporary with Bishop Pelayo, and upon the *Chronica Naierensis* of the latter part of the twelfth century. Historical works that fell outside that familiar framework, the twelfth-century *Historia Compostelana,* the *Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún,* and even the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* were perhaps unknown or perhaps rather ignored since they fell rather within the genre of *gestae* rather than chronicle. It may well be, as I have suggested elsewhere, that Bishop Lucas had at his disposal two other chronicles of the traditional type, presently unknown to us, that better suited his needs and his format.[38]

However that may be, Lucas also made use of popular, or epic, literary pieces as had the chronicle tradition already from its beginnings in the ninth century in the mountains of Asturias.[39] For example, the story of the eight-century battle of Pelayo with the Muslims at Covadonga clearly reproduced popular elements.[40] The accounts given of the early history of Castile in the *Chronica Naierensis* still were heavily interlarded with materials drawn from the same type of popular sources.[41] Lucas accepted and repeated these earlier materials and

[38]Reilly, "Sources," pp. 132-135. As to these suggestions, Profesora Falque, in CM, pp. c-ciii, expresses polite reserve, while Professor Linehan, "On Further Thought," pp. 415-416 is more robustly skeptical. Given the strength of the tradition of borrowing verbatim, I incline to let the arguments then stated on literary and terminological bases stand. In light of my present researches, however, I would withdraw the accompanying suggestion that some alternative bases might be found in the *Chronica Latina.*

[39]Ramon Menéndez Pidal, *Reliquias de la poesía épica española* (Madrid, 1951), p. xxxiv had already pointed this out in this classic work He had made his case in more detail in his earlier *Historia y épopeya* (Madrid, 1934), pp. 35-38 and 44-45.

[40]Juan Gil Fernández, José L. Moralejo, and Juan I. Ruiz de la Peña, eds. *Crónicas asturianas* (Oviedo, 1985), pp. 125-129. While generally students of literature are delighted by these survivals, modern historians tend rather to continue to be slightly embarrassed by them. See *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

[41]Juan A. Estévez Sola, ed. ,"Chronica Naierensis" in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII* (Turnholt, 1995). It is Vol. 71A of the CCCM. More particularly, see H. Salvador Martínez,

added to them other tales that subsequently became part of the chronicle canon. For example, with his *Chronicon* the first notice of the legend of Bernardo del Carpio appears, as does a popularized account of the pilgrimage of King Louis VII of France, and there is good reason to suspect he depended as well on epic materials that had grown up around the embattled relationship of Sancho II of Castile and Alfonso VI of León in the period 1065-1072.[42]

This use of literary materials affected the form as well as the content of the Latin chronicle. Specifically, protagonists other than the royal persons and their opponents were sometimes introduced and dialogue was employed to dramatic effect. Here too Lucas was docile to the lead of his sources, usually repeating their dialogue verbatim.[43] While Lucas is the first source for the episode that recounts the visit of Louis VII to Iberia, we may be reasonably sure that he is doing the same thing. There, for instance, the French king speaks directly to Alfonso VII and is answered by him. The drama is further widened when Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona intervenes verbally and Louis of France responds to him in turn.[44] In another scene King Afonso I of Portugal, after having been captured by Fernando II of León in 1169, verbally confesses his aggressions against Fernando's kingdom while the latter responds that he may keep his Portuguese kingdom if he will surrender the lands he has unlawfully seized.[45] In yet another instance, the very words of intercession of Fernando III of Castile, addressed to Saint Isidore of Seville, requesting the latter's assistance in the wars against the Muslims, and the words of the same monarch requesting rather more material assistance from the men of Benevente and Zamora are also recorded.[46] The very infrequency of this use of dialogue, however, sets it off from the usual practice of Lucas and indicates, almost infallibly, his borrowing from popular materials.

Hagiographical materials found their way into Lucas's history as well. Again that was an already established tradition in the Latin chron-

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"Tres leyendas heroicas de la Najarense y sus relaciones con la epica castellana," *Anuario de Letras, Facultad de Filosofia y Letras, Centro de Linguistica Hispanica,* 9 (1971), 115-177.

[42]CM, pp. lxxvii-lxxx; Reilly, "Sources," pp. 128-129 and 136.

[43]For example, see Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorrilla, eds., *Historia Silense* (Madrid, 1959), p. 133; and CM, p. 225.

[44]CM, pp. 314-315.

[45]*Ibid.,* p. 319.

[46]*Ibid.*, pp. 340-341.

icle and one that Lucas duly accepted, copying the testimony of his sources in this regard as well. He also re-employed one of his own works of hagiography, an account of the translation of the relics of San Isidore from the then Muslim kingdom of Seville to the royal city of León in the time of Fernando I (1037-1065), in which dialogue was briefly employed as well.[47] This employment of hagiographical material presupposed the acceptance of the occasional miraculous historical event as literally true, but here again that convention and standpoint had long been typical of the chronicle tradition.

Finally, Lucas is the first historian in the tradition of the Latin chronicle in Iberia to insert a royal document as such into his narrative. That was the so-called "Privilegio de los Votos," or the diploma issued to the shrine church of Santiago de Compostela by the Asturian monarch Ramiro I subsequent to his fabulous victory over the Muslim at Clavijo. Unfortunately the document was itself quite as spurious as the battle.[48] It might be noted that in another genre, the *gesta,* i,e, the *Historia Compostelana* of the first half of the twelfth century, literally hundreds of documents were employed to supplement the narrative. Nevertheless that practice largely remained foreign to the Latin chronicle.

Modern assessments of Bishop Lucas' *Chronicon,* even given that a critical edition has only just become available, have been unfortunately partial and even unrealistic. He has been assailed not only for having been unduly credulous and superstitious, but also for simply incorporating the language as well as the information of his predecessors into his own work without systematically acknowledging his debt to them.[49] In short, most of this criticism overlooks the simple fact that

[47]*Ibid.,* pp, lxxxv-xc and 289-292. A more extensive consideration of this particular work and its relationships is Raymond McCluskey, "The Genesis of the *Concordia* of Martin of León," in *God and Man in Medieval Spain,* eds. Derek W. Lomax and David MCKenzie (Warminster, 1989), pp. 19-36. On the more general subject see Patrick Henriet, "Hagiograhie et historiographie en Péninsule Ibérique XI-XIIè siècles: quelques remarques," in *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilization hispaniques médiévales*, 23 (2000), 53-86 and his *"Sanctissima patria: points et themes communs aux trios oeuvres de Lucas de Tuy, Ibid.,* 24 (2001), 249-278.

[48]CM, pp. lxxxi-lxxxiv and 237-241.

[49]Rafael Ballester y Castell, *Las fuentes narratives de la historia de España durante la Edad Media* Palma de Mallorca, 1908), pp. 74-75, is fairly typical of a twentieth-century attitude that was only grudgingly modified as that century progressed. See Sánchez Alonso, *Historia,* I, 126, in 1947 and more soberly Fernández Conde, "Biógrafo, pp. 309-10 in 1987, and Gil, "Historiografía, pp. 88-95, with more to come below.

Lucas, like his contemporaries, Rodrigo of Toledo and Juan of Osma, was not a professional historian in the twentieth-century sense at all but rather was a cleric by vocation and occupation whose historical work was an avocation at best. In the spare time available to him, within formidable limitations of access to previous historical works and materials, he seems to have performed as a thoroughly creditable amateur, sifting and combining extant information to the best of his abilities, in a fashion and measure that Profesora Falque has made clearer than heretofore.

The application of modern canons, of historical writing, of perspectives, or even of political morality, to him is both anachronistic and faintly absurd. Clearly this thirteenth-century cleric believed in the possibility of miracles as he did in the divinely ordained rule of kings, as moderns ordinarily do not. He believed that the ultimate triumph of Christians over Muslims was desirable, that Christian heretics were abominable, and that Jews were only tolerable on pragmatic grounds, offensive as such beliefs may be to modern, historical canons. Such views are unlikely to persuade us or to seduce us and once noted are, therefore, largely irrelevant to our interests in his achievement.

A more serious concern has recently been raised by Professor Linehan who sees Lucas as systematically and deliberately tampering with his sources in order to promote the interests of his beloved church of León against those of its rival, the primatial see of Toledo.[50] Lucas's modern editor has a long and detailed consideration of the materials that the author employed in Book Three in which she also rehearsed much of the history of the question and suggested her deference to the deductions of Linehan.[51] It does appear to me, however, that the latter's hypotheses depend in considerable degree on inspired hunches as to the probable motives at work in the admitted dependence of Archbishop Rodrigo upon the *Chronicon* of Lucas and on the assumption of a sort of clairvoyance on the part of the latter that allowed him to prejudice the work of the Toledan archbishop before it had even been written.

In addition, I would suggest that we are, collectively, still dependent upon a less than complete knowledge of Lucas sources, particularly for

[50]*History,* pp. 357-377. He pursues the argument with formidable scholarship and considerable erudition.

[51]CM, pp. xlix-lxix.

these centuries.[52] There is, and long has been, a scholarly consensus that the so-called chronicle of the pseudo-Alfonso, archbishop of Toledo, made its first appearance in the CM.[53] This former is a tangle of materials that purports to be a chronicle of the years 633 to 648 in Visigothic Iberia and includes, among other matters, a series of confused references to the prophet Muhammad and the rise of Islam. Professor Linehan has seen in it an original composition of Lucas as part of the latter's defense of the status of Saint Isidore of Sevilla, whose relics had long been resident in Lucas's own collegiate church of San Isidoro of León, in a contemporary situation in which the possible re-conquest of Sevilla by Fernando III inevitably would raise questions as to the latter's ecclesial status relative to Toledo, then primatial see of the peninsula.[54]

Immediate difficulties with such speculation are that the pseudo-chronicle obviously has wider concerns than a Toledo-Sevilla rivalry and that the linking of the Isidorian shrine of León to such a rivalry borders on the gratuitous. To be sure, the southward expansion of the Christian kingdoms of Iberia after the tenth century raised all sorts of problems as to the restoration of the ecclesiastical order of antiquity in the newly recovered lands and these were marked by episcopal rivalries and, not infrequently, forgeries that taxed the ingenuity of Rome to mediate between competing assertions and claims. But the bishopric of León was involved in this struggle only in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to maintain its own status as a see exempt from any metropolitan and the shrine of San Isidoro in that city was even more peripheral to such contests.

Most recently the evaluation of Lucas's *Chronicon* has become further entangled in the analysis of the secular politics of the reign of Fernando III. Several scholars have sought to identify more closely the

[52]Latterly Bautista, "Tudense," pp. 35-41, has revisited the particularly tangled question of the manuscript tradition of the *Chronicon Mundi* and those related textual questions that affect judgments as to its various early redactions, their dating, and their intent, as well as important textual variants related to them.

[53]CM, pp. 161-71.

[54]See his *History,* pp. 357-377, and more recently his "On Further Thought: Lucas of Tuy, Rodrigo of Toledo and the Alfonsine Histories," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales,* 27 (1997): 415-436, where he suggests that Lucas was a sort of literary "terrorist" and his world chronicle a "Chronicle against Toledo," pp. 425-27. More recently still his "Dates and Doubts about don Lucas," *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispanique médiévales,* 24 (2001), 210-217, where he suggests that Lucas was a schizophrenic and speculates that he might not even have been a native of Iberia, pp. 202 and 204-06.

factions at play at that time and, in the process, have sought to select one or the other of the three major chroniclers of the age as spokesmen or even partisans of this or that cabal. Georges Martin has produced a study that examines the attitude of each toward the queen-mother Berenguela and her role in the reign.[55] He finds Lucas to be a firm partisan of Berenguela and her joint rule with her son, but Juan de Osma a supporter rather of the fully independent rule of the son and dismissive, when possible, of the mother, while he credits Archbishop Rodrigo as a more sophisticated manipulator than either who played the magnates and the queen-mother, sometimes even against the king, in the interests of the archbishopric of Toledo.[56] Such delicate interpretation requires much resort to "in all probability," "perhaps more objective," "perhaps more disposed," when Martin moves from the events actually described to the motives and the sensibilities involved in their description by the chroniclers. Especially where it concerns the *Chronica Latina,* for instance, it suffers from the misconceptions for instance, that both Lucas and Juan de Osma completed their histories in 1236 and that the latter's account of the events of Pentecost of 1224 was the composition of Juan himself rather than a borrowed set-piece, as I suspect.[57] Certainly Martin has demonstrated real differences in attitude of these several authors to the proper role of women in royal political life but that they were the spokesmen, or even members, of one or the other political faction depends on inferences and implications over which reasonable historians will differ.

The same sort of utilization of the chronicles of the period marks the very valuable study by Francisco Javier Hernández of the reign of Fernando III, particularly with regard to its continuing relationships with the court of France. He assembles documents not ordinarily employed to demonstrate a continuing and intimate connection between the two royal courts and to add body to the generally laconic narrative of the chronicles.[58] In that process he compares the narratives of the three chroniclers with respect to the participation of the French in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 in the time of Alfosno VIII, the rebellion of the nobility in 1223-1224 early in the

[55] "Berenguela de Castilla (1214-1246) en el espejo de la historiografía de su época," *Historia de las mujeres en España y América Latina,* ed. Isabel Morant, 4 vols in 2 (Madrid, 2005), I, 569-594.

[56] *Ibid.,* pp. 585-86.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 569-70 and p. 581.

[58] "La corte de Fernando III y la casa real de Francia. Documentos, crónicas, monumentos," *Fernando y su tiempo, 1201-1252* (León, 2003), 103-156.

reign of Fernando III, and the resumption of the wars against the Muslims of Andalucía in 1224.[59] In general Hernández finds Lucas largely non-committal or equivocal, Juan of Osma a partisan of the king, and Archbishop Rodrigo a sympathizer if not an ally of the nobility and sometimes of the queen-mother over against the king himself.

In this latter endeavor there are the perhaps inevitable problems. The dubious assertion that Juan's account is earlier than that of Archbishop Rodrigo is one, though it is critical for his argument. Another is the failure to take into consideration the necessary differences that must arise from the fact that while the latter was assembling a history of the world, the former was rendering merely a history of the past eighty years. Finally, it has to be said that, for this student at least, the very passages from the chronicles that Hernández adduces to demonstrate dependence or partisan motives are, at best, more ambiguous than he allows, both as to the direction of the former and the studied intent of the latter.

Of this attempt at closer analysis Peter Linehan is an enthusiastic partisan. Particularly in his "Don Rodrigo and the Government of the Kingdom" he argues not only that the archbishop, and his sometime ally Queen Berenguela, may be detected losing political influence as they aged, particularly after 1240, but in some measure as early as the year 1230.[60] As evidence he emphasizes the importance, in this regard, of the passage of the chancery of the realm of Castile from Archbishop Rodrigo to Juan of Osma in 1230-1231, which process he rightly considers to have originated as a royal initiative, related as well to the subsequent transfer of the chancery of the realm of León in 1231 to the same Juan of Osma. As he points out, what was at work here was the necessary consolidation of a central instrument of royal civil government at the time. However, that, as he illustrates, the royal decision was made in each case before the subsequent and individual agreements over the specific terms of those transfers between the parties, hardly implies the mutual animosities he attaches to those facts.[61] Of course the initiative was King Fernando's and the details and mutual satisfactions were worked out later with the affected parties. How else should such significant decisions have been made?

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109, 111-118, and 120-124.

[60] *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilization hispaniques médiévales,* 26 (2003), 87-99.

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

Professor Linehan also raises these and other matters elsewhere, in particular the delay in the recognition of Juan of Osma's appointment to the latter see after 1230 and the abortive attempt to secure the transfer of Juan to the bishopric of León in 1237.[62] The relative clarification and documentation of all of these complicated issues is a most welcome service. Nor would anyone care to dispute that change is the constant of political life in all ages and that, for actors in the process, aging itself is ordinarily the solvent of political influence. Neither would anyone imagine that such a process is or was ever without its strains, tensions, and rivalries. Notwithstanding, there remains the very real question whether the rise of Juan of Osma was not rather the result of Archbishop Rodrigo's success in advancing the career of a protégé rather than evidence of a younger man supplanting an older rival. In such a question it will not do simply to disregard the "formal" evidence in favor of reliance upon suspicions as to the non-retrievable "realpolitik." behind them[63]

What may be known with fair certainty is that all three of the major historians of the second quarter of the thirteenth century in Castile probably were figures of the court of Fernando III, well known to one another in the peripatetic life of that institution which was their likely common milieu for at least most of each year. One thinks that they could not have been unaware of the historical endeavors of one another, even as those works were in process. Nonetheless, to my mind, there is no convincing, demonstrable rivalry or animosity among them in this regard. The then royal chancellor, Juan, appears initially simply to have chosen to disregard the format of the world chronicle, in favor of a straightforward *gesta* and, although he may have been the first actually to begin to write and almost certainly was the last to finish, later suffered some doubts about his chosen format and, correspondingly, modified it erratically.[64] Though Juan largely ignored the

[62]Peter Linehan, "Don Juan de Soria: unas apostillas," in *Fernando III y su tiempo, 1201-1252* (León, 2003), pp. 375-394.

[63]For example, Linehan, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 87-89, dismisses Julio González's reading of the "formal" record of the agreement between the archbishop of Toldeo and the chancellor Juan at the outset of his study and then the latter's having "shrewdly" appointed the former as an executor of his estate at the conclusion of it. *Ibid.*, p. 99. Gratuitously and anachronistically, he also characterizes the archbishop as "Prince of plagiarists" who "elevated the black art to a level unsurpassed until our own time." *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[64] There is an unresolved, and so-far unaddressed, tangle of intents and genres reflected in the manuscript. I shall attempt to resolve them in full in a subsequent article.

work of his contemporaries he certainly did not suffer for it, at their hands or those of others at court.

In large outlines his career, from abbot at Santander, to abbot at Valladolid, to chancellor of the realm, first of León, then of Castile as well, and then bishop of Osma, and finally bishop of Burgos, is unimaginable without the active support of Archbishop Rodrigo. These positions were politically and ecclesiastically sensitive posts of the highest order, as well as the most desirable of financial plums.[65] There is reason to believe that Juan was a native of Soria and of a family related to Archbishop Rodrigo.[66] He may also have been a canon of Burgos when the future archbishop was himself a member of the chapter there. There is the further possibility that Juan may have, early on, been a member of the cathedral chapter of Toledo, for his praise of Archbishop Rodrigo's predecessor there is fulsome.[67] At any rate, he early had as one of his patrons Bishop Maurice of Burgos, the latter former dean of the cathedral chapter at Toledo and another associate and collaborator of Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo.[68] Then too, as noted above, Juan entered into legal agreements with the archbishop over their relative rights to the chancery of Castile and finally made Rodrigo one of the executors of his own estate. The dozen notices of the archbishop in Juan's *Chronica* are properly sober and respectful of Rodrigo's outstanding role in the life of the realm.[69]

As already mentioned, the relationship between the chronicles of Lucas and of the archbishop of Toledo was so close as to be almost incestuous, both in time of composition and in construction. We cannot be sure of the inner-most feelings of Lucas at Rodrigo's near-appropriation of his opus. Nevertheless, Lucas explicitly praised the

[65]Luciano Serrano, "El canciller de Fernando III de Castilla," *Hispania,* 1 (1941), 3-40. Juan himself describes how he presided at the celebration of the liberation and rededication of Córdoba in 1236 in Rodrigo's stead. CLRC, pp. 116-117. The archbishop mentions the same incident in DRH, p. 299.

[66]Serrano, "Canciller," 4. Serrano's study has the advantage of fullness and a clarity afforded by its separation from the question of the authorship of the CLRC.

[67]O'Callaghan, *Latin Chronicle,* p. xxxvi, referring to CLRC, p. 44: "felicis recordationis, virum discretum, benignum et largum, qui adeo ab omnibus diligibatur quod pater omnium putaretur" called attention to this quite warm reference in the CLRC to the then long deceased Archbishop Martin of Pisuerga (1192-8/28/1208), Rodrigo's immediate predecessor at Toledo.

[68]Serrano, "Canciller," p. 5.

[69] Although Hernández, "Corte," pp. 108-109, finds an implied criticism of the archbishop by Juan in the first of them.

archbishop of Toledo for his evident learning, virtue, and generosity, and for his defense of Catholic truth and for his great work toward the raising of a new cathedral in Toledo.[70] Archbishop Rodrigo himself never referred to Lucas, but one thinks that the latter could never have been preferred to the see of Túy without the Toledan primate's acquiescence at least. It may be remarked, of course, that the bishopric of Túy was humble enough and far removed from the center of political and religious life at the time. It was, even so, a financial "living" well worth having and bishops were hardly required to take up continuous residence in their dioceses in thirteenth-century Iberia.

One cannot speak of a similar literary relationship between Lucas and the chancellor Juan. There is no evidence of borrowing detectable in the chronicles of the two. Certainly Lucas was aware of the career of the latter and spoke of him with favor in Juan's many roles as chancellor and as a clerical builder and patron as abbot at Valladolid and again as bishop at Osma.[71] Juan of Osma, to the contrary, has nothing to say of Lucas in his *Chronica Latina*; but as chancellor and courtier himself most certainly knew the Leonese cleric as Queen Berenguela's protégé, in all likelihood prepared the documents that effected Lucas's appointment to the see of Túy, and would have been consulted in advance as to the suitability of that particular designation.

Finally, though Lucas has properly been assumed to be a partisan, not only of San Isidoro but of that saint's monastery and shrine, on the wider scene it is to be noted that his own compositions in the *Chronicon* are quite remarkably balanced. If anything, in the allocation of space, he inclines to favor Castile. Even the roughest of counts finds that Alfonso IX of León secured but two hundred and twenty-four lines of text. Alfonso VIII of Castile merited three hundred and twenty-four lines and to that number another one hundred and ninety-one lines were assigned to Fernando III. Moreover, as indicated above, Lucas was quite as likely to mention works of art and architecture, public works, and even the pursuit of learning in Castile as in his putatively-preferred León. On the face of things, one might even suspect that many Leonese and Castilians alike appear in the main to have been ready, if not

[70]CM, p 328, "sciencia et moribus eruditus atque omni bonitate conspicuus. Tactus nimio cordis dolore intrinsecus, tamquam catholicae fidei filius se non recusavit subdere laboribus et discriminibus pro defensione catholicae veritatis" and 334, "reverentissimus pater Rodericus archepiscopus Toletanus ecclesiam Toletanum mirabili opera fabricavit"

[71]CM, p. 334.

anxious, to put the roughly three-quarters of a century of strife between the two kingdoms behind them and to celebrate the new unity of the times of Fernando III.

Obviously not all strains were resolved and local preferences continued to be operative. Politics, then as ever, were a constant. But there appears to have existed sufficient good will to allow the quite remarkable, if one thinks of it, assimilation and utilization by Archbishop Rodrigo of the great mass of the literary and historical achievement of his contemporary and relatively humbler fellow churchman and historian, Lucas.[72]

[72]Not that Rodrigo's own judgment ceased to have effect in determined particulars. See the individual touches and modifications that I indicated, in some particulars, in an earlier study:"Rodrigo Giménez de Rada's Portrait of Alfonso VI of León-Castile in the *De Rebus Hispaniae:* Historical Methodology in the Thirteenth Century," in *Estudios en homenage a D. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años* (Buenos Aires, 1985), III, pp. 87-97.

GIACOMO ANTONIO MARTA: ANTIPAPAL LAWYER AND ENGLISH SPY, 1609-1618

BY

PAUL F. GRENDLER*

Giacomo Antonio Marta (1557/58-1629) of Naples was a distinguished legal scholar and professor at several Italian universities. His education, warm feelings for the Jesuits, and career should have made him a papal defender in an era of church-state jurisdictional conflict. But in a legal work of 1609 he limited papal temporal rights and became a spy for James I of England. He published an anonymous pamphlet which excoriated the papacy for its alleged sins and called for a general council to depose Paul V. But not even his enemies believed that he was anything but a Catholic.

The most important and hardest fought political and legal battles in Europe in the first years of the seventeenth century were struggles over the jurisdictional claims of church and state. Popes and civil governments quarreled bitterly over which had jurisdiction in certain kinds of criminal cases and in other church-state matters. These clashes occurred because Europe's civil governments were expanding their control over the inhabitants and institutions in their states at the expense of the powers and rights of the Church and, ultimately, the papacy. Outside of war, church-state jurisdictional clashes became the most important political issue in Europe, because the matter was fundamental: would the Church or the state exercise authority and jurisdiction over some of the most important areas of civil, religious, and institutional life? Secular rulers, jurists, theologians, cardinals, and polemicists of all persuasions argued the issues in virulent pamphlets and measured legal treatises. And some participants took unexpected

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positions. The distinguished legal scholar and university professor Giacomo Antonio Marta was such a person. His upbringing, education, and career should have made him a papal defender. Yet, Marta opposed papal jurisdictional claims and excoriated the papacy for its alleged sins. He wrote a pamphlet calling for a general church council to depose Paul V. And he spied for the Protestant James I of England. Marta's actions and views illustrate unexpected turns found in this period of church-state conflict.

1. Civil and Ecclesiastical jurisdiction

Giacomo Antonio Marta was born in Naples in 1557 or 1558, perhaps of affluent parents, and he probably grew up in Naples.[1] In his will Marta stated that the Jesuits raised him from the age of ten, and that he had come under the protection of Father Alfonso Salmerón (1515-1585), one of the original Jesuits and the provincial of the Jesuit Province of Naples from 1558 to 1575.[2] In other words, Marta was probably orphaned and Salmerón looked after the little boy. In these circumstances it is very likely that he attended Jesuit schools. As a young adult he wrote several short philosophical works which coincided with Jesuit views. At the age of twelve he began legal studies.[3] But the details of his legal education are unknown.

In or about 1583 Marta went to Rome, where Cardinal Luigi d'Este (1538-1586), a philo-French cardinal, initially supported him. Marta probably spent most of the years between 1583 and 1597 in Rome. At this time and in later publications Marta called himself an "advocate [i.e., lawyer] at the Roman Curia."[4] Because some of the agencies that made up the Curia also functioned as courts to resolve disputes involving assignment of clerical offices and benefices, taxes, marriage disputes, dowries, the granting of favors, and much else, they needed

[1]Marta in his works, and his contemporaries in their comments, gave various answers for his age, which coalesce around a birth date of 1557 or 1558.

[2]Enrico Paglia, *Il Dottor Jacopo Antonio Marta giureconsulto napoletano giusta i documenti inediti mantovani* (Mantua, 1886), p. 8, for the text of Marta's will of 1628. Paglia's study is a separate printing of his article in *Atti della R. Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova* (Mantua, 1885-1886). There is no reference to Marta in Salmerón's published correspondence.

[3]Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Memorie istoriche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napoli*, 3 vols. (Naples, 1787-1788), vol. 2, p. 233.

[4]See the title page of his *Decisionum novissimarum Almi Collegii Pisani . . . doctoris Martae iurisconsulti Neapolitani in Romana Curia Advocati* (Venice: Apud Ioan. Antonium & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1608).

lawyers to represent them. It is likely that Marta was accredited to represent clients who had cases before the Curia. He was acquainted with some prominent figures in the papal legal establishment. He acquired an insider's knowledge about legal, jurisdictional, and political actions at the papal court. In 1597 he left Rome to become ordinary professor of civil law at the University of Pisa, during which time he published three legal works.[5] Marta left the University of Pisa in 1603, possibly to return to Rome in some capacity.

Marta's next legal publication was a very large treatise on ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction: *Tractatus de iurisdictione per et inter iudicem ecclesiasticum et secularem exercenda in omni foro et principum consistoriis versantibus maxime necessarius Doctoris Martae, iuris consulti Neapolitani, in alma urbe Advocato.* (A most necessary treatise concerning the exercise of jurisdiction through and between the ecclesiastical and secular judge, in every forum and for princely consistories so occupied, by Doctor Marta, Neapolitan jurisconsult and advocate in the kind city). Mainz: Typis Ioannis Albini, sumptibus vero Hulderici Rewall, MDCIX (1609).[6] Marta dedicated volume one to Pope Paul V and volume two to Cardinal Ottavio Pallavicino.

Anything written about ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction was guaranteed to attract attention in Italy and Europe after the bitter struggle over the Venetian Interdict of 1606 and 1607. In December 1605 Pope Paul V issued an ultimatum: if the Republic of Venice would not hand over for trial in a church court two clergymen accused of crimes, whom the Republic intended to try in civil courts, and revoke a law asserting civil jurisdiction over clergymen accused of crimes, and other laws sharply limiting the rights of church organizations to receive land bequests, to build churches, and to regain control of lands leased to laymen, he would excommunicate the Venetian Senate and impose an interdict on the Republic. Venice refused, and the pope acted on his threat in April 1606. The interdict forbade clergymen to exercise almost all priestly duties, such as celebrating Mass and administering the sacraments. In response the Republic ordered Venetian

[5]Danilo Barsanti, "I docenti e le cattedre dal 1543 al 1737" in *Storia dell'Università di Pisa,* Vol. 1 in 2 parts: *1343-1737* (Pisa, 1993), part 2, pp. 524, 547 (whole article pp. 505-566).

[6]Although usually bound as a single large volume, it is divided into two volumes with separate title pages and pagination. The British Library copy has been used.

clergymen to disobey the papacy under pain of death. The majority probably obeyed willingly; others were coerced, some fled, and the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Theatines, who refused to obey, were expelled from the Venetian state. Both the Republic and the papacy applied diplomatic pressure and made ostentatious preparations for war.

Within a few months the Republic and the papacy reached an impasse and began to extend peace feelers. Paul V softened his position, and divisions appeared in Venetian ranks. In February 1607 the Venetians accepted mediation by a French cardinal, and on April 21, 1607, the pope lifted the interdict. A compromise favoring Venice was reached. The Venetians handed over to the French king the clergymen sought by Rome but retained the laws restricting the rights of the Church.

For the rest of Italy and Europe the church-state issues publicly debated were more important than the interdict itself, because the rights and powers of Church and state were the most disputed governmental issues of the times. Venetian and papal advocates defended their respective positions, and soon James I of England, French Gallicans, German Jesuits, and Huguenot theologians joined the paper war. Jurists burrowed into precedents, arguments, and citations. The reasons were obvious: governments everywhere, Catholic and Protestant, were seeking to expand their control over the subjects and institutions in their states, while churchmen saw their traditional rights and liberties threatened or revoked.

Marta produced a huge legal work discussing jurisdictional issues in the broadest legal and historical context and in hundreds of precise, although theoretical, legal circumstances. The book had four parts. Marta presented his historical and theoretical views on jurisdiction in the first nineteen chapters.[7] He began by recognizing the pope as God's vicar on earth and the source of all jurisdiction. He defined jurisdiction as dominion over temporal things. Because God conceded jurisdiction to Adam and then to men, it followed that God was the master of all temporal things and the source of all authority. Dominion over earthly things came from God, and no king had power over temporal things without the will of God. Marta made considerable use of

[7]For what follows, see the first nineteen chapters in Marta, *Tractatus de jurisdictione*, vol. 1, pp. 1-39. Francesco De Paola, *Il carteggio del napoletano Jacopo Antonio Marta con la corte di Inghilterra (1611-1615)* (Lecce, 1984), pp. 17-20, 246-250, provides a useful summary of this material.

the Old Testament, especially the books of Judges and Samuel in which God granted jurisdiction to priests, who then chose or denounced rulers. God wanted His people to be governed by priests, such as the prophet Elias. Marta noted that the Israelite judge Samuel, a ruler over temporal things, was first a priest. Marta then extrapolated from the Old Testament to argue that even the Holy Roman Emperor was a feudatory of the Church.

But then Marta narrowed and subdivided jurisdiction, by dividing it into the office of jurisdiction and the authority of jurisdiction. The former meant the faculty or means of administering justice and ensuring equity. The second form of jurisdiction was the power of governing the people by right and with laws. This was subdivided into spiritual jurisdiction, which Marta further defined as ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and temporal jurisdiction. Both came from God. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction meant the divine power delegated to Moses and ordinarily guided by Christ for the purpose of governing the faithful according to the Gospel in supernatural things and, when necessary, also in temporal matters. Temporal jurisdiction was the divine power conceded to Moses the priest to enable men to live well according to natural precepts. It was also given to usurpers and confirmed in their successors according to the natural laws of peoples.

Because God conceded also to usurpers the faculty of legislating, it followed that one must obey unfaithful princes, because they also drew their power from God. In so far as he raised issues of political philosophy, Marta endorsed the divine right of kings, probably the dominant position of the day, and rejected constitutionalism. Since the ruler's power came from God or from the Church, rather than from the original consent of the people, no argument to limit or depose the ruler could be made. Subjects must obey even a bad ruler because his power came from God. The most important principle espoused in the treatise may have been this one, that the power of temporal princes came directly and immediately from God.[8] In particular, Marta seemed almost eager, if legal prose can ever be described as eager, to affirm the rights and importance of the Holy Roman Emperor. The empire was a transmitter of divine power; indeed, the emperor was the father of all.

The pope and the emperor were the ordinary judges of men, because God delegated to them power, and they have the consent of

[8]De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 18, also makes this point.

provinces and peoples. Such power eliminated dissent and violence. Marta then passed in review authorities such as St. Augustine who argued that there were two authorities governing the world. He noted that the pope's temporal jurisdiction in Italy was founded on the Donation of Constantine and cited it as a reminder that the world was ruled by two powers, king and priest.

Having established that there were two authorities on earth, pope and emperor, Marta separated their spheres in ways that sharply limited the authority of the pope and Church in temporal matters. He cited St. Ambrose's dictum that emperors have competence over palaces, and priests over churches. He introduced the juridical principle that if the pope were superior in all temporal jurisdictions, the law would give him authority in the appeal of sentences, which was not the case. Marta cited popes Alexander III (1159-1181) and Clement V (1305-1314) to support the principle that popes do not have jurisdiction beyond the papal state and may not participate in appeals from civil judges. He noted that St. Peter ordered Christians to obey kings, even the pagan kings of those times (1 Peter 2:13-14).There cannot be two conjoined masters. Consequently, the emperor, not the pope, was master of the world.

Marta adduced a long series of references from the Old Testament, the New Testament, and authorities from the Middle Ages in support of the separation of the two and the temporal power of the emperor. Because the spiritual monarchy and the temporal monarchy have two distinct functions, they cannot be combined in one person. In spiritual matters Marta noted with approval that Cardinal Tommaso de Vio Cajetan (1460-1534) had argued that the pope had the most ample authority over every temporal jurisdiction and could use it when necessary for supernatural ends. He had the power to create new princes, to remove others, and to divide empires. But then Marta added that the Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) had argued that the pope was not the master of all the world, but only of his own sheep, which Peter had entrusted to him. Infidels were not the pope's sheep.

Despite the complexities, to this point Marta basically argued for separation of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction, and he tended to deny to the Church the authority to intervene in temporal matters. But then in the next chapters, Marta reversed direction and argued that popes had jurisdiction in temporal matters, citing in support a vast number of mostly medieval authorities.

However, the book was fundamentally a legal reference work, not a theoretical treatise. The rest of the huge tome dealt with precise legal questions. Some fifty-five chapters discussed mixed church and state jurisdiction.[9] On the whole, Marta favored the rights of the Church more often than the state in the examples presented. For example, Marta defended interdicts and excommunication but set limits on their use. But he never referred to the recent papal-Venetian conflict. The fourth part of the book, which comprised volume two, consisted of some two-hundred chapters dealing with every possible potential situation in which civil judges presumed that they had jurisdiction over ecclesiastics. Marta did not discuss actual cases. Rather, he presented one theoretical example after another in order to determine whether lay courts might try clergymen and the legal paths to be followed. While it is difficult to generalize from theoretical examples, it appears that most of the time Marta insisted on ecclesiastical jurisdiction over clergymen. But under some circumstances he permitted civil courts to try clergymen, a principle that Paul V rejected. In one example he argued that the secular court might punish a clergyman who committed murder if the ecclesiastical court first passed sentence.[10] To some extent he restricted the actions of clergymen in the civil sphere. Perhaps the strongest overall message of the book was to narrow the practical applicability of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The book was a legal treatise and reference work lacking a political philosophy. Marta probably enjoyed giving references and examples supporting both sides of the issue, a tradition stemming from the *sic et non* nature of scholastic legal reasoning. Legal scholars and political theorists probably found the book a storehouse of distinctions and references which could be used to support either civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, depending on the particular dispute or the point of view. This was one reason for writing the book; the other was to boost Marta's reputation as a legal scholar. The four additional printings of the work that appeared between 1616 and 1620, plus reprints in 1669 and 1709, suggest that he succeeded in both goals.[11]

[9]Marta, *Tractatus de jurisdictione*, vol. 1, pp. 156-292; the material on excommunication and interdict is found in vol. 1, pp. 295-344.

[10]Marta, *Tractatus de iurisdictione*, vol. 2, pp. 222-223, *casus* 129. See also *casus* 126 and 127, pp. 218-220. In general, cases 150 to 200, pp. 184-314, present a minority of theoretical examples in which clergymen may be tried in lay courts under certain conditions.

[11]It was reprinted in Cologne, 1616; Turin, 1620; Mainz, 1620; Avignon, 1620; Avignon, 1669; and Avignon, 1709. See Giustiniani, *Memorie*, vol. 2, p. 237; Paglia, *Marta*, p. 12; De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 14-15 n. 20, 243 n. 1; and various library catalogues.

Despite dedications to the pope and a cardinal, and many pages supporting ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the papacy was not happy with the book. On April 2, 1610, the Congregation of the Index placed the book on the Index of Prohibited Books for its "many errors" in matters of faith.[12] Possibly Marta's argument that a ruler's temporal authority came directly from God was what the Congregation of the Index found objectionable. But it is not clear that Marta viewed his book as challenging papal jurisdiction; he may have seen himself as simply presenting a non-partisan scholarly analysis of complicated legal issues. As a scholar Marta pursued legal arguments to their logical conclusions without necessarily realizing how popes and rulers in the real world might react to his words.

What the papacy found objectionable in the *Tractatus de iurisdictione*, the Republic of Venice welcomed. Marta came to the attention of Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), theologian to the Republic and intellectual leader of the antipapal party in Venice. Sarpi and Marta probably met in Venice in 1611 or 1612. Most important, Sarpi knew Marta's *Tractatus de iurisdictione*, because he referred to Marta as one of many jurisconsults who supported Venetian claims.[13]

Thanks to the *Tractatus de iurisdictione* and support from Sarpi and like-minded Venetian nobles, Marta obtained one of the highest prizes in the Italian academic world, a professorship at the University of Padua. In 1611 the man who had filled the position of first afternoon professor of canon law at the University of Padua since 1582 died. Thanks to the support of Paolo Sarpi and several influential Venetian patricians with fervent antipapal views, Marta obtained the position in the fall of 1611. Marta received a four-year contract at a salary of 650 Paduan florins. It was a good salary, but far from the highest among the professors of law.[14]

[12]See *Index librorum prohibitorum 1600-1966*, ed. J. M. De Bujanda with the assistance of Marcella Richter (Sherbrooke, Montréal, and Genève, 2002), p. 592, for the date of the decree, but not the text of the decree, which has not been located. See also the letter of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, the papal secretary of state, to Berlinghiero Gessi, the papal nuncio to Venice, of September 20, 1614, Rome, which gives as a reason the "molti errori etiam in cose di fede." Pietro Savio, "Il nunzio a Venezia dopo l'interdetto," *Archivio veneto*, Serie 5, vols. 56-57 (1955), p. 63, n. 2 (entire article pp. 55-110). The condemnation was reaffirmed on July 3, 1623, and repeated in subsequent Indices.

[13]Paolo Sarpi, *Opera*. eds. Gaetano and Luisa Cozzi (Milan and Naples, 1969), p. 627. Sarpi also named Marta as one of twenty-three jurisconsults who supported Venetian claims on p. 630.

[14]For the Senate action appointing Marta, see Gaetano Cozzi, *Il doge Nicolò Contarini: Ricerche sul patriziato veneziano agli inizi del Seicento* (Venice and Rome,

2. A Spy for James I

At this time Marta began the most unusual and controversial episode of his life. On June 19, 1612, Marta offered to provide James I with secret information on what was transpiring in Rome.[15] James I listened, because he wished to forge a grand alliance of Protestant and Catholic states against Spain and the papacy, which he saw as a Spanish ally. If his scheme were to succeed, the king needed information about papal intentions. He accepted Marta's offer.

The conduit for Marta's intelligence reports was the English ambassador to Venice, Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632).[16] In 1604 Venice and England had restored diplomatic relations broken off in the reign of Elizabeth I. Each now had a resident ambassador at the other's court to present the home government's views. But this was only part of an ambassador's duties; he was also expected to gather information. Since England, a Protestant state, had no diplomatic ties with the papacy nor resident ambassadors in other Italian states, the English ambassador to Venice gathered information for the entire peninsula. Like all other ambassadors at the time, Carleton employed informants and spies for this purpose.

Marta fulfilled his commitment. From June 19, 1612, through May 28, 1615, the surviving correspondence between Marta and the English government amounted to 122 letters: eighty-one from Marta to Carleton and one to Carleton's secretary, seven from Marta to James I, five from Marta to the secretary of James I, twenty-two from Carleton to Marta, and four letters of Marta and Carleton to other parties.[17] The vast majority of the letters, including those of Carleton to Marta, were written in Italian, a few in Latin. Sections of some letters were written in a simple code in which a two-digit number represented individuals or states. Carleton's gondolier and sometimes his secretary carried the letters back and forth between Padua and Venice.

1958), pp. 131 n. 2 and 132 n. 1; see also Wolfgang Reinhard, "Papst Paul V. und seine Nuntien im Kampf gegen die 'Supplicatio ad Imperatorem' und ihren Verfasser Giacomo Antonio Marta 1613-1620," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 60 (1969), pp. 213-214 (whole article pp. 190-238); and Jacopo Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini*, 3 vols. (Padua, 1757; reprinted in one volume Bologna, 1978), part 3, pp. 82-83, 94.

[15]Marta's letter to James I of June 19, 1612, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 58-59.

[16]For Carleton, see L. J. Reeve, "Carleton, Dudley," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004), vol. 10, pp. 105-108.

[17]The correspondence from the Public Record Office in London is printed in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 58-215.

Much of the intelligence that Marta delivered consisted of reports about the actions and intentions of governments and their leaders, including comments about the personal habits, lives, and health of rulers; the comings and goings of diplomats; the number of soldiers in the pay of a ruler; the destination of armies; rumors of future appointments and elevations to the College of Cardinals; and anything else that seemed relevant. Some of the information was clearly important; other items did not rise above gossip.

The first major issue about which Marta provided intelligence from Rome was the proposed marriage between Prince Henry, the oldest son of James I, and Caterina de' Medici (1593-1629), sister of Cosimo II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany. For some time James had been seeking a marriage alliance with a major Catholic ruling family. The Medici were such a family, not least because Marie de Médicis (1573-1642) at that time was the regent of France. A Medici marriage would be a huge step toward his dream of becoming the mediator between Protestant and Catholic Europe. In addition, a marriage alliance with one of the reigning Catholic houses would yield more prestige and considerably more money than marrying Henry to a daughter of the king of Sweden or Denmark or to a German Lutheran princess. Most important, the proposed marriage had the potential to change the dynastic, diplomatic, and religious map of Europe because, in the normal course of events, Henry Stuart and Caterina de' Medici would become king and queen of England and produce children. It might be the first step toward bringing England back into the Catholic fold, an outcome for which the papacy and others on the continent hoped, and many in England feared.

On July 15, 1612, Marta summarized papal opinion for Carleton. He reported that the cardinals were divided on the proposed marriage. Some favored it, believing that Caterina might be permitted to remain Catholic in such a union. On the other hand, canon law prohibited marriage between spouses of different religions, and Cardinal Bellarmine had written against such unions. And the cardinals wondered about the religion of their children. In Marta's opinion the majority of the cardinals did not think that Paul V would grant the necessary papal dispensation for the marriage to take place.[18] In the end,

[18]Marta to Carleton, July 15, 1612, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 67-68. See also Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, translated by F. I. Antrobus et al., 40 vols. (London and St. Louis, 1891-1953), vol. 26, pp. 190-191.

no decision was needed. Prince Henry, born on February 19, 1594, and never strong, suddenly died on November 6, 1612, and the issue died with him.

Soon thereafter war broke out between Piedmont-Savoy and Mantua over the Mantuan territory of Monferrato. The marquisate of Monferrato was a discontinuous part of the Mantuan state located some 200 kilometers west of the city of Mantua. It included the fortress town of Casale Monferrato, a coveted military position that was the key to control of northwestern Italy and gateway to any invasion of northern Italy. On December 22, 1612, Francesco IV Gonzaga (1586-1612), duke of Mantua for only six and a half months, died, leaving only a three-year old daughter. Next in line was his brother, Cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga (1589-ruled 1613-1626). Ferdinando immediately started proceedings to get the necessary dispensation to shed his cardinal's robes in order to become the duke of Mantua and marquis of Monferrato and to marry. However, Francesco IV had been married to the daughter of Carlo Emanuele I (1562-ruled 1580-1630), duke of Piedmont-Savoy. Carlo Emanuele immediately claimed Monferrato for his granddaughter on the basis of a feudal claim through the female line. And he took military action.

On April 23, 1613, Carlo Emanuele invaded the marquisate of Monferrato, and Gonzaga troops fought back. Spain objected to the aggression of Piedmont-Savoy because, if Casale Monferrato fell, the door would be open for the French to invade Spanish-held Lombardy. So, Spain attacked Piedmont-Savoy. Carlo Emanuele responded by loudly proclaiming a war of Italian liberation against the Spanish tyrant. Both Mantua and Piedmont-Savoy sought papal support, and France and Venice became diplomatically involved.[19] The struggle soon became more diplomatic than military, and Rome, where Marta had contacts, was a good listening post.

From May 1, 1613, through May 1615, Marta sent the English ambassador letter after letter with information about the actions and stances of the parties involved in the crisis.[20] He frequently reported on the

[19]For a brief military and political account, see Romolo Quazza, *Preponderanza spagnuola (1559-1700)* (Milan, 1950), pp. 408-419. For papal policy during the War of Monferrato, see Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 25, pp. 420-422.

[20]See Marta's letters to Carleton of May 1, 1613, through May 28, 1615, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 111-112, 114-116, 118, 129-130, 139-140, 155-156, 168, 191-193, 196, 197, 200, 203-212, 214. It appears that other letters from Marta have not survived.

number and disposition of troops available to the various parties, information gathered by his informants in Mantua and Milan. Marta wrote that the papacy wished to remain neutral, that the governor of Milan would not let Mantuan troops pass through Lombardy to attack Piedmont-Savoy without permission from Spain, and that the new duke of Mantua lacked money to fight the war.

Marta also gave James I unsolicited advice. In a letter to the king of June 6, 1613, Marta combined information with strategic counsel.[21] He began by announcing that the outbreak of war in Italy offered the opportunity for an alliance of all Christians, Catholics and Protestants alike, against the barbarous tyrants and perverse and vicious ecclesiastics. The barbarous tyrants were the Spanish, and the perverse and vicious ecclesiastics were the pope and cardinals. Marta saw Spain and the papacy working hand in glove, an assessment not shared by modern scholars. Marta described nefarious deals that the Spaniards and the pope allegedly had made. He assured James that, in order to escape Spanish rule, the people of Naples, his native city, would be happy to become subjects of England.[22] Above all, he urged James to assist the duke of Piedmont-Savoy. Then with the king's help, a church council with authority over the pope could be convoked to deal with the Roman thieves, while the barbarous tyrants would be extirpated, he concluded.

As might be expected, Marta advised what the king desired. James I sought to forge a grand anti-Spanish alliance consisting of England, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the German Protestant union of Halle, three Protestant Swiss cantons, and the Catholic states of Piedmont-Savoy and Venice. But it did not come to pass. All that James I could produce for Piedmont-Savoy was a little money. After a while Carlo Emanuele could no longer afford to keep troops in the field, and the war sputtered on at a reduced level, as the sides engaged in protracted peace negotiations.

Marta provided information to the English on a variety of other matters as well. He reported on the pope's diplomatic leanings and rumors about elevations to the College of Cardinals. He reported every illness

[21]Marta's letter to James I of June 6, 1613, Venice, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 131-134.

[22]The idea was not as far-fetched as it sounds. In their anti-Spanish revolt of 1647 the Neapolitans declared Naples a free republic under a Frenchman, Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise. Quazza, *Preponderanza spagnuola*, pp. 505, 507-511.

and rumor of illness of Paul V.[23] On January 31, 1615, the father general of the Society of Jesus died. Marta reported that France wanted the Jesuits to choose a Frenchman as successor, and Spain wanted a Spaniard.[24] The astute Jesuits elected an Italian, Muzio Vitelleschi.

Because he lived in Padua, Marta could not personally act in Rome, Milan, and elsewhere. Instead, he organized and directed a network of people living in these cities who gathered intelligence and submitted it to him. Marta evaluated the intelligence, then gave Carleton a summary with commentary. The only informant whom Marta named was his "secret correspondent" in Rome, Francesco Visdomini, whom he described as a most noble Milanese gentleman.[25] According to Marta, Visdomini had served two influential curial cardinals, and was currently a courtier to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. Paul V's nephew and secretary of state, Borghese (1578-1633) was the second most important person in Rome. In other words, Visdomini was not only an experienced papal hand, but he was probably part of the *familia* and possibly lived in the house of the person who oversaw papal diplomacy. Marta also had contacts in Milan, ruled by Spain, who provided intelligence from that city.[26] And on one occasion a Paduan priest who spent time in Mantua passed on information from Mantua and Casale Monferrato.[27] Others may also have worked for Marta. It was an extensive network of informers.

[23]See, for example, Marta's letter to Carleton of May 28, 1615, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 213.

[24]Letter of Marta to Carleton, February 19, 1615, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 208.

[25]"Io scrissi in Roma per haver un corrispondente secreto, e con 400 scudi l'anno, quanti V(ostra) E(eccelenza) mi disse, s'haveria il Secretario Visdomini, gentilhuom nobilissimo Milanese, il quale fù secretario del Cardinale di Como [Taddeo Galli, 1526-1607] e poi è stato secretario del cardinal Tonto [Michelangelo Tonti, created cardinal 1608, d. 1622], e poi ch'il cardinale Tonto fù disgratiato, esso si licentiò della sua servitù, et hor non stà con nissuno, ma corteggia il card.le Borghese." Letter of Marta to Carleton, April 6, 1614, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 170; Marta gave Visdomini's first name as "Francesco" on p. 173.

[26]"Io hò inteso per lettere d'amici di Milano. . . ." And "Di Milano anco si scrive. . . ." Letter of Marta to Carleton, May 8, 1613, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 114, 115.

[27]"Qui è gionto un prete padovano che litiga in Mantova innanzi al vescovo, che è mio cliente, il quale hà havuto copia di questo capitolo qui incluso, scritto da Casale ad un corteggiano di Mantova, per il quale V(ostra) E(minenza) vedrà in che stato si stà, et anco m'hà detto in voce, che in Mantova il duca senza dinari si tiene per perso, e che molti nobili di là, cosi dicono." Letter of Marta to Carleton of May 10, 1613, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 116.

At a time when individuals in courts across Europe passed on information to foreign diplomats, it can be difficult to draw a distinction between espionage and the more innocent act of writing and sending information letters. Marta's actions should be seen as espionage for several reasons. He secretly gathered information about the papacy and passed it on to England, which was hostile to the papacy. Although not at war with each other, England and the papacy lacked diplomatic relations, and the two powers normally adhered to opposed diplomatic alliances. Above all, they were on opposite sides of the religious fence. Indeed, James I persecuted English Catholics at various times in his reign and forbade them from contacts with the pope. For these reasons, the papacy certainly viewed Marta's spying as a hostile act. In addition, Marta's actions were unlawful in the eyes of the Venetian government, which punished severely its subjects, even Venetian senators, who passed on information to foreign powers or had unauthorized contacts with foreign rulers. If the Venetian authorities had discovered Marta's activities, they probably would have punished him. At the minimum, they would have forced him to stop. Finally, Marta relayed to James I military information in a time of war. Governments then and now take a dim view of the gathering and passing on to foreign governments information about the numbers and movements of troops.

Marta's espionage was obviously useful, although it is difficult to judge how useful from a distance of nearly four hundred years. Nevertheless, the English thought highly enough of Marta's product to pay him 50 ducats per month, a total of 1,200 ducats for the period October 1, 1612, through September 30, 1614.[28] This was fourteen per cent more than his academic salary, and law professors were paid well.[29] But Marta may not have realized much profit, because he had to pay his informants. He paid Visdomini 400 scudi per year, some of

[28]For the letters concerning payments, see Marta to Carleton, January 8, 1613, Padua, which established the payment as 600 scudi per annum; Marta to James I of January 15, 1613, Padua; plus other letters. De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta,* pp. 87, 92, 175-176, and 188-189.

[29]Marta received 650 Paduan florins (worth 5 lire each) annually for teaching. He received 600 scudi annually for spying, a total of 1,200 scudi for two years. A scudo was worth about the same as the Venetian ducat of account, which was pegged at 6 lire, 4 soldi (20 soldi = 1 lira). Thus, Marta's academic salary yielded 3,250 lire (650 × 5) annually, while spying for the English earned 3,720 lire (600 × 6.2), which was 14 % more. To be sure, law professors often earned additional income through private tutoring, examining degree candidates as members of colleges of doctors of law, and writing *consilia* (legal opinions) for private clients.

which Visdomini may have dispersed to others.[30] In other words, two-thirds or more of what Marta received from the English crown went to members of his network.

Marta provided intelligence to Carleton at the rate of three to six letters per month through January 1615. But Carleton gradually cooled toward Marta. In June 1614 he complained to Marta that while much of his information from Rome was "good and authentic," some of it was simply "talk and inventions." Moreover, Carleton did not like Marta writing directly to the king and his minister in London.[31] In late January 1615, James I ordered Carleton to go to Turin in order to try to negotiate peace between Piedmont-Savoy and the Spanish governor of Milan, and he left Venice in February.[32] Marta continued to write to Carleton, but the letters dwindled to one in February, two in April, and two more in May, after which the correspondence ceased.[33]

Marta's spy career continued with the next ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), famous for his pun, "An ambassador is an honest man sent to lie [which also meant 'reside' in contemporary English] abroad for the good of his country."[34] He arrived in Venice on June 9, 1616.[35] Marta went to Wotton with a new scheme. He had a plan for a

[30]Letter of Marta to Carleton of April 6, 1615, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 170.

[31]"Quanto a gli avisi di Roma sono sicurissimo per molti argomenti, che Ella me ne fara parte quando sono buoni et autentichi. Però s'ella gli indica più tosto discorsi et inventionj che cose sode e realij, fa meglio assai di non mandarli, perche di robba cosi fatta non ci è mai carestia in Venetia." Carleton to Marta, June 8, 1614, Venice, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 177. See also Carleton's letter to Lord Somerset of June 24, 1614, Venice, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 178-179.

[32]One may follow Carleton's movements in the notes to the Sarpi-Carleton correspondence in Sarpi, *Opere*, pp. 691-694.

[33]De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 207-215.

[34]Wotton's famous quip was a pun, because "lie" at that time had two meanings: to reside and to tell a falsehood. Indeed, Wotton used "lie," meaning "reside," many times in his correspondence. See, for example, Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1907), vol. 2, p. 98. But in 1604 he wrote it for a friend in Latin, in which the pun disappears: "Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum rei publicae causa." "Mentior" has only one meaning, to tell a falsehood. When Wotton's quip (in Latin) was relayed to James I, the king was not amused, and Wotton's career suffered a temporary halt. A. J. Loomie, "Wotton, Henry," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 60, pp. 379-380 (entire article pp. 377-382). For Wotton, in addition to Smith and Loomie, see Gerald Curzon, *Wotton and His Worlds: Spying, Science and Venetian Intrigues* (n.p., 2003). This was Wotton's second posting to Venice; he had been ambassador to Venice from 1604 to 1610.

[35]Smith, *Life of Wotton*, vol. 1, p. 147.

council of Greek bishops and he wished Wotton to meet two Greeks, one a bishop in the Greek Orthodox Church. The proposed council of Greek bishops would transfer much papal authority to the Patriarch of Constantinople. It would also re-examine canon law, the decisions of the councils of Florence (1438-1445) and Trent (1545-1563), "where the suffrages [votes] were not free," and papal claims that it had the power to depose kings. In other words, it would be a church council that would revisit the decisions of Florence and Trent and sharply restrict papal authority. Marta gave Wotton a list of more than a hundred Greek bishops who were prepared to attend such a council.[36]

Wotton told Marta that he would have to consult with the king. Instead, he talked to Sarpi and his follower, Fulgenzio Micanzio. They were skeptical of the plan, and Wotton relayed their doubts to James I.[37] Sarpi and Micanzio may or may not have been correct in their assessment of Marta's scheme and the capability of action of the Greek bishops. Nevertheless, James and some Greek bishops wished to bring the Greek Orthodox Church and the Church of England closer together, always in opposition to the papacy. As part of the effort James brought several Greek clergymen and students to England and supported them in their studies at Oxford and Cambridge.[38]

Although he dismissed the idea of a council of Greek bishops, Wotton told the king that he expected to be able to use Marta "in some things" and would keep him on the payroll. Since Wotton paid Marta 300 ducats in September 1616, and more money in June 1618, it is very likely that Marta continued to gather intelligence for England, at least until Wotton left Venice in May 1619.[39]

3. The *Supplicatio ad imperatorem . . . contra Paulum Quintum*

In addition to spying, Marta, with the help of Carleton and James I, published in London a strong attack against the papacy. In October 1612 Marta wrote to James I about a new book by an unknown author

[36]Letter of Wotton to James I, August 9, 1616, Venice, in Smith, *Life of Wotton*, vol. 2, p. 98. The Old Style date, which was then ten days behind, has been converted to New Style.

[37]Letter of Wotton to James I, August 9, 1616, in Smith, *Life of Wotton*, vol. 2, p. 99. Micanzio (1570-1654) was Sarpi's follower, friend, and eventual biographer.

[38]W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 196-219.

[39]Letters of Wotton of September 2, 9, 1616, and June 11, 1618, in Smith, *Life of Wotton*, vol. 2, pp. 101, 104, 141.

which called for a general council of the Catholic Church. It was his own work. In December he gave the manuscript to Carleton, who forwarded it to London where James read it. The king was very pleased with the work and instructed Carleton to put Marta under his protection. In April 1613 Marta was happy to learn that the book had been published in London.[40] The book was *Supplicatio ad imperatorem, reges, principes, super causis generalis concilij convocandi. Contra Paulum Quintum* (Supplication to the emperor, kings, and princes, concerning the reasons for calling a general council. Against Paul V) London: Excudebat Bonham Norton, Serenissimae Regiae Maiestatis in Latinis, Graecis, & Hebriacis Typographus, 1613. It is a small octavo of 30 pages of text plus introductory matter.[41] The dedicatory letter to James I was signed by "Novus Homo," who was Marta.

The expanded title of the English translation of 1622 gives a better idea of the contents and tone of the work: *The New Man, or a supplication from an unknown Person, a Roman Catholicke unto James, the Monarch of Great Brittaine, and from him to the Emperour, Kings, and Princes of the Christian World. Touching the causes and reasons that will argue a necessity of a Generall Councell to be forthwith assembled against him that now usurps the papall Chaire under the name of Paul the fifth. Wherein are discovered more of the secret Iniquities of the Chaire and Court, then hitherto their friends feared, or their very adversaries did suspect. Translated into English by William Crashaw, Batchelour in Divinity, according to the Latin Copy, sent from Rome into England.* London, Printed by Bernard Alsop, for George Norton, and are to bee sold in Distaffe-lane, at the signe of the Dolphin. 1622.[42]

[40]Letters of Marta to James I of October 1, 1612, Padua, and no date but December 1612, no place; Carleton to Marta, January 5, 1613, Venice; and Marta to James I, April 24, 1613, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 71, 83, 84, 109.

[41]The copy in the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress has been examined. De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 215-242, also provides the complete text. Some library catalogues attribute the book to other authors, such as Martinus Becanus (1563-1624). Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 25, p. 69 n. 3, mentioned the *Supplicatio* with its "violent attacks against Paul V and the papacy in general" and guessed that it came from "Sarpi's milieu."

[42]The copy used comes from Harvard University and is available through Early English Books Online, STC 1705/5. It is a small duodecimo book of 16 pages of introductory matter, including table of contents, and 40 pages of text. There were two printings of the 1622 edition with very minor differences which do not affect the content. In the discussion that follows, references are made to all three versions: the 1613 Latin edition; the reprint of the text in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*; and the 1622 English translation.

In the dedicatory letter, Marta, in the disguise of "Novus Homo," addressed the king, saying that it was now clear that the Church of Rome suffered greatly from simony and other crimes of the current pope. But no one in Rome was willing to rectify matters. Hence, God had stirred up the New Man to write down all the reasons why a general council of the Church should be summoned to purge the Church of Rome. "Novus Homo" was sending the king this supplication, which he should give to the emperor and the kings and princes of Europe.[43]

The sweeping argument of the pamphlet was that Sixtus V, Clement VIII, and Paul V, who ruled from 1585 through 1613, were not true popes because they were fraudulently elected. (Marta did not mention four short-lived popes, Urban VII, Gregory XIV, and Innocent IX, who succeeded one another from September 15, 1590, through December 30, 1591, and Leo XI, who lasted seventeen days in April 1605.) Since they were not true popes, the cardinals whom they created were not true cardinals. Moreover, Paul V had engaged in nepotism and simony on a grand scale. Only a general church council could set the Church right. Because the pope and the cardinals were illegitimate, they could not summon it. But the emperor had the power and the duty to call a general council to deal with the corrupt papacy. The pamphlet combined conclave stories, detailed accusations of simony and nepotism, personal attacks against Paul V and Cardinal Scipione Borghese, conciliar history and theory, and legal arguments and citations.

Marta began with an account of the election of Sixtus V in 1585, alleging that he had bought the papacy with the aid of Cardinal Luigi d'Este, Marta's early patron, and a promise to make a key supporter a cardinal. Marta argued that Clement VIII (1592-1605) and Paul V also became popes as a result of conclave misbehavior by them and their supporters. He argued that canon law authorities had ruled that the crime of simony invalidated papal elections. Marta next turned to the simony and nepotism of Paul V. He charged that the pope auctioned off church benefices while retaining part of their revenue; he described the procedures used and gave examples with monetary figures. Paul had diverted a great deal of church income to his nephew, Cardinal Scipione Borghese, according to Marta. Elsewhere in the pamphlet Marta accused unnamed contemporary cardinals of incest, of having

[43] *Supplicatio,* 1613, sigs. A3r-v; De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 217-218; *The New Man,* sigs. B1r-B2v.

sexual relations with their brothers' wives, and of sodomy, meaning homosexuality.[44]

The remedy for a corrupt papacy was to call a general council to set matters right, including deposing the pope, Marta continued. But an illegitimate and sinful pope and his cardinals could not sit in judgment on themselves. Because the power of the people resided in the emperor, he could and must convoke a council. Marta offered examples from the early Christian era of emperors who convened church councils, beginning with Constantine the Great, who called the Council of Nicaea in 325. Marta then rejected the argument that emperors did not have the authority to convene councils. A general council of the Church had its power and authority immediately from God without the mediation of the pope; the council represented the whole Church whose head was Christ. Only it could make the Church right, Marta concluded.[45]

Several aspects of the treatise were noteworthy. As in his letters about papal politics, Marta demonstrated an insider's knowledge of conclave politics and the techniques and personalities involved in the buying and selling of benefices.[46] He placed enormous importance on the rights and powers of the Holy Roman Emperor, a theme that ran through his legal writing. The emperor was the most important civil ruler, one whose authority rivaled the pope's. Finally, although the pamphlet included personal attacks, it was mostly a legal treatise full of legal citations and references to previous councils. Marta the polemicist remained a legal scholar.

The call for a general council was not new. The most prominent recent proponent was James I, who, through emissaries, proposed a general council to Pope Clement VIII in 1603 and spoke of it publicly in 1604. However, James wanted to invite representatives from the magisterial Protestant churches, and his goal was religious union between Catholics and Protestants under the diminished authority of

[44]*Supplicatio*, 1613, p. 21; De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 235-236; *The New Man*, p. 40.

[45]*Supplicatio*, 1613, pp. 26-30; De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 239-242; *The New Man*, pp. 51-56.

[46]A comparison of the accounts of the conclaves of 1585, 1592, and 1605 in the *Supplicatio* with those of Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 21, pp. 8-22; vol. 23, pp. 6-18; and vol. 25, pp. 28-37, demonstrates that Marta had a good knowledge of some of the major events in these conclaves. Of course, his interpretation was different from Pastor's.

the pope. Clement VIII imposed conditions that James would not accept, while James played a double game of paying respectful homage to the pope, while denouncing him elsewhere and punishing English Catholics for practicing their religion. Nothing came of the king's call for a council.[47]

Marta had different aims. He never raised the issues of restoring unity among Christians or inviting Protestants to attend. Marta was not sympathetic to, or very interested in, Protestantism at any time in his writings. Rather, he saw a general council as a means of deposing a corrupt pope and purifying the leadership of the Catholic Church, a goal close to that of fifteenth-century conciliarists. Marta's *Supplicatio* gives evidence of the continuing importance of conciliarist ideas in the works of antipapal writers of the early seventeenth century.[48]

But calling on the emperor to convene a general council to deal with papal corruption was unrealistic. Emperor Matthias (ruled 1612-1619) had more pressing matters on his mind as Europe lurched toward the Thirty Years' War. Most important, a church council would have been divisive within Catholicism at a time in which the papacy and Catholic rulers had recovered the initiative in the struggle against Protestantism. Marta's plea that the emperor must and can convene a church council evinced nostalgia for a bygone era.

Marta's motives for writing the *Supplicatio* were probably mixed and not always lofty. A whiff of opportunism emanates from the book, because Marta wrote something of which James I approved, even though the king's idea of the purpose of a council was different. Marta certainly was angry with Paul V, possibly because of the condemnation of his *Tractatus de jurisdictione*, perhaps for other reasons stemming from his years in Rome. He expressed himself in hyperbole and overstatement, which was common in early seventeenth-century church-state polemical works. Nevertheless, it is likely that he was genuinely outraged by the grand-scale nepotism and simony of Paul V and Cardinal Borghese, by the conclave bargaining that produced popes,

[47]Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 24, pp. 54-62, 70-80, esp. 78; D. Harris Willson, *King James VI and I* (New York, 1956), pp. 219-222; Patterson, *James and the Reunion of Christendom*, pp. 35-43.

[48]Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition:Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300-1870* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 141-181, demonstrates that supporters of the English Oath of Allegiance, defenders of Venice in the Interdict crisis, and French Gallicans used conciliarist ideas as they defended civil jurisdiction and attacked the papacy.

and perhaps by other papal maneuvers.[49] His passion for the law and its observance led him to criticize popes when, in his opinion, they violated the law.[50]

The book's strong criticism of the papacy found appreciative readers in northern Europe. In late 1613 and early 1614 a Jesuit in Mainz wrote to Cardinal Bellarmine in Rome that the *Supplicatio* was widely read.[51] An expanded French translation appeared in Leyden at the end of 1613, and reprints of the Latin edition appeared in Augsburg and Heidelberg in 1614.[52] The papacy tried to stop its circulation by writing to inquisitors in Italy and papal nuncios in Venice, Graz, Luzerne, Paris, Cologne, Vienna, and Spain ordering them to get the work banned. The results were not very satisfactory. Then the nuncio in Cologne had an agent buy all available copies on sale at the Frankfurt book fair, and he managed to get about 650 copies of various editions.[53]

By June 1614 the papacy had concluded that Marta was the author of the *Supplicatio* and that he was spying on the papacy for the English, although it could not determine the identity of his Roman informant(s). Cardinal Borghese, whom Marta criticized very strongly, thought that disappointment turned into rage had motivated Marta to

[49]For an exhaustive study of nepotism and papal financial practices during the pontificate of Paul V, see Wolfgang Reinhard, *Papstfinanz und Nepotismus unter Paul V. (1605-1621); Studien und Quellen zur Struktur und zu quantitativen Aspekten des päpstlichen Herrschaftssystems*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1974). See also Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 25, pp. 59-72.

[50]The *Supplicatio* was not Marta's only polemical work at this time. In 1613 and 1614 he began to write two works, one in Latin, the other in Italian, defending the Oath of Allegiance that James I imposed on English Catholics in 1606 in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot. Letters of March 27 and April 24, 1613, and March 2, 1614, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 45, 107, 109-110, 166. But they have not come to light, which suggests that Marta never finished them.

[51]Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," pp. 207-208.

[52]Nicolas de Marbais, who had left Catholicism to become a Protestant, produced the expanded French translation, which added more alleged crimes of popes and cardinals and criticized papal temporal pretensions. See Patterson, *James I*, p. 120; and Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," p. 206 n. 108. For the Augsburg, 1614, Latin edition, see Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," p. 208 n. 129. Marta reported that German students at the University of Padua had told him that the book had been reprinted in Heidelberg under a slightly different title: *Novus et Magnus homo per extinctionem sedis apostolicae romanae*. Letter of Marta to Carleton, August 8, 1614, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 185. Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," p. 226 n. 242, also mentions this edition but under the authorship of Adamo Multei at Heidelberg.

[53]Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," pp. 190-210.

attack the papacy. He had expected a reward for publishing the *Tractatus de jurisdictione,* but the Congregation of the Index had prohibited the book. So Borghese told the nuncio to Venice to drop hints to Marta that major honors and rewards, such as a professorship at the University of Rome, would be his if he returned to Rome. The nuncio doubted that Marta would come and he was right.[54] As time passed the papacy switched tactics. It instructed the nuncio to keep Rome informed of Marta's movements, especially if he decided to leave Padua for Germany or another Italian state. The papacy may have hoped that it could have him arrested if he ventured into a state where it had influence.[55]

Spying for a Protestant monarch and attacking the papacy raise the questions, was Marta a secret Protestant? Was he angling for a handsome offer from James to come to England where he would change religion in return for a court appointment or a regius professorship at Oxford or Cambridge? The answers are "no" and "very unlikely." Denouncing papal corruption and policies did not make Marta a Protestant. Nor did his opponents and associates think that he was. Papal representatives did not believe that Marta was a secret Protestant and only briefly entertained the idea that he would move to Germany or England.[56] Other negative evidence comes from the fact that the strongly Calvinist Carleton and Marta never discussed apostasy, religious matters, or a move to England in their correspondence. It was strictly politics. Marta certainly loved being a spy and self-appointed councillor to the king; he avidly sought the king's favor and took his money. But why would he want to move to England? What role could he play at the English court, so far from Rome and Italy? Nor would a regius professorship attract him, as continental scholars viewed Oxford and Cambridge as minor provincial universities. A professorship in England did not begin to compare with one at Padua.

It is more likely that Marta dreamed of a purged papacy through the agency of emperor and council. His excellent knowledge of the medieval legal tradition and respect for the rights of the emperor suggest nostalgia for the Middle Ages, a time in which emperor and pope shared authority in such complicated ways that only a brilliant scholar

[54]Savio, "Il nunzio a Venezia," p. 63 n. 2, with a quote from a letter of Cardinal Scipione Borghese of September 20, 1614, Rome.

[55]Savio, "Il nunzio a Venezia," pp. 63-65, 73-74 n. 3; Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," pp. 214, 217-218, 221, 225, 228, 235.

[56]Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," p. 220.

such as Marta could give legal guidance. Marta showed himself to be a learned, combative, self-confident, and opportunistic legist pursuing a dream.

Marta continued to teach and to publish important legal works. In 1615 the Venetian Senate raised his salary from 650 florins to 800. When the holder of the first-position afternoon ordinary professorship of civil law died in the spring of 1617, Marta was appointed second- position afternoon ordinary professor of civil law beginning in the autumn of 1617. Despite receiving the same salary as before, this was a promotion, because civil law ranked higher than canon law in Italian universities.[57] Marta continued to publish legal works. When Paul V died on January 28, 1621, papal anger over the *Supplicatio* died with him. Marta no longer needed the protection of the Republic of Venice and he moved. In the fall of 1621 or sometime in 1622, Marta became first-position afternoon professor of civil law at the University of Pavia.[58] This was a more prestigious position than he held at Padua.

Marta moved again to the new University of Mantua in 1625. After spying for a Protestant monarch and sharply criticizing the papacy, Marta joined a university that was half-Jesuit. The Society of Jesus had founded a college in Mantua with a pre-university school in 1584. With the encouragement and financial support of Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga, the Jesuits in 1624 began to teach university-level subjects. In the following year Duke Ferdinando added professors of law and medicine in order to create a new university that was half-Jesuit and half-civic. The University of Mantua opened its doors on November 5, 1625, as Marta delivered the traditional inaugural lecture with professors, students, and dignitaries in attendance. The Jesuits taught theology, logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, moral philosophy, Scripture, moral philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, and poetry. Another seventeen professors, almost all laymen, taught civil law, canon law, and medicine. Marta was the star civil law professor at this university and received the highest salary. Acceptance of an appointment at a half-Jesuit university erased any doubts about Marta's loyalty to

[57]Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini*, part 3, pp. 94, 142.

[58]See *Memorie e documenti per la storia dell'Università di Pavia e degli uomini più illustri che v'insegnarono*, 2 parts (Pavia, 1877-78; reprinted Bologna, 1970), part 1, p. 88. The brief notation confirms his position and adds that he taught at Pavia from 1622 to 1625 "con grosso stipendio."

Catholicism. By the academic year 1627-28, the University of Mantua was a flourishing university with thirty-six professors.[59]

Everything went well for two and one-half years. Then Duke Ferdinando died in October 1626, leaving no legitimate heir. His brother and successor, Duke Vincenzo II, died on December 26, 1627, at the age of thirty-three, without heirs or close male relatives. Two claimants to the duchy of Mantua and marquisate of Monferrato arose from cadet branches of the family. One of them, Charles Gonzaga, Duc de Nevers, a long-time resident of France, and his supporters made a pre-emptive strike. Gonzaga-Nevers dashed to Mantua and took over the government in mid-January 1628. He then rejected offers to negotiate a compromise that would have divided Gonzaga lands with the other claimant, Ferrante Gonzaga, duke of Guastalla, who had the support of the Holy Roman Emperor. Indeed, all Gonzaga holdings were imperial fiefs. Emperor Ferdinand II sent an army to support Ferrante's claim, the French responded in kind, and the War of the Mantuan and Monferrato Succession began in 1628.[60]

As always in such conflicts, the two rival Gonzaga princes asked legal scholars to write *consilia* (legal opinions) supporting their claims. Marta was convinced that Ferrante Gonzaga had the better claim, and wrote to that effect, even though Charles Gonzaga-Nevers ruled in Mantua and paid his salary. Given Marta's enormous respect for the rights of the Holy Roman Emperor and the fact that Mantua and Monferrato were imperial fiefs, this was not surprising. However, Gonzaga-Nevers was not amused at the behavior of his star professor and threw him into prison in April 1628. There he died on September 22, 1629, at the age of seventy-one or seventy-two.[61]

Marta, who did not marry and had no known children, left all his possessions to the Society of Jesus and wished to be buried in the

[59]This is based on my research in progress on the University of Mantua. For now, see Paul F. Grendler, "The Attempts of the Jesuits to Enter Italian Universities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in Paul F. Grendler, *Renaissance Education Between Religion and Politics* (Aldershot, 2006), Study VI, pp. 13-14 (entire article pp. 1-21).

[60]There is considerable biography. Romolo Quazza, *La guerra per la successione di Mantova e del Monferrato (1628-1631): da documenti inediti*, 2 vols. (Mantua, 1926), remains fundamental. See also the thoughtful re-evaluation of David Parrott, "The Mantuan Succession, 1627-31: A Sovereignty Dispute in Early Modern Europe," *The English Historical Review*, 112 (1997), 20-65.

[61]Paglia, *Marta*, pp. 6, 22-23. Although no copy of Marta's *consilium* expressing his views about the Mantuan succession has been located, opponents referred to it.

Jesuit church of Santissima Trinità in Mantua.[62] Whether his wish was honored is not known. When he died the Jesuits and the people in Mantua were more concerned about the outbreak of plague and the imperial army, which blockaded the city in October 1629. After a long siege, the army broke through the city's defenses and brutally sacked Mantua for three days, July 18-20, 1630. Those who could, fled, and the university died, never to be resurrected. The Jesuit church survived but later suffered a fate similar to that of the university. In 1773 the Society of Jesus was suppressed, and the church of Santissima Trinità passed into other hands. During the Napoleonic period, it was deconsecrated and turned into a warehouse and stable. The Austrians used it as a barracks and altered it in the nineteenth century. Part of the former church now houses documents for the adjacent State Archive of Mantua. Although plans to restore the sacristy have been drafted, little has happened, and the church remains closed.[63] If Marta is buried under the floor of the former Jesuit church, he rests undisturbed.

4. Conclusion

When Wotton asked Sarpi and Micanzio their opinion of Marta, the answer was mixed. They judged Marta to be a man of "experience and capacity, and applicable . . . to some good uses." But they also saw him as even more vain than most Neapolitans, greedy, and seldom content with his lot.[64] Despite this typically condescending north-Italian view of Neapolitans, they were probably right about his personality. Marta was vain, restless, quick to take offense, and opportunistic. It was likely that personal pique played a role in his decision to write against the papacy and spy for England. But there was more to Marta than vanity, volatility, and opportunism. He sincerely disapproved of papal nepotism and simony.

Marta was a talented, industrious, and perceptive legal scholar, and this was the key to his views and actions. Marta looked to the law to tell popes and kings how to resolve their conflicts. His *Tractatus de iurisdictione* offered legal advice for resolving church-state jurisdic-

[62]See Paglia, *Marta*, pp. 7-10, for his will.

[63]See *Il Palazzo degli Studi. Appunti per una storia dell'istruzione superiore a Mantova. Luoghi e vicende dal Collegio dei Gesuiti al Liceo Ginnasio "Virgilio,"* eds. Ugo Bazzotti and Daniela Ferrari (Mantua, 1991), pp. 32-35.

[64]Letter of Wotton to James I of August 9, 1616, Venice, in Smith, *Life of Wotton,* vol. 2, p. 99.

tional issues case-by-case. He followed the logic of the law as he saw it, whatever the consequences. At times he seemed oblivious to the reality that rulers and governments in all centuries mostly want the law to legitimate their actions, whether fair or foul. And Marta was a nostalgic conciliarist. Having concluded that the papacy had become hopelessly corrupt, and that the current occupant of Peter's chair was illegitimate, he looked to the Holy Roman Emperor to call a church council to make things right. He still believed in a world in which the Holy Roman Emperor possessed supranational authority respected by all. But his perception of the purpose of a council remained that of fifteenth-century conciliarists: he wanted the emperor to call a council to discipline the papacy. Marta criticized the papacy and spied on it for a Protestant monarch. But not even his enemies seriously considered that he might be a Protestant or have Protestant leanings. Marta was a distinguished Italian Catholic legal scholar who took controversial stands and contributed to the debates on some of the most important legal and political issues at a rancorous moment in European church-state relations.

COLLEGES, SCHOOLS, TEACHERS: BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE IN NORTHERN ITALY (XVI–XVII CENTURIES)

By

Maurizio Sangalli*

This study investigates the network of secondary education in northern Italy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Citing specific examples, the Republic of Venice, the State of Milan, the Duchy of Savoy, it brings into the discussion new information as well as recent research, showing how the Church used education to re-establish its position in society. By providing a sample of individual establishments from different social and political setting, the author tries to promote a "history of comparisons" among the schools (or rather, a "correlated history of schools") and provide information for an atlas of Italian scholastic institutions, that a group of national universities is now in the process of preparing. It is not the scope of this study to investigate the transition from medieval to early modern school systems. Rather, this article charts the response to a profound crisis that affected education in the mid-sixteenth century: the political impact upon the educational system, demonstrating the unifying role of the Catholic Church but also the ways in which each school system responded to the social and political needs of the local state. This work examines seminaria nobilium, *colleges, and seminaries directed by the Society of Jesus, the Barnabites, and the Somaschans, connecting history and geography, social and economic factors.*

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw significant changes in western Europe: the development of confessional churches, the cen-

*Dr. Sangalli is associate professor at Università per stranieri di Siena.The notes to this article will not provide an exhaustive overview of the scholarship on the topic; rather, they will identify the most important works and those which have proven most important for this study. Obviously, much of it will be local scholarship written by Italians. Special thanks to my colleague and dear friend John Alexander, assistant professor of architecture at the University of Texas in San Antonio, who has helped me in revising this article as far as the language is concerned; and also to Wietse de Boer, professor of history at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, who has attentively read the article and recommended it for publication.

tralization of nation-states, the growth of concepts of nationhood, and the rise of a bureaucratic class all are symptoms of a radical shift in religion and politics. The situation in Italy was particularly complex; splintered into small states, many of them subject to foreign domination, with the theocracy of the Papal States impacting not only the religious allegiances on the peninsula but also the political allegiances,[1] Italy suffered from a complicated context. The role of education in this situation illuminates the context on various levels. Almost always allied to (if not actually run by) the organizations of the Catholic Church, educational establishments responded to a variety of political and social needs. Thus, a study of educational systems demonstrates the goals for religious orthodoxy and unity, the need for educated men to run the professions, society, and the state, and the desire either to enable socio-economic advancement or to consolidate socio-economic standing. Considering only northern Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century, the historian has to confront a varied political situation: without enumerating the smaller states, the main strongholds were the Republic of Venice and the Duchy of Savoy, the Duchy of Milan (under Spanish rule), and the northern extension of the Papal States, centered around Bologna. Consequently, there were four different educational systems that had to accommodate four different political situations.

Prior to the period under investigation, during the medieval period, there were purely local institutions that provided an education: almost every city, as indeed, many villages, had its own school system. Aside from the universities, there were municipal teachers, monastic schools or episcopal schools that responded to local needs. During the sixteenth century, a larger network of educational establishments replaced the early ones, the new schools being often affiliated with religious orders of the Catholic Church that crossed over political boundaries. It is not the scope of this study to investigate the transition from medieval to early modern school systems. Rather, this article will chart the response to a profound crisis that affected education in the mid-sixteenth century: the political impact upon the educational system. Padua, perhaps the most important university city on the peninsula, lacked teachers who would prepare students for higher education. The Venetian Republic (which ruled Padua) relied upon the adequate network of schools in the city of Venice to educate the young

[1]Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice. Un corpo e due anime: la monarchia papale nella prima età moderna* (Bologna, 1982).

men that it sought to privilege, and concentrated on university-level education in Padua rather than on its secondary schools. Contrasting with this was the contemporary situation in Siena: public funds continued to support a good primary and secondary school system. This was largely a legacy from former times, when the independent city-state established its own schools, but it was a legacy that the Sienese sought to maintain, especially after coming under Florentine domination in 1555. This article will chart out the various educational systems in northern Italian cities, demonstrating the unifying role of the Catholic Church but also the ways in which each school system responded to the social and political needs of the local state.[2]

While addressing the transition from medieval to early modern educational systems is not appropriate here, it is still necessary to chart out the continuities and the transformations. As Marino Berengo has recently shown for the history of European cities,[3] the state of any period can only be understood in terms of the historical circumstances that shaped it. For late-medieval/early modern Italian schools, Paul F. Grendler has charted the developments for a number of educational subjects: teachers and students, organization of studies, educational programs, and the basic conception of the disciplines all changed during this period. Humanist teachers (such as Guarino Veronese, 1370-1460; Vittorino da Feltre, 1378-1466; Gasparino Barzizza, 1360-1431) changed education; the emergence and growth of municipal *maestri condotti* (teachers payed by the community's money) impacted the institutions. Education, in general, responded to new requirements. Grendler also dealt with the schools that arose from reform movements within the Catholic Church, the *riforma cattolica*, and also the late-sixteenth-century developments that followed the conclusion of the Council of Trent.[4]

This brief study will investigate the network of secondary education in northern Italy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Citing specific examples, it will bring into the discussion new

[2]Maurizio Sangalli, "Maestri, preti-maestri e scuole a Siena e Venezia nel secondo Cinquecento," in Maurizio Sangalli, ed., *Per il Cinquecento religioso italiano. Clero, cultura, società. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 27-30 giugno 2001, Siena* (Rome, 2003), pp. 373-403.

[3]Marino Berengo, *L'Europa della città. Il volto della società urbana europea tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Turin, 1999), *passim*.

[4]Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, 1989) (Italian trans.: *La scuola nel Rinascimento italiano*, Bari, 1991).

information as well as recent research, showing how the Church used education to re-establish its position in society. This will not be an exhaustive study; not all of the Italian states in the region will be examined, nor each establishment of every teaching order. By providing a sample of individual establishments from different social and political settings, this article will promote a "history of comparisons" between the schools (or rather, a "correlated history of schools"),[5] and provide information for an atlas of Italian scholastic institutions.

The Catholic Church was the main protagonist in educational endeavors of the period; its institutions and personnel founded and staffed most of the institutions. However, it was not the only protagonist in early modern education; Christopher Carlsmith has recently demonstrated that there were other proponents or "deuteragonists" or secondary players of schools—town councils, the nobility, urban aristocracy, family groups, and wealthy individuals—that also must be considered.[6] Nevertheless, the ecclesiastical appropriation of this endeavor ensured the Church's influence in building the ruling class, disciplining the rest of society, and controlling intellectual life.

Entering into the education of the young was not a clear choice of the Church's, at least not until the middle of the sixteenth century: according to the original constitutions of the Society of Jesus (1540), the order had other goals, as John O'Malley has recently demonstrated in his scholarship. The initial "*Formula*," enshrined in the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, listed "the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine" and "the propagation of faith" among the Society's purposes. The 1550 version of the same "*Formula*" adds "defense and propagation of faith," but neither of them cites education as a primary endeavor of the order. Originally, the principal purposes of the new order were preaching, lecturing on sacred subjects, missions, and spiritual direction. The Paduan community of the order, formed in 1542, sent their members to the local *Studio* (university) to receive their higher education. Ignatius Loyola understood this practice to be beneficial: "*li nostri haveranno conversatione con più scholari in diverse schole, et così potrebbero guadagnar più d'alcuni scholari di bono*

[5]Maurizio Sangalli, "Università, scuole private, collegi d'educazione, accademie a Padova tra Cinque e Seicento: alcuni spunti per una storia 'integrata' delle istituzioni scolastiche," *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche*," 3 (1996), 93-118.

[6]Christopher Carlsmith, "I vescovi e le scuole: la situazione a Bergamo nel '500," in Sangalli, ed., *Per il Cinquecento religioso italiano*, pp. 405-412.

ingegno per la Compagnia."[7] It was only in the middle of the sixteenth century, with the decision to found the first college of lay students at Messina, that the Jesuits demonstrated education to be one of their vocations. Following that, "their vocation as itinerant preachers was overwhelmed by that of resident schoolmasters."[8]

Much more belatedly, the order of the Clerics Regular of St. Paul (popularly known as the Barnabites), founded some years prior to the Society of Jesus,[9] declared its scholastic vocation only in 1605. During the order's general chapter of that year, public teaching was added to the traditional religious activities of the order.[10] Nevertheless, in 1677 the order's General, Father Gabriele Fanti (1674-1680), declined the direction of a *seminarium nobilium* in Treviso, which the Jesuits had run since 1670.[11] A *seminarium nobilium* was a boarding school especially dedicated to upper classes, often with a complete *curriculum studiorum*.

With regard to the Clerics Regular of Somasca, founded by the Venetian patrician Girolamo Emiliani (1486-1537) in the 1530's, their initial vocation of caring for orphans allowed them—by the very creation of orphanages—to enter the domain of education.[12] In the second half of the sixteenth century, in Venice and in other cities of the Venetian *Terraferma* (Padua, Verona, Vicenza), Somascans accepted responsibility for colleges and seminaries. A college could have internal and external schools and had the aim of preparing for university studies. With regard to the Jesuits, a college is not a school: it is a Jesuit residence in a town, the center of Jesuit life; colleges normally had

[7]Letter of Ignatius Loyola. Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Ven. 116 II, fol. 266r-v: "our students have to talk to other pupils in different classes, so that they could acquire some clever subjects for our Society."

[8]John O'Malley, S.J., *I primi gesuiti* (Milan, 1999), pp. 26-27 (original English edition: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993).

[9]Elena Bonora, *I conflitti della Controriforma. Santità e obbedienza nell'esperienza religiosa dei primi barnabiti* (Florence, 1998), *passim*.

[10]Angelo Bianchi, *L'istruzione secondaria tra barocco ed età dei lumi. Il collegio di San Giovanni alle Vigne di Lodi e l'esperienza pedagogica dei Barnabiti* (Milan, 1993), p. 20.

[11]Maurizio Sangalli, "Gesuiti senza università. Fortune e sfortune della Compagnia di Gesù nella Repubblica di Venezia 1657-1700," in Gian Paolo Brizzi and Roberto Greci, eds., *Gesuiti e università in Europa (secoli XVI-XVIII), atti del convegno di studi, Parma, 13-15 dicembre 2001* (Bologna, 2002), pp. 76-77.

[12]See *San Girolamo Miani nel V centenario della nascita*, atti del convegno, Venezia 29-31 gennaio 1987 (Venice, 1989), in particular the essay in that volume by Francesco De Vivo, entitled "I somaschi: dall'orfanotrofio al collegio," pp. 122-137.

schools, but not always. Seminaries were structures for the formation of Catholic priests, but they also taught lay students who paid a boarding fee or *dozzina*. Most important among them were the two Venetian seminaries—ducal and patriarchal—which they governed from 1579 and 1591, respectively. Considering them to be good opportunities for the order (especially after Jesuits declined to run the ducal seminary),[13] the Somascans readily accepted responsibility for seminaries. This distinguished them from the Jesuits, who preferred *seminaria nobilium*, spread out across Europe. However, the responsibilities associated with administering seminaries (along with other factors) also had the unfortunate result of condemning them to less brilliant success on the scholastic level than the Jesuits enjoyed.

These opening remarks on Italian geography, politics, and foundations of religious orders demonstrate how closely connected were education and local conditions, including the previously mentioned history of the territory. It was not a coincidence that the Barnabites founded their first schools in the Duchy of Milan; it was not a coincidence that the Somascans had close ties with the Republic of Venice. Obviously, the origins of the respective founders played an important role in the development of the religious orders. Only the Jesuits achieved a very pan-European expansion (indeed, a world-wide expansion) because of a rigid structure, the large number of members, and good intellectual training. The fact that the other important scholastic orders (the Barnabites and the Somascans, leaving aside the Piarists for the time being) were founded in northern Italy was perhaps not a cause for the larger abundance of schools in that part of the peninsula. Indeed, any quantitative comparison among the regions of Italy needs to consider a variety of factors: in central and northern Italy, from the medieval period onward, there was a greater demand for instruction and a stronger tradition of secular schools; furthermore, there was a stronger tradition of funding schools as acts of charity by the nobility and the middle classes.

The context is more complicated than what one might imagine. *Seminaria nobilium*, colleges, and seminaries were not the only educational institutions, but they became the most important ones for the nobility and the middle classes. Xenio Toscani has shown in a masterful way the variegated scholastic context in the Duchy of Milan before

[13]Maurizio Sangalli, *Cultura, politica e religione nella Repubblica di Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento. Gesuiti e somaschi a Venezia* (Venice, 1999), pp. 385-418.

the eighteenth century. Local communities, religious congregations, and parishes, as well as individual aristocrats, priests, merchants, and immigrants were all important patrons of educational institutions. Toscani has also opportunely connected schools to the locale, showing them to be more numerous in mountainous areas, less so in the irrigated plains. Consequently, one can connect schools to the local economy: small property-holdings, share-cropping, and immigration, exactly the most important features of the mountainous regions, emerge as motivating forces for the creation of a school because of the needs to rule these properties on your own and to manage the relationships with other landowners and tenants.[14] Toscani demonstrated the importance of constructing not only a history of educational institutions, but also a geography of them: during a forty-year period in which the governments in northern Italy employed a strong public policy toward schools (1775-1815, under the successive regimes of the Austrian emperors and Napoleon), the goal was to ameliorate the discrepancies between the areas that had schools and those that did not. They were not able, however, to alter the correspondence between the map of "ancient" schools and that of the levels of literacy in 1815-1820.[15]

History and geography, social and economic factors are so closely connected to the history of education that this field of study must account for them when charting the slow yet profound changes that occurred over different historical periods. Within this continuum, the brief decades between the late-sixteenth and the early-seventeenth centuries formed a crucial era that demands closer attention. In the post-Tridentine period, Toscani identified two important characteristics of the schools: (1) the charitable nature of their foundations (in many cases, specifically for the benefit of the poor) and (2) their moral and doctrinal goals.

Gherardo Ortalli has pointed out a trend in the Venetian schools that carried over from the late medieval period: beginning with the municipal councils but continuing under the *condotti*, teachers were requested to combine instruction with moral formation.[16] Contemporary humanism involved a specific attention to *boni mores* in the quest to form a new kind of man. While the *boni mores* were

[14]Xenio Toscani, *Scuole e alfabetismo nello Stato di Milano da Carlo Borromeo alla Rivoluzione* (Brescia, 1993).

[15]Toscani, *Scuole e alfabetismo*, pp. 103-104.

[16]Gherardo Ortalli, *Scuole e maestri tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. Il caso veneziano* (Bologna, 1996).

taught under the auspices of fifteenth-century secular schools,[17] catechism and Schools of Christian Doctrine become increasingly prominent through the following century. If the earlier humanists relied upon ancient authors such as Cicero and Seneca to teach good behavior and to prepare the reception of Christian teaching, in the early sixteenth century secular and ecclesiastical teachers alike used catechism for a double purpose: to instill the fundamentals of the Christian religion and to teach reading and writing.

The enormous diffusion of the Schools of Christian Doctrine coincided with this juncture; indeed, it was due in large part to this transition. Castellino da Castello (1470/80-post 1536) founded this educational system in Milan in 1536.[18] The following year other Schools were organized in Venice, and soon thousands of pupils were attending them around the Venetian lagoon and in many other Italian cities and towns.

The colleges run by the religious orders joined religious instruction to the humanities, catering especially to the requirements of the upper classes to train their sons to meet contemporary demands for socialization and intellectual development. These sons required training in order to maneuver in society, which included maintaining the correct relationship to secular and ecclesiastical authorities. In fulfilling these contemporary needs, the religious colleges were the ecclesiastical counterpart to the secular humanistic schools, which were no longer acceptable to the Church. The religious colleges were not, however, uniquely a consequence of hegemonic goals. There was certainly a progressive decrease in the number of secular teachers, due both to the poor remuneration and to a lack of secular institutions to train them. With the increasing demand for education, the Catholic Church was almost the only institution able to provide good educational systems and an adequate staff to run them.

Colleges and secondary schools proliferated around western Europe, especially in centers of government administration and uni-

[17]Gherardo Ortalli, "L'insegnamento di base e l'*invenzione* della scuola laica," in Maurizio Sangalli, ed., *Chiesa e scuola. Percorsi di storia dell'educazione tra XII e XX secolo* (Siena, 2000), pp. 13-28.

[18]Miriam Turrini, " 'Riformare il mondo a vera vita christiana': le scuole di catechismo nell'Italia del Cinquecento," *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, 8 (1982), 407-489; and Xenio Toscani, "Le 'Scuole della dottrina cristiana' come fattore di alfabetizzazione," *Società e storia*, 7 (1984), n. 26, 757-781.

versity towns. Both of these venues were favored by the Society of Jesus for their colleges, and the Jesuits enjoyed unparalleled popularity because of the education and formation that they could provide. However, these religious orders also (sometimes initially, occasionally primarily) had a mission of social apostolate: they sought to help the great number of underprivileged people in large urban centers. Thus, schooling was only part of a larger and more ambitious project, although it may have been for many orders the greatest part.

The historiography of the topic has privileged some orders over others: historians have accorded the Society of Jesus increasingly close scrutiny. The history of the Jesuits provides the most ample collection of projects and achievements, all of which concur with more general trends within the Catholic Church. In relation to the Society of Jesus, all other contemporary religious order fall into "second place." Nevertheless, these observations do not release historians from the obligation of studying the other orders in order truly to appreciate the substance and the peculiarities of a phenomenon deeply related to the intellectual and social life of early modern Europe.

The most remarkable feature about recent scholarship in this field is the abandonment of apologetic and prosopographical studies. Scholars have substituted inquiry into social and intellectual histories, or the history of science and pedagogy. "An increasing number of researchers—especially young researchers—seemed to label as unfocused, or at least monotonous and unsatisfying, the assumptions and usual categorizations. The impressive documentation on the presence of the Society [. . .] demonstrates the emerging events as factors of complex dynamics to rebuild without revising the preliminary arguments,"[19] as Ugo Baldini appropriately underlines in a recent study. In the history of science, Baldini provided an important contribution by studying the professors at the Collegio Romano—Christoph Clavius *in primis* . He demonstrated that they had a degree of freedom in astronomical observations, far beyond what one would expect from the unfortunate example of Galileo Galilei.[20] Furthermore, his analysis of the *censurae librorum et opinionum* has permitted an understanding of the truly variegated nature of the intellectual and scientific endeav-

[19]Ugo Baldini, *Saggi sulla cultura della Compagnia di Gesù (secoli XVI-XVIII)* (Padua, 2000), p. 11.

[20]Baldini, *Saggi sulla cultura della Compagnia di Gesù*, in particular the chapters "Cristoforo Clavio insegnante e teorico di astronomia (1563-1593)," pp. 17-48, and "L'accademia di matematica del Collegio Romano (1553-1612)," pp. 49-98.

ors of the Jesuits. They were less bound to the prescriptions handed down from the Society's administration than what one might expect, but more responsive to the revolutionary changes occurring in the secular scientific world.[21]

This article will attempt to synthesize a range of recent scholarship on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe with new information. Within the limits of selected locations, it will investigate some scholastic institutions (governed by a variety of religious orders), the history of individual teaching congregations, a range of political structures, and also social and educational aspects that were larger phenomena of early modern Europe. This article will contribute to recent efforts to reconstruct a crucial element of Italian and European social history.

Venice: The Two Seminaries

Generally speaking, Venice was at its height during the second half of the sixteenth century. Venice was traditionally the bridge between the Occident and the Orient; it was the location in which several religious groups had contact: Catholics, Protestants, the Orthodox and Jews. Venetians had long regarded their city as the heir of great cultures: Venice as "New Jerusalem," "New Rome," and "New Byzantium." It seems inevitable that the initial steps of the Catholic resurgence should have begun there: Ignatius Loyola and his first companions landed in Venice in 1537 with the dream of evangelizing the Holy Land. Thwarted in that effort, they first turned to their social apostolate in Venice and nearby Padua.[22]

When the Jesuits arrived, however, there was another new religious order that had recently undertaken a social apostolate: the Clerics Regular of Somasca, founded by Gerolamo Emiliani in 1534. The Somascans managed a number of orphanages and thus necessarily had begun educating the young. Nevertheless, the *Procuratori di San Marco de supra*—the three civil servants attending to the management of the Basilica of Saint Mark—decided in 1578 to invite the

[21]See Ugo Baldini, *Legem impone subactis. Studi su filosofia e scienza dei gesuiti in Italia 1540-1632* (Rome, 1992), in particular the chapters "Uniformitas et soliditas doctrinae. Le censure librorum e opinionum," pp. 75-119, and "La scuola di Clavio e la crisi della teoria astronomica," pp. 121-281.

[22]On the presence of the Jesuits in the Venetian Republic, see the articles in Mario Zanardi, ed., *I Gesuiti e Venezia. Momenti e problemi di storia veneziana della Compagnia di Gesù*, atti del convegno di studi, Venezia 2-5 ottobre 1990 (Padua, 1994).

Jesuits to administer their projected ducal seminary. The reasons for overlooking the Somascans remains unstated but perhaps was due to the renown of the Jesuits as teachers, their successes in the Paduan college, and to the superior internal structure of the order.

Francesco Allegri, a resident of the local Jesuit *casa professa*,[23] undertook the direction of the new seminary. He did so not as a Jesuit, however, but as a canon of the Basilica of S. Marco. Allegri did not take his final vows with the Jesuits and was dismissed from the Society. Since the basilica was under the jurisdiction of the doges, Allegri's administration put the seminary directly under the control of the secular government. For their part, the *Procuratori* did not want to leave the direction of the institution to the General Father of the Society of Jesus in Rome; the Jesuits, on the other hand, did not want to be locked into the responsibility of training the Venetian clergy. In other contexts (such as the Paduan college of nobles, for example) the Jesuits accepted the external management of an educational institution, fulfilling a role as consultants; they could have similarly accepted such a role at the Venetian seminary. However, they chose not to submit to the direction of secular authorities, a decision that one had to consider carefully during this period.

Once the *Procuratori* had engaged Allegri as rector of the seminary, they then had to assemble a teaching staff. They asked the bishop of Verona, the Venetian patrician Agostino Valier (1531-1606), for two teachers. He responded that "*un subdiacono del seminario [veronese] et uno degli acoliti*" were already traveling to Venice, suggesting that they occupy some of the posts. Valier also suggested that educated members of the secular clergy be called upon to teach: "*sacerdoti di lettere et di valore aspettano haver beneficii et quando pigliano questi charichi d'insegnare si satiano facilmente e tuttavia aspirano a qualche vacanza de' benefici [...] et soglion servir bene quelli che servono con speranza di andar inanti.*"[24]

[23]The *casa professa* was a Jesuit institution located almost exclusively in the most important cities. It was a religious house dedicated especially to the cure of souls; engaged there were Jesuit priests, but also temporal and spiritual coadjutors. Like other Jesuit institutions, it was without an economic foundation and thus had to survive on donations.

[24]Letters from Agostino Valier to Giacomo Soranzo, March 11 and April 18, 1580. Venice, Archivio di Stato (A.S.Ve), *Procuratori di S. Marco de supra*, busta 156, fasc. 2: "a subdeacon of the Veronese seminary and one among the acolytes"; "cultivated and skilful priests are always waiting to have an ecclesiastical benefice and when they decide to

The appearance of the new teaching orders antedated only slightly the Tridentine decree prescribing the erection of seminaries. The difficulties in finding teachers for the Venetian seminary testify to the insufficient preparation of the secular clergy in the sixteenth century. Bishop Valier's previously mentioned letter demonstrates just how undesirable the profession was: minor clerics (acolytes, subdeacons, and deacons) accepted teaching posts; once a man was a priest, he generally sought to obtain benefices in order to secure an income. In fact, the two Veronese clerics that Valier mentioned remained in Venice only a few months before returning to their diocese. Resulting from this situation, the new religious congregations often staffed the seminaries, thereby arising from and simultaneously fulfilling contemporary goals within the Catholic Church.

Throughout the 1580's, the *Procuratori* had chronic difficulties finding a teaching staff for the seminary. The Society of Jesus confined itself to pedagogical purposes and to hearing the confessions of the seminarians but systematically declined several offers to actually run the ducal seminary. In 1588, fulfilling the words of Valier as if they were a prediction, the rector of the seminary, Giovanni Maria Piatti, resigned his position after four years "*per attender alla cura d'anime*."[25]

The international situation in 1589 brought the relationship of the Venetians with the Jesuits to a close. Venice supported Henry IV as the legitimate king of France, while the Jesuits had worked in favor of Rome and the Catholic League. Consequently, the *Procuratori* had increasingly strained relations with the direction of the Jesuits in Rome. As a result, the Jesuit college in Padua closed its doors in 1591. The Somascan fathers, on the other hand, were a local religious order with Venetian roots: the *Procuratori* considered its founder to be "*nobile nostro* [one of our patricians]."[26] Furthermore they found themselves less embroiled in political affairs. The *Procuratori* began contacting the Somascans about running the seminary on September 10, 1589. The negotiations continued until July 12, 1591, the day that

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teach, they do it for a brief period of time, paying attention to every new free benefice [. . .] they discharge their duty in a correct way only if you can assure them the possibility to have a benefice."

[25]*Terminazione* of November 7, 1588. A.S.Ve, *Procuratori di S. Marco di supra*, A.S.Ve: "to practise the sacerdotal duties."

[26]"*l'auttor della qual religione fu m.o Gerolamo Miani nobile nostro* [the founder of this order was Mr. Gerolamo Miani, a Venetian patrician]." A.S.Ve, *Procuratori di S. Marco de supra*, reg. 137, fol. 179v.

the order solemnly accepted responsibility for the ducal seminary. Although less prestigious than the Jesuits, the Somascans were also less pretentious.

At the ducal seminary, the Somascans had to accept the intrusive direction of the *Procuratori*. As the articles granting them the administration of the seminary state, "*che l'ellegere li figliuoli nel detto seminario, giusta la bolla papale, resti sempre secondo il solito al ser.mo principe, r.mo primicerio et essi ill.mi procuratori, ai quali resti la medesima superiorità del detto seminario.*" In other words, the *Procuratori* retained the authority to admit and dismiss students. However, the Somascans enjoyed the possibility of "*tenere fino a quindeci figlioli convittori.*"[27] Typical of many such institutions, the Venetian ducal seminary supplemented its income with the *dozzina* (board and lodging) paid by boarders.

However, the congregation of Girolamo Emiliani had the privilege of directing a similar institution in the "Dominante": more than ten years previously, the patriarch of Venice, Giovanni Trevisan, had engaged the fathers to administer his diocesan seminary, popularly known as S. Cipriano di Murano.[28] In 1579, as the Somascans undertook responsibility for the diocesan seminary, they had been more wary:

> *si accettaranno tutti li ministri che dal rev.do preposito saranno mandati [. . .] se ancora vorranno mutare alle volte alcuni delli maestri che saranno qui, sicome portano gli accidenti et uso delle religione, sia in poter loro di farlo [. . .] et se li governatori voranne farne mutare alcuno, ricorreranno sempre al r.do padre preposito.*[29]

The patriarch was only able to appoint four lay governors as directors of his seminary, "*che nelle cose importanti conferiscano con lui e che*

[27]A.S.Ve, *Procuratori di S. Marco de supra*, busta 155.3, fols. 6-7: "choosing boys in this seminary, as the Papal bull says, will always be a traditional duty of our doge, the *primicerio* and the *procuratori*; the *procuratori* will maintain the management of this seminary"; "it is allowed to have up to fifteen boarding students."

[28]Antonio Niero, "Le scuole dei somaschi a Venezia," in *S. Girolamo Miani e Venezia nel V centenario della nascita* (Venice 1986), pp. 55-58.

[29]Genoa, Archivio storico dei padri somaschi, *Venezia-Patriarcale, Ven.* 1826: "We will accept all the fathers their general will send here, [. . .] if sometimes it will be necessary to remove some teachers, in relation to the needs of the order, they will be able to do it, [. . .] but if also the lay superintendents will wish to change one of the teachers, they will be obliged to ask to the general father."

per turno ogn'uno visiti la casa ogni settimana."[30] This was a way of controlling the Somascans, but also of obtaining the support of the Venetian patriciate.

After a precarious settlement in the parish of S. Geremia, in 1592 the patriarch Lorenzo Priuli transferred the seminary to the abbey of S. Cipriano di Murano. During this same period, the ducal seminary arrived in its final location in S. Antonio di Castello. These peripheral locations signify the marginality of the institutions, at least at the beginning: while the Jesuits operated in the very heart of the city, the Somascans were relegated to the most plebeian area or an island. Only when the patriarchal seminary was installed in its subsequent location, beside the site on which the church of S. Maria della Salute would be built after the plague of 1630-31, would the Somascans be counted among the first-rate teaching congregations.

To the great fortune of twentieth-century historians, the ducal seminary was governed by a public institution (*Procuratori di S. Marco de supra*). This ensured that the documents would be preserved, allowing a great deal of information about the daily life of the seminarians to be known. The lowest level classes were the most well-attended, as many of the students came from families of humble origins who sought to improve the lot of their sons; this is a common phenomenon, seen also in Barnabite schools. As of 1606, there were fewer boarders than permitted, suggesting that the patricians did not consider seminaries to be at the same level as the Jesuit schools. Obviously, the seminaries and colleges were microcosms of the larger social context, and social barriers were still very strong. The boarders at the ducal seminary became professional men: merchants and government employees. Since an ecclesiastical career continued to represent a means of advancement, the sons of craftsmen and retailers studied there to become clerics.

A report of the procurator Federico Contarini informs us on the curriculum of the seminary:

> *Nella prima scuola si lege Horatio, Valerio Massimo, Vergilio e l'orationi di Cicerone et si dà ogni giorno l'epistola et se le fa componer versi. Nella seconda scola, Vergilio et l'epistole di Ciceron et se le dà ogni giorno un latino lungo, che è poco differente da l'epistola. Nella terza scuola si lege*

[30] Venice, Archivio della Curia patriarcale, *Mensa patriarcale*, busta 4: "They have to talk to the patriarch before deciding important subjects and every week one of them in turn has to visit the seminary."

il Vives [the *Colloquia sive linguae Latinae exercitatio* by Juan Luis Vives, 1492-1540, used as an introductory Latin textbook in all kinds of schools in sixteenth-century Italy], *si esamina sopra le regule et se le dà ogni giorno un latino*.[31]

Thus, the instruction was similar to that of the fifteenth-century secular schools, with the exception of Vives. Similar, but more detailed information came from the students, themselves: "*vien letto Ciceron, Catechismo, Despauterio* [Ioannes Despauter, 1460-1520, was author of three important grammar handbooks] *ogni giorno, si disputa il sabbato*."[32] Such discussions and repetitions are pedagogical methods common to both the Jesuits and the Somascans, as is the formation of an academy among the students to stimulate another method: emulation. These institutions also recreated among the students the contemporary society-in-miniature, with its hierarchies, distribution of offices, opportunities, and enforcement of conformity.

The ducal seminary did not present an easy responsibility for the Somascans: there were heated quarrels among the *Procuratori*, the *Primicerio* (parson) of S. Marco, and the fathers. The students were unruly and often slipped weapons into the seminary. The teachers rotated continually, resulting in the abandonment of the higher-level classes that students stopped attending. As a result, responsibility was lifted from the Somascans in 1612, and they were able to recover their post only after a number of years had passed, in 1627.[33]

The Somascans were more successful in the patriarchal seminary. In 1599, Lorenzo Priuli signed a new convention with the fathers allowing them to take on additional boarders but requiring them to increase the number of clerics running the institution and to engage two new teachers, one for Greek and one for Hebrew. When the seminary moved to the center of Venice from Murano one year later, the convention was revised.[34] In the new location, there would likely be more

[31] A.S.Ve, *Procuratori di S. Marco de supra*, busta 156, fasc. 8, fol. 7v: "In our first class, we read Horace, Valerio Massimo, Virgil and Cicero's orations; we write letters and verses. In our second class, we read Virgil and Cicero's letters and we write a long Latin essay, not so different from a letter. In the third class, we read Vives, learning the Latin rules and writing a Latin essay."

[32] *Ibidem*, fol. 34r: "We read every day Cicero, the Catechism, Despauterio and on Saturday we discuss and repeat all the week lessons."

[33] Sangalli, *Cultura, politica e religione nella Repubblica di Venezia*, pp. 401-406 and 414-418.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 406-409.

families asking to board their sons. The new articles limited the number of boarders to not more than twenty-four and required the consent of the patriarch; the goal was to ensure that the clerics received the same treatment as the paying boarders.

The Society of Jesus was banished from the *Serenissima Republica* in 1606, but the Somascans were not able to substitute for them adequately. The medieval monastic orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, etc.) had schools, but probably only members of their own orders attended them. There is evidence which demonstrates that the Somascans were not merely an arm of the secular government: hiatuses in the courses, changes in decisions, and violent opposition all indicate that the administration of the order operated independently of the will of the state. Nevertheless, it provided a needed service (indeed, it was the only teaching order still operating in the Republic after the Interdict); this seems to have been the reason for its success.

Milan: The Support of the Jesuits

Initially, there was only one province of the Society of Jesus in northern Italy; only in 1578 would the Lombard province and the Venetian province be separated. So during the first decades of the order's history, there was common direction and common personnel in the north. In both Venice and Milan the Jesuits attempted to follow the directives established by the superiors in Rome: ideally at least twelve Jesuits running each college or school, that is to say that each Jesuit college was expected to have at least twelve Jesuits (priests, novices, and temporal coadjutors); this was a cautious approach to founding new institutions, and avoiding responsibility for diocesan seminaries. Furthermore, each institution would maintain control of its own finances, be directly subordinate to the order's central authority in Rome and autonomous from the local bishop. However, from 1564 to 1584 the archbishop of Milan was Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584).

Perhaps more than was the case in Venice, Milan had a well-functioning collection of municipal schools that served and were supported by the social context.[35] The Jesuits would not serve an immediate need in Milan and consequently did not establish a college as

[35]See the important essay by Angelo Turchini, *Sotto l'occhio del padre. Società confessionale e istruzione primaria nello Stato di Milano* (Bologna, 1996), *passim*.

early as in other locations in Italy. In the meanwhile, the Jesuits worked to establish links with the most important Genoese families in Milan, thereby creating a nexus between the Spanish administration of the Habsburg crown, the Genoese merchants and bankers who provided financial support, and the Jesuit representatives of the Roman Church. This alliance would allow the Jesuits to penetrate deeply into the nerve-centers of government and society, thereby ensuring their impact.[36]

In Milan, the new orders of the Catholic Reform had been operating for several years prior to the arrival of the Jesuits. The Barnabites had been founded in Milan, and remained active and independent despite the failed attempt of the vice-legate to Bologna, Archbishop Girolamo Sauli, to unite them with the Jesuits in 1552.[37] The Santa Corona fathers, belonging to a charitable institution in Milan, ran the Schools of Christian Doctrine, working in collaboration with the Somascans. With these endeavors firmly established, the Jesuits required several years to identify their niche and to maneuver their way into it. A conflict within the order changed this strategy: Italian Jesuits accused their Spanish confreres (backed by Philip II of Spain) of reserving to themselves the direction of the order.[38] In Milan, the Jesuits backed the anti-Spanish party, and this in turn garnered the support of many Milanese families who were attempting to augment their limited autonomy from Madrid.

Some of the families sympathetic to the Jesuits were aristocrats: the Rainoldi, Marliani, Odescalchi, Casati. These families rose to their highest prominence in the 1560's and 1570's, and the earliest foundations of the Jesuits were exactly contemporary. Having obtained responsibility for the church of S. Fedele, the Jesuits established a college in the vacated monastery of S. Maria di Brera in 1572. The Jesuits were ever more strongly linked to the urban patriciate,[39] to the detriment of their relationship with Archbishop Borromeo, who championed a moralizing campaign among the nobility that the Jesuits did not always support. While the Jesuits were falling out of favor in Venice, in Milan a synergy was growing with the local aristocracy, in spite of Madrid and Borromeo. The Jesuits sought to promote their mission within a particular social context, and sometimes the local interests would run counter to the instructions coming from Rome.

[36]Flavio Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano. Religione e politica nel secondo Cinquecento* (Rome, 1992), pp. 21-34.

[37]*Ibid.*, p. 29.

[38]*Ibid.*, pp. 43-56.

[39]*Ibid.*, *passim* in the whole work.

In cities with a strong tradition of civic and private schools, the new religious colleges coexisted with those older institutions, at least through the middle of the seventeenth century. This was the case in Venice, Milan, and Siena, where public scholastic institutions, private schools, and corporately supported schools (such as those founded by specific guilds) had previously met the educational needs of the cities. Thus, the new religious colleges had to make inroads into this context by carving out a particular niche for their instruction. The process of this phenomenon would result in an entirely altered educational context.[40]

What the Jesuits succeeded in avoiding in Venice, however, they had to undertake in Milan: they could not deny the wishes of Carlo Borromeo, the young yet determined archbishop, who was furthermore the nephew of Pope Pius IV. Upon Borromeo's insistence, the Jesuits undertook responsibility for the diocesan seminary, which opened in 1565 in the parish of S. Giovanni Battista di Porta Orientale. Problems arose immediately: unceasing interference from Borromeo, difficult relations with the "Deputies' Committee," representing the secular clergy, disputes with the secular clergy about traditional if less than desirable customs all contributed to difficulties that the Jesuits had to face. Nevertheless, Borromeo was adamant about engaging the Jesuits in the formation of the secular clergy.

Flavio Rurale has demonstrated that Borromeo considered the Jesuits to be his chosen collaborators: they taught in his seminary, sat on the tribunal for the local Inquisition, visited monasteries, and examined members of the secular clergy to determine if they deserved benefices. Rurale also pointed out that the Jesuits strove to meet the expectations of the artistocracy, as well. Thus, in Milan as elsewhere, the Jesuits were involved in a delicate balancing act between ecclesiastical obligations and social goals.[41]

Milan, however, had a particular situation in higher education; according to a report by a Jesuit in Milan, "*Il maestro che quest'anno [1569] ha cominciato il corso di filosofia [al collegio a S. Fedele] ha 50 scolari non solo di Milano, ma di altre città dello Stato, i quali benché potessero andare a studiare all'università di Pavia, non di*

[40]Simona Negruzzo, *Collegij a forma di Seminario. Il sistema di formazione teologica nello Stato di Milano in età spagnola* (Brescia, 2001), *passim*.

[41]Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano*, especially the chapter "Il collegio a S. Fedele (1567-1572)," pp. 89-136.

meno sono più tosto voluti venire qui."[42] The Milanese State, like Venice, had its state university located in a nearby town: Padua for the Serenissima, Pavia for Milan. Perhaps more than Venetians, however, the Milanese were building a network of higher education in Milan in the sixteenth century which drew students from Pavia. Sons of the Venetian patriciate continued to attend the philosophical courses at the university in Padua;[43] in Milan, the aristocrats attempted to create a series of courses in the humanities that would provide an alternative to those offered in Pavia.

The principal promoter of these endeavors was the Society of Jesus. In 1579—the same year that the Somascans undertook the administration of the patriarchal seminary in Venice—the Jesuits were released from their responsibility in the Milanese seminary. Borromeo entrusted the seminary to a new order of priests that he had founded, the Oblates of St. Ambrose, and thus the Jesuits were freed from entanglement with the seminary *and* from the jurisdiction of the archbishop. For the *seminarium nobilium*, the Jesuits provided instruction as external teachers, and perhaps also spiritual support as confessors, but nothing more. As in similar cases in other cities, the Jesuits chose to concentrate their efforts.[44]

The Jesuits developed their Collegio di Brera into a philosophical and theological university in everything but name.[45] Thus, the Milanese aristocrats were able to achieve what their Venetian counterparts were

[42]Quotation from Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Med. [Mediolanensis]* 75, *annuae* of 1569 and 1570. Found in Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano*, pp. 113-14: "the teacher starting this year [1569] the philosophy course [in the college of Saint Fedele] has 50 students not only from Milan, but also from other towns of the Milanese State, although this boys could study in the University of Pavia, but they prefer to come here attending our schools."

[43]Gino Benzoni, "Un Ulpiano mancato: Giovanni Finetti," *Studi veneziani*, 25 (1993), 35-71.

[44]In Milan, a Jesuit "*ogni dì, sera et mattina*" [every day, in the afternoon and in the morning]" went to the college "*ad insegnare i putti*. [to teach the children]" Quote found in Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano*, p. 141. The Jesuits had a similar arrangement with Bishop Federico Corner's *seminarium nobilium* in Padua; see Sangalli, *Cultura, politica e religione*, pp. 54-61, 68-72.

[45]Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano*, pp. 137-167; and also Simona Negruzzo, " 'Per "gustare de' frutti spirituali de' Padri Jesuiti'." L'università di Brera nel sistema educativo borromaico," in Gian Paolo Brizzi, Jacques Verger, eds., *Le università minori in Europa (secoli XV-XIX), atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Alghero 30 ottobre-2 novembre 1996*, (Soveria Mannelli, 1998), pp. 383-403.

not: the capital had its own institution of higher learning. Why did Milan succeed where Venice failed? Both the Milanese and Venetian aristocracies were comprised, for the most part, of a merchant class. During the sixteenth century, merchants in both cities engaged in "refeudalization," seeking to immobilize their liquid money in land. In Milan, however, the aristocracy had to contend with the Spanish rulers; a university was a point of autonomy vis-à-vis the foreign administration. In Venice, the patricians were masters of their own politics and economy; there was no need to provide an alternative to the state university. Indeed, it was not even necessary to take a university degree: a decent humanistic formation (and the required familial status) was all one needed to enter the Venetian political arena. The Venetians did not see the need for another university; after all, as one Jesuit put it, Venice "*non è tera de studii* [is not a place suitable for universities]!"[46]

Louis Châtellier has illuminated how the Jesuits used Marian congregations to forge closer links with the ruling classes. These congregations were founded in their colleges but open to individuals from outside the academic environment.[47] Milan was no exception: to cite only one example, a number of Milanese aristocrats banded together to form the *Congregazione Maggiore* in 1584, in part to fund the construction of the Collegio di Brera. The close rapport between the Society and the urban patriciate once again demonstrated itself beneficial to both parties.

Ponte in Valtellina: The Opposition of the Jesuits

If the threat of heresy was soon eliminated from Milan (unlike Venice, Tuscany, or the kingdom of France), the boundaries of the Duchy were nonetheless dangerously close to the Swiss Protestant Cantons. Furthermore, the boundaries of the Milanese archdiocese extended in the Valtellina, which—since 1512—was in the Grisons. In this case, we see the opposition of the Jesuits: their opposition to heresy, to its spread across the borders into a Catholic state, to the formation of an overwhelmingly Protestant ruling class. The Society of Jesus made several attempts to establish themselves in Ponte in Valtellina specifically to oppose these trends.

[46]Maurizio Sangalli," 'Venetia non è tera de studii'? Educazione e politica nel secondo Cinquecento. I Gesuiti e i Procuratori di San Marco de Supra," *Studi veneziani*, n.s. 34 (1997), 97-163.

[47]Louis Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots* (Paris, 1987).

As a modern scholar rather emphatically assessed the situation, "the small Ponte college had a particular importance because of its symbolic value as outpost and bulwark of faith in a diocese swarmed around by heresy; besides being the first among the anti-Lutheran [*sic*] frontier college in Northern Italy, it represented the most daring attempt of Catholic penetration in a Protestant land."[48]

The fortunes (or rather misfortunes) of the Jesuits in Valtellina in the second half of the sixteenth century are bound to a local family, the Quadrio. Cavaliere Antonio Quadrio was the Emperor Charles V's surgeon; he was living in Vienna, but like all emigrants he did not forget his native land. His cousin, Marcantonio Quadrio, was the parish priest in Ponte.

The importance of education in Valtellina is documented by a request that the *Consiglio di Valle* made to the Grigioni authorities in 1556: they asked that no more Protestant teachers or preachers be sent into the valley. The request was apparently rejected,[49] but the emergence of a teaching order like the Society of Jesus allowed for the possibility of educating in order to maintain orthodoxy. Father Nicolás Bobadilla, S.J., initiated the mission there in 1558, stating from the start the different possibilities: sending Jesuit schoolmasters to the valley from the college in Como, or the creation of an independent institution. A year later, Father David Wolf, S.J., replaced Bobadilla, but the situation remained equally desperate: the Jesuit Superior General, Father James Laínez, decided to disregard the required twelve Jesuits for the founding of a college and to open one in Ponte.

The desired result occurred only in 1560, with the direct intervention of Cavaliere Quadrio. The Jesuits began teaching in their college, but after only a few months the first expulsion occurred. Not even the intervention of Pope Pius IV, the Milanese governor, or Carlo Borromeo could diminish the opposition of the governing authorities. More than fifty years passed before there was another opportunity to open a Catholic college. It was the continuing efforts of the local Catholics—opposed by the Grisons authorities bent on imposing Protestantism—that brought this to pass.[50]

[48]Nicoletta Moretti, *Il collegio dei gesuiti di Ponte in Valtellina*, (Sondrio, 2001), p. 13. See also Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano*, in particular the first appendix, "Ponte di Valtellina, Como e Milano," pp. 283-292.

[49]Moretti, *Il collegio dei gesuiti di Ponte in Valtellina*, p. 21.

[50]*Ibid.*, pp. 74-95 and pp. 125-145.

The often-cited reason why families desired a local college—the expense of sending sons away to study—was but one reason why the Valtellinese desired an educational institution. They desired to educate their sons in the precepts of their own faith. They hoped to engage one of the several educating religious orders to do so locally, "*essendo che non tutti li padri di detti figlioli sono atti con le lor facoltà di far educar detti figlioli et mantenerli alli studi, fuora di detta valle.*"[51]

Once again the Jesuits found themselves at the intersection of various interests and jurisdictions. Furthermore, as seen in the situation of the Jesuits in Venice, international politics came into play. In the Valtellina, the Jesuits sought to fulfill the Tridentine mission of preserving the Catholic faith, but they also participated in realizing the Spanish political goal of religious uniformity in the face of a Protestant threat at the border. The converging aims of those two spheres ensured a successful resolution. Certainly, this was specific to the Milanese case; elsewhere too Jesuits had quarrels with the Spanish Monarchy. The so-called "Sacred Massacre" of 1620, a real pogrom perpetrated by the Catholics on the Protestants, opened the way toward the definitive establishment of the Society of Jesus in Valtellina. In 1621 four Jesuits established a *residentia*, or a religious house dedicated to apostolic endeavors including education, in the expectation of eventually opening a college.

After a series of setbacks in the valley which translated into the *residentia* being downgraded into a simple mission, Spain and the Grisons signed the *Capitolato di Milano* in 1639. According to that treaty, the Valtellina would continue to be ruled by Protestants, but the official religion of the valley was Catholicism.[52] This provided the impetus for the Jesuits to plan anew their college in Ponte. During its contentious history, the Jesuits sought autonomy for the foundation, even from the episcopal authority in Como, notwithstanding the threat of Pope Innocent X to close the college in 1652. In the newly acquired peace, the Jesuits added other apostolates to education, including preaching, visiting prisons, and conducting *visite diocesane* of monasteries. Through this long period, the Jesuit opposition to the spread of Protestantism engaged their great adaptability to achieve their goals despite overwhelming odds.

[51]Quote found in Moretti, *Il collegio dei gesuiti di Ponte in Valtellina*, p. 130: "because not all the fathers of these boys are able to get the money so that they could maintain them in education outside the valley," the communities of the Valtellina speaking.

[52]Moretti, *Il collegio dei gesuiti di Ponte in Valtellina*, p. 155.

Lodi: The Formation of a New Order

Why would a small provincial town which is not a territorial capital, has no university, and houses neither an administrative center nor commercial center be of interest to this study? Lodi is a pleasant agricultural center in the Po valley, thirty kilometers south of Milan. It was in Lodi that the Barnabites, a religious order that officially undertook education only in the early seventeenth century, initiated that vocation.

Intentionally or not, the Barnabites sought to distinguish themselves from the Jesuits in two fundamental ways: (1) they refused to operate boarding schools (a refusal expressly addressed to both the ruling class, in general, and also for specific, famous *seminaria nobilium* in Parma, Bologna, and Siena)[53] and (2) they specially ran schools in urban centers of minor importance (the so-called "piccole città" or "borghi grossi"). Such was the case in Lodi, where both the rural and the urban middle classes demanded not only primary but also secondary schools, and where they sought intellectual instruction and moral formation for their sons.

Perhaps the most important transition for the Clerics Regular of St. Paul occurred in 1608 when they founded the Arcimboldi schools in Milan. During the following decades, they founded a number of colleges in Italy and abroad (in France in particular). In Lombardy, they founded colleges in Casalmaggiore (1638), Vigevano (1644), and—the first one after the Milanese college—that in Lodi (1629). Yet this diffusion was concentrated in northern Italy, in the Duchy of Milan, the Savoyard State, and the Republic of Venice principally. In a census of the order conducted in 1650, it was revealed that out of the 465 members, 68% lived in the northern part of the Italian peninsula.[54] This was a medium-sized order, obviously significantly smaller than the contemporary Society of Jesus; the Barnabites fit well within the context of Lodi.

During the early seventeenth century in northern Italy, but not only there, there was a second wave of school foundations, with the appearance of other religious orders like the Barnabites, Somascans, Piarists,

[53]Gian Paolo Brizzi, *La formazione della classe dirigente nel Sei-Settecento. I seminaria nobilium nell'Italia centro-settentrionale* (Bologna, 1976), *passim*.

[54]Bianchi, *L'istruzione secondaria tra barocco ed età dei lumi*, p. 25.

and—to a minor degree—the Theatines.[55] The Barnabites made their official entrance into the college of S. Giovanni Evangelista (alternately known as S. Giovanni alle Vigne) in Lodi in 1605. Initially, the local bishop entrusted them with preaching, catechism, conducting *visite diocesane,* and acting as professors of moral theology (*casi di coscienza*) for the diocesan priests. In short, they conducted the ecclesiastical endeavors that one might expect of clerics regular. Like the Somascans in Venice and elsewhere, their first educational responsibilities involved the formation or the improvement of the diocesan clergy. The Jesuits had almost always declined such responsibilities, even though it was precisely in that area that their influence (via their treatises) was most strongly felt. Until the end of the seventeenth century, other religious orders might be administering the seminaries, but the Jesuits impacted the formation of priests most strongly.

In Lodi, Archdeacon Paolo Dunieri made a bequest in his will that would finance an educational institution. He died in 1629, and the following year the Barnabites began offering courses in philosophy and theology. Lodi offers a clear example of trends that characterized education in the seventeenth century. In 1615, in Lodi, the custom of entrusting education to teachers *condotti* from the town council was definitively abandoned. No public instruction was offered in the 1620's and 1630's because of the great economic crisis. Only a considerable legacy, which became available in 1650, funded courses in the humanities and rhetoric, open to a large number of people from all backgrounds. To whom did the council of Lodi entrust this responsibility? Following current trends, and also indicating the local esteem for particular religious orders, they first asked the Jesuits, then the Barnabites, and finally the Somascans.

These endeavors in education on the part of the town council had social effects: families were no longer constrained to send their sons off and support the high cost of food and lodging in distant cities. Additionally, the urban patriciate of Lodi had the opportunity to exert influence over the areas from which the students came, whether from the surrounding countryside or other urban centers. The success of these endeavors was demonstrated by the advancement achieved by the lower classes. In distinction to the practices of the sixteenth cen-

[55]Maurizio Sangalli, "Dell'educazione, tra teoria e prassi. Paolo Sarpi e i teatini a Bergamo (1615)," in C. Pin, ed., *Ripensando Paolo Sarpi, atti del convegno internazionale di studi nel 450° anniversario della nascita di Paolo Sarpi* (Venice, 2006), pp. 439-460.

tury, the Barnabites ran a less elitist institution, meeting the increasing demands of the entire spectrum of society. It was a fortunate intersection between a religious order's mission to provide an education to the middle and lower classes, the social and economic need for basic instruction in order to prepare sons for gainful employment, and a populated center that welcomed education.

As Angelo Bianchi correctly and recently stated, it would be a mistake to take the Jesuits' *Ratio studiorum*, published in its definitive form in 1599, as the educational model for all contemporary religious orders.[56] Because of different teachers, students, and aims, the Barnabites (like the Somascans and the Piarists) produced their own handbooks and theoretical treatises, although partially influenced by the Jesuit ones; by the end of the eighteenth century, they relied almost exclusively on their own texts for educating their pupils. These texts included *De grammatica institutione* (Milan, 1609) by Father Vincenzo Gallo, and *Eloquentiae preludia* (1694) and *Semita Parnassi* (1698), both by Father Demetrio Suppensio.[57] Demonstrating their autonomy from the Jesuits, the Barnabites published their own *ratio studiorum* in 1666: *Exterarum scholarum disciplina apud clericos regulares S. Pauli in provincia Mediolanensi*.[58]

The trajectory of the order was clear: in the eighteenth century, the Barnabites rivaled the Jesuits, who were still focused on providing a humanistic education to the ruling classes. The success of the Barnabites was in the sciences, including the new approaches and fields of the period, and also in the social promotion of the middle and lower classes. Additionally, they continued training priests. For the entire Age of Enlightenment, the formation of the clergy occurred only partly in seminaries: parishes, private schoolmasters, and religious congregations were all participants. Thus, there still existed a difference between theory and practice, or the seminaries called for by the Council of Trent and the typical eighteenth-century training of priests.

Teaching Orders in a Principality: The Savoyard State

Thus far, this article has illuminated the methods and means of the teaching orders in various contexts. Venice was a republic, even

[56]Gian Paolo Brizzi, ed., *La 'Ratio studiorum.' Modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei Gesuiti in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento* (Rome, 1981).

[57]Bianchi, *L'istruzione secondaria tra barocco ed età dei lumi*, pp. 82-83.

[58]Mediolani, ex typographia Francisci Vigoni.

though only the oligarchy participated in it. Milan was under Spanish rule, although the upper classes did have some room to maneuver. How did the same orders operate in an absolutist state? Obviously, with only one governor, the strategy for success was much more straightforward. In such cases, the Jesuits usually sought to establish links with the monarch and the royal family. They sought to occupy any one of a number of offices: court preacher, missionary, counselor, public agent, court historian, or—perhaps most importantly—private confessor to the prince.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy, a number of families ruled their own states: the Gonzaga in Mantua, the Este in Ferrara, and then—from 1598—in Modena and Reggio Emilia, the Farnese in Parma and Piacenza, and the Savoia in Piedmont. Some of the individual relationships between these families and the Jesuits have already been examined: Gian Paolo Brizzi headed a group of scholars that studied the relationship between the Farnese and the Jesuits in Parma[59]; Flavio Rurale and Antonella Bilotto, headed by Cesare Mozzarelli, conducted a similar study for the Gonzaga and Mantua.[60]

The Savoyard state, however, presented a different context: it was perhaps the most independent state on the Italian peninsula, certainly so with regard to foreign interference. The most important studies on education in Piedmont were conducted by Marina Roggero. More recently, a group of architectural historians has investigated all of the Jesuit foundations in the state, extending their research to ecclesiastical and educational histories, as well.[61]

The history of the relationship between the Jesuits and the seminary in Turin is highly idiosyncratic. In 1567, Archbishop Gerolamo della Rovere opened the diocesan seminary next to the Jesuit college in S. Stefano. Ten years later, the Society took over the seminary build-

[59]Gian Paolo Brizzi, Alessandro D'Alessandro, Alessandra Del Fante, *Università, Principe, Gesuiti. La politica farnesiana dell'istruzione a Parma e Piacenza (1545-1622)* (Rome, 1980). See also Baldini, *Saggi sulla cultura della Compagnia di Gesù*, especially the chapter "I Gesuiti nelle corti padane (1600-1650)," pp. 171-211.

[60]Antonella Bilotto and Flavio Rurale, eds., *Istoria del collegio di Mantova della Compagnia di Gesù scritta dal padre Giuseppe Gorzoni, Parte prima* (Mantua, 1997).

[61]Bruno Signorelli and Pietro Uscello, eds., *La Compagnia di Gesù e la società piemontese. Le fondazioni del Piemonte orientale*, atti del convegno, Vercelli 16 ottobre 1993 (Vercelli, 1995). Bruno Signorelli and Pietro Uscello, eds., *La Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia di Torino dagli anni di Emanuele Filiberto a quelli di Carlo Alberto* (Turin, 1998).

ings, offering the Archbishop in substitution new room in S. Agnese. At most, the Jesuits provided spiritual direction to the seminarians.

An additional concern in Piedmont was the existence of a long-standing Protestant community within its borders. The valleys peopled by the Waldensians provided an arena for missionary activity by the Jesuits, starting with the famous Antonio Possevino. In Turin, the fathers concentrated on apostolic offices, especially Schools of Christian Doctrine:

> *La dottrina christiana ancora tutta si riposa su le nostre spalle, poi che ogni festa per cinque schole che sono in questa città si compartono dieci e più de nostri ad insegnarla tanto a fanciulli, quanto a fanciulle [...] essendo in duomo dove è la prima schola, qualche volta più di 500 scholari che la imparano.*[62]

Turin came into competition with Milan for the first *seminarium nobilium*, which opened in the Savoyard capital in 1574. The first Torinese college for poor nobles had in fact been founded a few years prior by the Compagnia di San Paolo, a local lay confraternity devoted to the defense of the Catholic faith and support for the so-called "*nobili vergognosi*," or impoverished nobles. Their college was a charitable institution, in nature and scope much like the Venetian Accademia della Giudecca, founded fifty years later. The ruling classes understood that supporting the nobility was important to maintaining social order. The colleges for the sons of impoverished noblemen would treat the young men as members of the nobility, and allow them to enter noble professions and thus maintain the family's status. The young men could therefore participate in the system rather than become potentially disruptive elements in society. The Compagnia di San Paolo and the Society of Jesus developed ever closer relations in Turin, and in 1574 they jointly opened a *seminarium nobilium* in the Beccuti palace, a generous bequest having been made specifically for this purpose.[63]

[62]Quote found in Maria Franca Mellano, "Attività controriformistica dei gesuiti in Torino nel secondo '500," in Signorelli-Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia di Torino*, p. 37: "We teach all the Christian doctrine in this city, because every Sunday more than ten of our teachers are going to teach it in the five existing schools both to boys and girls [...] in the cathedral, where there is the most important school, we have sometimes more than 500 students attending."

[63]Rosa Anna Grassi, "I rapporti con la Compagnia di Gesù nelle carte dell'Archivio storico della Compagnia di San Paolo," in Signorelli-Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia di Torino*, pp. 133-144.

After the Jesuit provinces of Milan and Venice were split in 1578, the Milanese one still covered a large territory, including several independent regions: besides the Spanish state of Milan, it included the Republic of Genoa (which included Corsica), the Valtellina (ruled by a Protestant Swiss canton), and the Savoyard State. Nevertheless, the Jesuits were able to adapt to the political and social situation of Piedmont. Over time, there was an increasing distaste for Spain, an appreciation of the Duke of Savoy, Carlo Emanuele I (who ruled from 1580), and respect for his efforts to build Piedmont into a centralized state. The Jesuit colleges in the territory ruled from Turin (including Turin, Arona, Mondovì, Vercelli, Alessandria, Novara, and others) did not face a lack of native religious, as did the colleges in Milanese or Venetian territory. Nevertheless, the teaching staff at those colleges rotated regularly, and often the new teachers were Jesuits originally from foreign states, sometimes states hostile to Savoy. The dukes, therefore, found minor disagreements with the Jesuits: the "foreign" Jesuits were objects of suspicion, and in 1614 Carlo Emanuele I wrote to the Jesuit Superior General in Rome, stating that he did not "*gusta[re] nel suo stato de' forestieri.*"[64] Furthermore, there were differences in pedagogical methods and concerns about money being sent abroad (which was not a minor matter in the age of mercantilism).

Flavio Rurale has discussed these issues in terms of the "geopolitics" of the Society of Jesus.[65] This is undoubtedly a valid approach, and it must be added that such politics had a direct impact upon the Jesuit educational institutions and where they were located.

What the Jesuits found to be opportune, however, was not always to the advantage of other religious orders. In Vercelli, the Barnabites were replaced by the Jesuits in the seminary of S. Pietro-La Ferla in 1581. Canon Giovanni Battista Modena described the event in his *Istoria di Vercelli*:

> *furono introdotti i pp. Gesuiti in Vercelli, e mentre loro si preparava il luogo, stavano in vescovato, ma confessavano, predicavano in S. Eusebio*

[64] *Med. 23*, II, fol. 360, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. Quoted in Flavio Rurale, "La provincia milanese della Compagnia di Gesù tra Cinque e Seicento. Struttura organizzativa e problemi politico-finanziari," in Signorelli-Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù e la società piemontese*, p. 54: "he doesn't want foreigners in his State."

[65] F. Rurale, "La provincia milanese," p. 47.

cattedrale, fintanto, che gli fu dato S. Pietro con la casa et i pp. Barnabiti furono mandati a S. Cristoforo.[66]

However, the Jesuits could also execute their mission in a co-ordinated way with members of other religious orders. The bishop of Novara, the Barnabite Carlo Bascapè, engaged the Jesuits from the order's center in Arona in pastoral offices such as evaluative visits to monasteries, missions to Alpine valleys, catechism, and preaching. Like his model, Carlo Borromeo, the determined Bascapè was able to persuade the Jesuits to administer and teach in his seminary; that was an exception for the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits influenced the diocesan clergy in Novara by imparting their model of the apostolic priest, based upon "the practical character of [Ignatian] spirituality, on the narrow relationship between ascesis and action."[67] Bascapè, although belonging to a different religious order, appears to have admitted the better training of the Jesuits as both educators and pastoral assistants, at least during the period under discussion. Furthermore, they were more numerous and more readily available for these offices than the clerics of any similar religious order. Another factor may have been the spirituality of the Jesuits: Ignatius Loyola codified his "Spiritual Exercises" before his death, and those practices quickly became an important, popular spiritual path. The contribution that the Jesuits could make with the "*Exercises*" may have added to their other attractions.

To conclude with an observation by Marina Roggero, it is important to recognize the strategy behind Jesuit foundations. Their colleges were a bulwark for the faith and structure for otherwise malleable states; they promoted public peace and supplied well-educated men for the professions and for public employment.[68]

[66]Giovanni Battista Modena, *Istoria di Vercelli*, ms. in Vercelli, Biblioteca arcivescovile, C: 229/22, p. 547, as quoted in Mario Capellino, "Itinerari di ricerca per una futura storia dei gesuiti a Vercelli," in Signorelli-Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù e la società piemontese*, p. 205: "the Jesuits arrived in Vercelli and they stayed in the bishop's residence before having their own house; in the meanwhile, they hear confessions and preach in the cathedral of Saint Eusebius till they can establish in Saint Peter and the Barnabites move in Saint Christopher."

[67]Pier Giorgio Longo, "Carlo Bascapé, vescovo di Novara e i gesuiti," in Signorelli-Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù e la società piemontese*, p. 370; and also *Carlo Bascapè sulle orme del Borromeo. Coscienza e azione pastorale in un vescovo di fine Cinquecento, atti del convegno di studio di Novara, Orta e Varallo Sesia, 1993* (Novara, 1994).

[68]Marina Roggero, *Scuola e riforme nello Stato sabaudo* (Turin, 1981).

In the seventeenth century, the number of Jesuit establishments diminished in Piedmont; this was due to economic crises, wars, the opposition of the diocesan clergy, and the expansion of other teaching orders. Additionally, there was a demand for a different sort of education: the humanities were no longer as important as other subjects that were more useful for the professions, such as mathematics, economics, and foreign languages.[69] The Jesuits were apparently unprepared to accept the challenges inherent in that shift in demand, but the Barnabites and the Piarists were, and thus they became the successful religious orders in the eighteenth century. The *coup de grâce* occurred in 1729 when the Savoyard duke, Vittorio Amedeo II, decided to close the schools run by the religious orders and open in their stead state and public institutions. This was the first event in a profound crisis that led up to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. Additionally, it was the first step in a rising consciousness that education should return to public domain, administered by the government.

[69]Marina Roggero, "La crisi di un modello culturale: I gesuiti nello Stato sabaudo tra Sei e Settecento," in eadem, *Insegnar lettere. Ricerche di storia dell'istruzione in età moderna* (Alessandria, 1992), pp. 23-47.

PROFESSION AND FAITH: THE NATIONAL GUILD OF CATHOLIC PSYCHIATRISTS, 1950-1968

BY

ABRAHAM NUSSBAUM*

In the early 1950's, Roman Catholics in America were underrepresented as psychiatric patients and practitioners, and a group of lay Catholic psychiatrists organized a National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists and published the Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists *as a first step towards establishing an institutional Catholic presence within American psychiatry. From 1952 to 1968, the members of the Guild taught Catholic clergy to adopt psychiatric methods both for the selection and training of their members, and for the pastoral counsel with which they succored the laity. The Guild successfully introduced psychiatry into the Catholic experience, but they failed to create a thriving subculture within American psychiatry; the Guild is an exemplary failure in the efforts of Roman Catholics in America to create distinctly Catholic institutions.*

In the late 1940's, Roman Catholic psychiatrists in America found themselves at the margins of their professional and faith communities. Many Catholics believed psychiatry a secular imitation of the faith, while many non-Catholic psychiatrists feared that Catholics were so dogmatic that it was deleterious to their mental health.[1] In April 1950, a small group of lay male Catholic psychiatrists, seeking a concord between their faith and their profession, placed a small notice in the back-pages of the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, their profession's journal of record, asking "Any Catholic psychiatrist who is a member of the American Psychiatric Association" to write to Dr. Edward L. Brennan.[2] The notice did not explain why a reader

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[1]For the Catholic response to psychology, see C. Kevin Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism: From Confession to Therapy?* (New York, 2001). For the tension between psychoanalysis and Christianity in America, see Jon H. Roberts, "Psychoanalysis and American Christianity, 1900-1945," in *When Science and Christianity Meet*, edited by David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (Chicago, 2003), pp. 225-244.

[2]Edward L Brennan, "Catholic Psychiatrists to Organize," *American Journal of Psychiatry,* 106 (1950), 794.

ought to write Brennan: the unexplained invitation implicitly assumed that Catholic psychiatrists would recognize the need for such an organization.

Perhaps the intended readers of this notice still heard, ringing in their ears, the 1947 Lenten sermon that Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen had preached at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, a sermon publicized by *The New York Times*. Sheen, the most charismatic and popular Catholic preacher of the era, had unfavorably compared psychoanalysis to confession and analysts to confessors, implying that psychiatry was a wan imitation of the true faith of Catholicism.[3] Some Catholic psychiatrists received the homily as a grievous insult. When Sheen refused to retract or clarify his statements, four prominent Catholic psychiatrists denounced Sheen and angrily insisted that no conflict existed between psychiatry and Catholicism, a denunciation also reported by the *New York Times*. One of these four psychiatrists, Frank J. Curran, resigned in protest from his position as the chief psychiatrist at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City and told a reporter that his some of his patients had ceased psychiatric treatment for fear that it constituted a sin.[4] Another of the four psychiatrists, Leo H. Bartemeier, responded to Sheen's provocation in 1949 by inveighing upon Pope Pius XII to embrace psychiatry as licit. During his audience, Bartemeier found the Pope receptive to psychiatry, and in 1953, Pius XII made the first supportive, if qualified, papal statement on psychiatry.[5] Men like Bartemeier and Curran were the peers whom Brennan sought, Catholic psychiatrists making inroads into a Catholic culture which perceived psychiatry as a threat to the faith, while publicly embracing their faith at some risk to their professional careers.

Eighteen such men responded to Brennan's notice, and in 1952, they formed the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists, the first reli-

[3]Sheen's fear was in no way exceptional, as many contemporaneous Catholics feared psychiatry would displace the practice of confession; see James M. O'Toole, ed., *Habits of Devotion: Catholic Religious Practice in Twentieth-Century America* (Ithaca, New York, 2004), pp. 175-177.

[4]In response to Curran's resignation, Cardinal Spellman's office released a statement that left no doubt about the Archdiocese's loyalties. The statement, as excerpted in the July 27, 1947 issue of the *New York Times*, read, in part, that "Dr. Curran's services are not required in any institution of the Archdiocese of New York."

[5]The best account of Bartemeier's actions is found in Francis J. Braceland, "Leo H. Bartemeier, M.D. 1895-1982," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 140 (1983), 628-630.

gion-based psychiatric society recognized by the American Psychiatric Association (APA). Like Brennan, the Guild and its members sought both to make psychiatry licit for Catholics, and Catholicism acceptable to psychiatrists. They enjoyed scant success on the latter front, as their meetings and publications attracted only passing notice from most of their secular colleagues in the APA. To be sure, there were exceptions, Catholic psychiatrists like Francis J. Braceland who were both active in the Guild and prominent within the APA, but the Guild found its greatest success not in influencing non-Catholic psychiatrists, but in teaching ordained Catholic clergy, both members of religious orders and congregations and diocesan priests, to adopt psychiatric methods for the selection and training of their members and for the pastoral counsel with which they succored the laity. Instead of making Catholicism acceptable to psychiatry, as many of its members hoped to do, the Guild was most successful at integrating contemporary psychiatry into the lives of Catholics in America.

In this paper, I examine The National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists, and its associated *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, during the period 1952-1968. When the Guild began its work, Catholics were underrepresented in psychiatry as practitioners and as patients. During this period, the Guild introduced psychiatric services into the lives of both lay and clerical Catholics in America, yet the Guild's guiding force, John R. Cavanagh, believed the Guild a failure because it never organized Catholic psychiatrists into a viable adjunct to the secular psychiatric guild, the APA. The Guild's leaders attributed their failure to create a thriving Catholic psychiatric community to their inability to interest more than a handful of Catholic psychiatrists to commit to the Guild itself; the Guild began as the dream of a small number of men and, in most respects, it receded into history on the same scale. This paper contributes both to the study of religious and cultural difference in the history of psychiatry and offers an example of a Catholic subculture in America that was not sustained. Catholics in America are famous for creating thriving subcultures—alternative educational, medical, and social institutions—that create and reinforce a distinct identity.[6] However, Catholics in America have not able to sustain a similar subculture of psychiatric facilities and services. The leaders of the Guild hoped their organization would flourish into a Catholic alternative to secular psychiatry. In this light, the Guild was an exemplary failure because the Guild was unable to attract enough

[6]Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1992).

Catholic psychiatrists to sustain itself, but it was able to make psychiatry licit for the lives of lay and clerical Catholics alike.[7]

Organizational History of the Guild

Dr. Edward L. Brennan founded the Guild as what the *Bulletin's* longtime editor John R. Cavanagh once called "a small appendage of our parent organization," the APA.[8] The Guild sought its first members from the readership of the APA's journal in 1950. It sought additional members from psychiatrists attending the APA's annual conferences, and held annual meetings alongside the APA from 1952 in Atlantic City until 1956 in Chicago. While the Guild was initially content to exist as an affinity group that met at the APA conference, its leaders eventually sought a separate conference. In the December 1956 issue of the *Bulletin*, the Guild asked its members if they would rather hold Guild meetings separately from the APA so that Guild members could focus solely upon the particular concerns of Catholic psychiatrists. They apparently received an affirmative reply, because in February 1958, the Guild held its first separate annual meeting at The Catholic University of America.[9] The presidents of the Guild hailed the first few

[7]I was unable to locate historical accounts of the Guild or substantive archival material relating to the Guild from the American Psychiatric Association, The Catholic University of America, Georgetown University, Yale University, or the Institute of Living, among other institutions. In a personal communication, Dr. Thomas K. Ciesla, who served in several Guild administrative positions including President and Editor, disclosed that he once possessed the Guild's archives, but disposed of them as trash several years ago. The Guild is also not discussed in the histories of twentieth-century American Catholicism, see Dolan, *American Catholic Experience;* or in treatments of American Catholic medicine, see Christopher J. Kauffman, *Ministry and Meaning: A Religious History of Catholic Health Care in the United States* (New York, 1995); Richard A. McCormick, *Health and Medicine in the Catholic Tradition: Tradition in Transition* (New York, 1984); and Ralph O'Connell, "The Church and Psychiatry," *America*, July 30 (2001), 15-18, or in discussions of American psychiatry, see Edward Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry: From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1998). No history of twentieth-century American Catholic psychiatry has been published, but C. Kevin Gillespie published a history of American Catholic psychology in which the Guild and Cavanagh are briefly discussed, Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism.* In a personal communication, Gillespie confirmed that he had no additional information beyond his published comments. In the absence of significant archival material, this history draws chiefly upon the published accounts in the *Bulletin* itself.

[8]John R. Cavanagh, "Editorial: To Be or Not To Be," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists,* 13:3 (1966), 135.

[9]John J. Hayes, "Chaplain's Message," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists,* 5:2 (1957), 3. From 1958 to 1968, the *Bulletin's* editorial headquarters

independent meetings as successes, but within three years, the *Bulletin* routinely published editorials pleading for better attendance at their meetings, often complaining of attendance below thirty members.[10] In 1962, the Guild returned to the practice of holding its meetings in conjunction with the APA, and subsequent editorials noted an increase in attendance. The failure to sustain independent annual meetings implies that most of the Guild's members experienced the meetings as an adjunct to the APA's conferences rather than as a Catholic replacement.

At the Guild's meetings, lay psychiatrists, ordained priests, and male and female religious tried to make room within psychiatry for Catholicism. The implications of that call to arms varied; but on the whole, the participants seem to have applied psychiatry chiefly to distinctively Catholic practices, without addressing the real tensions between Catholicism and psychiatry. They limned the psychoanalytic value of the confessional and the psychological implications of the rhythm method rather than reforming psychiatry in light of, say, Catholic anthropology, devotional practices, liturgy, or moral theology. Consider the Guild's tenth meeting, held at The Catholic University of America from February 2 to 4 in 1959, which shows the extent to which APA concerns set the Guild's agenda, even during the years the Guild held its meeting independent of the APA. The theme was "The Catholic Psychiatrist and His Church," and the speaker at each morning's plenary session was a nationally prominent lay psychiatrist, including a prominent Jewish psychiatrist who had converted to Catholicism, the current president of the APA, and a past president of the APA. Following the speakers, in every sense of the phrase, were the seventeen afternoon seminars, of which over half were delivered by clerical and religious non-psychiatrists, such as Mother Rose Elizabeth, C.S.C., on "The Psychiatrist and Vocations for the Convent" and Rev. Wilbur Wheeler on "Psychiatric Training for Religious." These Catholics applied the insights of psychiatry to the practices of their parishes, seminaries, convents, and monasteries rather than applying the prac-

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were at The Catholic University of America, a university hospitable to psychiatry at least since 1939, when the psychiatrist and Benedictine monk Thomas Verner Moore established the first American Catholic psychiatric teaching facility at the university. Although Moore retired in 1947, he influenced and trained many of the Guild's members. See Benedict Neenan, *Thomas Verner Moore: Psychiatrist, Educator, and Monk* (New York, 2000).

[10]See Hayes, "Chaplain's Page," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 7:2 (1960), 66.

tices of Catholicism to psychiatric services. At their meetings and in their published essays, members of the Guild rarely discussed the social justice teachings of the Church, and did not appear to challenge substantively contemporary psychiatry's attention to middle-class ailments.[11] Likewise, members of the Guild did not significantly challenge the ontology of mid-century psychiatry, but instead showed how to apply psychiatry to the specific needs of Catholics. The Guild trained Catholics, mostly members of the clergy, how to apply contemporary psychiatry to annulment proceedings, pastoral counseling, seminarian training, alcohol abuse, and the like. Instead of caring for the mentally ill as a practice of Christian charity, as mid-twentieth century Catholics famously attempted to do for the physically ill,[12] or teaching the mentally ill faithful to seek divine assistance through the intercession of the saints, the Guild opened the Catholic market to secular psychiatry by applying psychiatry to the particular concerns of Catholics in America.[13]

The structure of the annual meetings implies that lay psychiatrists established the Guild's program while clerical and religious non-psychiatrists implemented the program. As an organization, the Guild

[11]See Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry.*

[12]See Guenter B. Risse, *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls: A History of Hospitals* (Oxford, 1999) and Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry.*

[13]For example, from 1952 until 1968, the *Bulletin* published only a single article on Saint Dymphna, the patron saint of the mentally ill. The article, replete with a holy card image and a devotional prayer, was an uncharacteristically self-conscious promotion of Dymphna's cult; see Arthur Mulka, "St. Dymphna—Gheel's Angel of Hope," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists,* 9:3 (1962), 157-162. A year later, the *Bulletin* reprinted a recent letter from the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of Rites that permitted the celebration of May 15 as the Feast of Saint Dymphna; see Henricus Dante, "Saint Dymphna Honored," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists,* 10:2 (1963), 126. Saint Dymphna appeared in the Guild only once more, in the front pages of the ill-fated twentieth-anniversary issue: Cavanagh trotted out the infrequently invoked patroness of the mentally ill only when it was time to say his goodbyes. Perhaps Saint Dymphna was usually absent from the *Bulletin* because its editors were implicitly drawing their readers away from a devotional culture of images and into a modernist culture of texts. The historian Robert Orsi writes incisively about the extravagant devotional culture of physical suffering within mid-twentieth-century Catholicism; see Robert A. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton, New Jersey, 2005). In the *Bulletin,* devotional culture makes only fleeting appearances. The saints are invoked infrequently by the authors, and pastoral counselors are not routinely advised to form their parishioners in devotional practices to the saints. This suggests that the members of the Guild belonged to the class of Catholics whom Orsi identifies as diminishing their devotion to the saints as they embraced modernity.

embodied this division, distinguishing "regular" members who identified themselves both as practicing Catholics and as trained psychiatrists from "associate" members who were practicing Catholics but not psychiatrists. Members of both kinds completed application forms that were available at meetings and published in the back of many issues of the *Bulletin*. Applicants aspiring to regular membership supplied their name, address, medical education, APA membership status, publications, manner of psychiatric practice, and the name of their parish and pastor. Applicants aspiring for associate membership supplied the same information without the details specific to practicing psychiatrists. Applicants were elected at the following annual meeting, by an approval process that appears to have been perfunctory so long as the applicant agreed to pay the Guild's modest annual dues. For example, in July 1959 a regular member paid $15.00 annually while an associate member paid $8.00; readers could subscribe to the *Bulletin*, the annual cost of which was $4.00 in 1953 and $7.50 in 1968. While I could not locate distinctions in the privileges and responsibilities between the two kinds of membership, the division suggests the extent to which the Guild was a voluntary association of professionals who shared the same religious identity, but in which the secular identity is foregrounded. Since the Guild's structure reinforced the clinical privilege of their professional identities, psychiatrists eligible for regular membership appeared to hold a privileged place in the Guild in relationship to the other Catholics eligible for associate membership: while both regular and associate members could publish in the *Bulletin* or make presentations at meetings, only regular members held offices in the Guild.[14] The Guild enforced the APA's distinction between the "ordained" and the "not-ordained" rather than the hierar-

[14]Although all its named leaders are laymen, the Guild prominently featured in an advisory role Catholics who were members of the clergy and of religious orders and congregations. Throughout the period 1948 to 1968, the Guild had a chaplain, first the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Hayes from Hartford, Connecticut from 1948 until his death in 1961, and then Rev. Wilbur F. Wheeler, chaplain at St. Elizabeth's, a federal psychiatric hospital in Washington, D.C. Then in July 1964, a Jesuit named Rev. Francis P. Rowley who worked at the Hudson River State Hospital in Poughkeepsie was named the Guild's chaplain. The chaplains wrote often in the *Bulletin*; indeed, Wheeler and Rowley contributed more articles to the *Bulletin*, twenty-three and nineteen, respectively, than any other authors than Cavanagh, the editor himself. While the Guild was operated by and for lay Catholic psychiatrists, the constant invocation of clerics and religious constituted at least an implicit appeal to their special authority. For example, during the late 1960's, the Guild listed, on the inside front cover of the *Bulletin*, an advisory panel of eleven "Consulting Editors," ten of whom were men and seven of whom identified themselves by clerical or religious titles.

chy specific to Catholicism; they substituted medical training for sacramental difference.

Over time, however, the Guild's regular members, mostly male psychiatrists, became outnumbered by the associate members, mostly male religious, so the clinical privilege of a medical degree eroded within the Guild. It is difficult to document completely this trend, because the Guild did not publish membership rolls until 1959. However, when the membership rolls published from 1959 until 1968 are summed, it becomes clear that lay men dominated the regular membership, while clergy dominated the associate membership. In 1953, the Guild claimed eighty-three members.[15] In 1959, in its tenth anniversary issue, the *Bulletin* claimed 219 regular members from forty-one states, with only three male religious and nine laywomen. In contrast, its associate members compromised 128 people from twenty-three states, of whom 105 were male religious, eight were female religious, and six were laywomen.[16] Ten years later, in 1968, the regular membership of the Guild showed a net loss of two, at 217 from thirty-six states and Canada, with one male religious member, eight female lay members, and one female religious member. In comparison, the ranks of the associate membership grew to 186 members, thirty-three laymen and 107 clergymen, with eighteen laywomen and twenty-eight

[15]A. Vincent Gerty, "Report of the Secretary," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 1:4 (1953), 3.

[16]Cavanagh, "Membership List—March, 1959," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 6:2 (1959), 29-48. I arrived at these numbers by counting the membership roles. First, I counted a member as cleric or religious if their name was preceded or followed by an ecclesial abbreviation (e.g. S.J., O.F.M., Rev.). Members could conceivably have elected not to publish their ecclesiastical credentials, or the Guild could have neglected to publish them, so my numbers can only be approximations that, if anything, underestimate the number of clerics and religious. Second, it is more difficult to determine the gender of the members. Women who belong to religious orders were identified by ecclesiastical abbreviations, and some other women were identified by a gendered title (Miss, Mrs.), but since both male and female psychiatrists were simply identified by their medical credentials, I had to guess at the gender of the non-clergy physician members. The vast majority of the physicians were identified by their first names, and most of these readily revealed their gender. However, some non-clergy physician members identified themselves by their initials or had an ambiguous first name. Based on the general trends of the membership roles, I assumed that one out of fifteen such members was a woman, but this assumption may underestimate the number of female members. Regardless, the general trend stands—the Guild's regular membership was dominated by laymen, and no religious or female members served as Guild offices during this period, but its associate membership was dominated by clerical and religious members.

religious women.[17] With a net gain of fifty-six members in the span of a decade, the Guild grew modestly, and grew only because Catholic clergymen and religious became members.

As its membership roster suggests, the Guild was most successful at recruiting clergy and members of religious orders and congregations. Eugene N. Boudreau, then-chairman of the membership committee, wrote plaintively in 1964, "It is apparent that we have not secured for membership all the Catholic psychiatrists of the country since there are some 1,000 Catholic psychiatrists in the membership of the APA."[18] Boudreau does not name the source of his estimate, and I cannot verify it in published APA documents, but we can compare it to a contemporary survey conducted by the APA. In 1965, an APA survey found 18,740 psychiatrists in the United States, 69 per cent of whom belonged to the APA.[19] While this survey did not include information on religious identity, it implies that the Guild's membership constituted approximately one per cent of American psychiatrists, which certifies the Guild as a statistically marginal enterprise within the house of psychiatry.

A different survey from this era suggests that the Guild was small both because Catholics were underrepresented within American psychiatry and because non-practicing Catholic psychiatrists rarely joined the Guild. In light of the APA survey described above, Boudreau claimed that approximately one in five Catholic psychiatrists belonged to the Guild. While this may have been a motivational tactic to inspire more memberships, an independent 1966 survey of psychiatrists in New York City roughly corroborates Boudreau's claim. That survey suggests that non-practicing Catholic psychiatrists saw little need for a distinctively Catholic psychiatric group. John Jerome Lally surveyed 960 New York City psychiatrists in 1966, and seven percent of his respondents identified themselves as Catholics in a city where Catholics constituted about twenty-five percent of the general population.[20] In his survey, Lally found that about twenty percent of Catholic psychiatrists

[17]Cavanagh, "Membership List—October 1, 1968," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists,* 15:4 (1968), 227-232.

[18]Eugene N Boudreau, "Membership Committee Report," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 11:3 (1964), 170-172.

[19]Donald R. Jones and Carolynne Seeman, *Nation's Psychiatrists* (Chevy Chase, Maryland, 1969), p. 3.

[20]John Jerome Lally, *Interrelationships of Statuses in Status-sets: The Case of Catholic Psychiatrists* (Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 1968), pp. 2, 40.

in New York City belonged to the Guild, which means that approximately 1.4 per cent of all the psychiatrists in the five boroughs belonged to the Guild. More specifically, half of all Catholic psychiatrists in New York City who identified themselves as professionally active and religiously practicing belonged to the Guild.[21] Lally's survey confirms Boudreau's claim that most American Catholic psychiatrists did not join the Guild. Yet Lally's survey further suggests that Catholic psychiatrists were more likely to join the Guild if they identified themselves as practicing Catholics. The APA and Lally surveys allow us to reach a broad conclusion, confirmed by the Guild's stagnant membership roster, that the Guild constituted a professional subculture only for those Catholic psychiatrists who identified themselves as practicing Catholics.

If publishing in the *Bulletin* can be taken as a surrogate for commitment to the Guild, and the editors frequently published pleas for more members to submit articles, the Guild maintained a Catholic psychiatric subculture only through the efforts of a small number of dedicated members. Based on the index of articles published in the October 1968 issue, the *Bulletin's* editor published 449 articles by 209 different authors between 1952 and 1968. Yet the vast majority, 182, of these authors published only one or two articles during this period. The other seventeen authors published 244 of the articles. That is, approximately ninety per cent of the authors published one or two articles during an eighteen-year period; together they published forty-five per cent of the articles in the *Bulletin*. Approximately ten per cent of the authors published three or more articles during the eighteen-year period; together they published fifty-five per cent of the articles.[22]

No member was more dedicated than John R. Cavanagh, the lay psychiatrist who edited the *Bulletin* throughout this era. While it was Brennan who placed the note in the APA's journal, Brennan died unexpectedly in September 1953, forcing the Guild to search for a replacement.[23] Throughout the 1950's, a new president was elected almost

[21] *Ibid,* p. 121.

[22] I generated these numbers by counting the index. Because of the task's tedium, I counted only once, so I admit that errors are likely, but am certain that the general trend would remain: the *Bulletin* was sustained by a small number of members.

[23] Cavanagh eulogized Brennan in the *Bulletin* as a devoted Catholic physician and family man who saw the relationship between psychiatry and Catholicism as a special attention to the indigent and as a kind of apologetics, proving the experiences of the faith by scientific principles; see Cavanagh, "Edward L. Brennan, M.D.," *Bulletin of the*

annually to lead the Guild. In the 1960's, the presidency of the Guild was stabilized under the tenure of four laymen: Francis A. O'Donnell, Anthony D. Maniscalco, George A. Constant, and Robert Buckley.[24] While the Guild's presidents came and went, Cavanagh was the only constant, authoring 107 of the Bulletin's 449 articles during the period. No Guild president published more than fifteen *Bulletin* articles; Cavanagh's prodigious output, and frequent pleas for more submissions, sometimes made the *Bulletin* read more like a newsletter than a journal. Launched as a forum for publishing addresses and papers presented at the Guild's annual meetings, along with news items and book reviews, the *Bulletin* eventually became a kind of echo chamber for John R. Cavanagh.

Publication History of the *Bulletin*

In October 1968, the *Bulletin* marked the twentieth anniversary of the Guild's inception with a discouraging announcement: the resignation of Cavanagh, as both the only editor the *Bulletin* had ever known and as the Guild's treasurer. In "A MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR," Cavanagh wrote that serving as Editor

> has been a disappointment in two ways: the small number of articles contributed by the membership and its small circulation. To those who did contribute and who did subscribe I am most grateful. It is a poor commentary on my Editorship that for this special issue only one article has been submitted. . . . there are a few things I would like to say. First, the Guild needs some young blood. Second, we need some members with enthusiasm and energy. Third, we need money and fourth, in six months the Bulletin will need an Editor.[25]

Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists, 1:4 (1953), 4-5. In Brennan's absence, the Guild seemed to have reflected mostly the latter of his concerns. A fellow member of the Guild, Francis J. Braceland, wrote Brennan's professional obituary for the journal *Connecticut Medicine*; see Braceland, "Edward L. Brennan, 1900-1953," *Connecticut Medicine*, 18:1 (1954), 91.

[24]The presidents of the Guild published frequently in secular medical journals. Using PubMed, I identified the publications from each of the five Guild presidents. Although I have not read these articles, I take their existence in secular medical journals to indicate that the Guild's presidents belonged to a religious subculture within their profession, but not a separate, parallel profession. Most of them did not publish articles specifically addressing Catholic populations. It is also noteworthy that back issues of the *Bulletin* itself are not cataloged in PubMed, and therefore, today's psychiatrists are unlikely to read them.

[25]Cavanagh, "A Message From The Editor," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 15:4 (1968), 207.

On the following page, under the title, "A MESSAGE FROM THE TREASURER," Cavanagh wrote

> I debated whether or not I should include my resignation as Treasurer of the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists in the same letter as that which contained my resignation as Editor. I decided against it. They are two separate and distinct jobs so that they warrant two letters of resignation. . . . I urge you not to consider either my resignation as Editor or as Treasurer to indicate any loss of interest in the Guild or its objectives. I desire to retain my membership in the Guild and hope that I will be called upon from time to time to make a modest contribution.[26]

Neither of Cavanagh's messages imply that the Guild was a thriving organization by 1968. While Cavanagh decorated his last issue of the *Bulletin* with the trappings of success—including a letter of approval from a then-young Senator Edward M. Kennedy and snapshots of Guild members fraternizing with nuns, priests, bishops, and Pope John XXIII—the issue looked less like a success than the closing night of a poorly-received play, and Cavanagh, as he promised in his messages, subsequently closed the curtain on his editorship, and effectively on the *Bulletin* itself.[27] A diminished version of the *Bulletin* resumed publication under the editorship of Edward G. Colbert, a California psychiatrist, but the attempt to integrate Catholicism into American psychiatry was never reattempted on this stage.

While archival material is unavailable, we can infer the decline of the Guild and its *Bulletin* on the basis of library holdings. According

[26]Cavanagh, "A Message From The Treasurer," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists,* 15:4 (1968), 208.

[27]The *Bulletin* projected modern professionalism rather than the ornate iconography of the saints found in many contemporaneous American Catholic publications. It signified its Catholicism, like a modern church, by its carefully chosen adornments, like the Latin motto *Si Deus Nobiscum Quis Contra Nos*, "If God is with us, who can be against us," that appeared in each issue. Each issue also featured the Guild's logo, a circle the size of a quarter circumscribing a cross, rather than a crucifix, whose longest axis is intersected by an upturned crescent, in order to form the Greek letter *psi* (ψ). The *Bulletin* often included an explanation of the logo: the cross represents religion, the *psi* represents psychiatry, and their union is bounded by a complete circle to represent the completion of the truth: "The Symbol, therefore, means that a union of religion and psychiatry is necessary to obtain the whole truth about man and his problems." The implicit assumption was that religion was equivalent to Catholicism, and that Catholicism was equivalent to religion. In its graphic layout, the *Bulletin* belongs firmly to the twentieth-century modernist shift from image to word that Robert A. Orsi has observed in American Catholicism; see Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth,* p. 157.

to the WorldCat database, sixty-six libraries house a collection of *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, published first biannually and then quarterly, from 1952 to 1968 over fifteen volumes. However, most secular libraries lack any issues of the subsequent publication *The Bulletin of the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, a quarterly published from 1968 to 1977, and an annual from 1977 until it ceased publication in 1988. WorldCat identifies only forty-four libraries collecting this later publication, most with incomplete collections, and almost all of the libraries collecting the later publication are Catholic institutions. Columbia, Harvard, North Carolina, Ohio State University, Pittsburgh, University of California at San Francisco, and the National Library of Medicine are some of the secular libraries that collect the earlier but not the later publication.[28] Cavanagh's messages suggest a publication sustained by a single man, and the *Bulletin* struggled after his resignation. For example, in the *Biographical Directory of the American Psychiatric Association*, members list the honorary and professional societies in which they claim membership. The Guild first appears as an approved abbreviation in 1958, and maintained its appearance in the next two editions, but does not appear in the 1973 edition or any subsequent editions even though membership in other religious groups, like the Christian Medical Society, were eventually listed.[29] Initially in conversation with the main body of American psychiatry, the Guild and its later publication was in conversation only with the meager percentage of Catholic psychiatrists who belonged to the Guild.[30] The irony is that the *Bulletin*

[28]In 1953, the Guild reported circulation figures of 2000-2500 copies per issue, and distributed copies "to all the Chanceries of the United States, to all the Catholic college libraries, and to the libraries of all the medical schools of the country"; see Hayes, "A Message From The Chaplain," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 1:3 (1953), 2. So it is likely many medical schools received their subscription, at least initially, through the Guild's complimentary institution distribution.

[29]See American Psychiatric Association, *Biographical Directory of Fellows & Members of the American Psychiatric Association as of October 1, 1957* (New York, 1958), p. xxii; APA, *Biographical Directory of Fellows & Members of the American Psychiatric Association as of May 8, 1962* (New York, 1963), p. xviii; APA, *Biographical Directory of Fellows & Members of the American Psychiatric Association as of October 1, 1967* (New York, 1968), p. xix; APA, *Biographical Directory of Fellows & Members of the American Psychiatric Association as of July 31, 1973* (New York, 1973).

[30]I have been able to identify only one book which began as an article in the latter run of the *Bulletin*, and it was published by an obscure confessional press with ecclesiastical permission, further suggesting the extent to which the Guild became a place for applications of psychiatry to Catholic practice; see John Allan Loftus, *The Integration of Psychology and Religion: An Uneasy Alliance* (Whitinsville, Massachusetts, 1981). In contrast, the earlier publication featured authors who published books on psychiatry

after Cavanagh became more theologically liberal and less specifically committed to Catholicism. For example, Cavanagh published a five-point purpose statement in each issue of the *Bulletin.* The new editors initially used essentially the same statement of faith, but omitted the purpose "To assist the ecclesiastical authorities in the diffusion of the knowledge of Catholic medicine and psychiatric ethics." By the end of the *Bulletin's* publication in 1988, the purpose statement no longer made mention of Catholicism at all, but spoke instead of a Jamesian shared "belief in the spiritual dimension of human experience" and a mission "to further the integration of psychiatry and religion."[31] The Guild failed to reformulate psychiatry as a practice of Catholic charity, as Catholics had long ago learned to do so with other medical disciplines, but instead it became an organization of psychiatrists who were Catholics interested in religion and spirituality.

"The Case of Catholic Psychiatrists"

The members of the Guild also failed to convince their fellow Catholic psychiatrists that they needed a professional association of their own. This is remarkable because the best available evidence, the survey data embedded in Lally's 1968 dissertation, *Interrelationships of Statuses in Status-Sets: The Case of Catholic Psychiatrists*, suggests that most Catholic psychiatrists in the late 1960's perceived themselves as marginalized members of their profession. In Lally's survey, Catholic psychiatrists were not only underrepresented, they were also far less likely to be employed as analysts, which was then the most prestigious psychiatric practice. Catholics, more often than their professional peers, were employed in institutions like asylums, clinics, and hospitals, rather than in the more prestigious and lucrative setting of analytical institutes or analytical private practice. Among the psychiatrists Lally surveyed, Catholics were significantly more likely to practice their religion and to perceive tension between faith and profession than their non-Catholic peers. Finally,

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and religion with prominent secular presses; for example, Braceland, ed., *Faith, Reason, and Modern Psychiatry: Sources for a Synthesis* (New York, 1955).

[31]The Cavanagh-era purpose statement can be found in any issue, see for example Cavanagh, "Purpose," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 13:1 (1966), 1. For the initial modification of the statement by omission, see Edward G. Colbert, "Purpose," *The Bulletin of the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 18:1 (1972), 1. For the later purpose statement, see Anna Polcino, "Purposes," *The Bulletin of the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 32 (1988), 3.

Lally noted that many Catholics perceived psychiatry as a liberal, secular, and sexually permissive threat to the faith. All of these factors, Lally concluded, provided Catholic psychiatrists with ample motivation to form a guild of their own.[32]

Yet Lally conducted his research precisely as a frustrated Cavanagh had grown weary of cajoling and begging his fellow Catholic psychiatrists to participate in the Guild, and at the end of two decades when at least some American Catholic psychiatrists had risen to tremendous prominence within the profession. Perhaps Catholic psychiatrists had assimilated more than Lally's survey discerned. In 1952, the secular publisher McGraw-Hill issued *Psychiatry and Catholicism*, in which its authors, under the seal of the imprimatur, taught pastors when to refer parishioners to psychiatrists.[33] The book was an indirect rejoinder to Fulton J. Sheen's *Peace of Soul,* in which Sheen again declared aspects of psychiatry illicit for Catholics.[34] During the 1950's, Leo H. Bartemeier, one of the psychiatrists outraged by Sheen, became the first psychiatrist, Catholic or otherwise, to head the APA, the American Psychoanalytic Association, and the International Psychoanalytic Association.[35] From 1944 until 1969, six Catholics who served as presidents of the APA felt secure enough in their profession to publish articles in the *Bulletin*, many of them during their APA tenure.[36] One of them, Francis J. Braceland, published numerous books on psychiatry and religion and later edited the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, from 1965 to 1978.[37] At least some Catholic psychiatrists achieved great success within their profession, while still publicly identifying as Catholics.

They must have received most of the era's Vatican statements with some relief, because both Pius XII and Paul VI supported psychiatry, and, with qualifications, psychoanalysis. In 1952, Pius XII said that psychiatric care could be a boon to a patient's soul and that psychoanalysis was not necessarily opposed to Christian morality. In 1953, he sup-

[32]Lally, *Interrelationships of Statuses in Status-sets.*

[33]James Herman Van der Veldt and Robert P. Odenwald, *Psychiatry and Catholicism* (New York, 1952).

[34]Fulton Sheen, *Peace of Soul* (New York, 1949).

[35]Braceland, "Leo H. Bartemeier."

[36]The six Catholic APA presidents were Karl M. Bowman, Leo H. Bartemeier, Francis J. Braceland, Francis J. Gerty, Harvey J. Tompkins, and Lawrence C. Kolb.

[37]See Braceland, *Faith, Reason, and Modern Psychiatry*, as well as Braceland and Michael Stock, *Modern Psychiatry: A Handbook for Believers* (Garden City, New York, 1963).

ported psychotherapy but reminded Catholic therapists that they must always call their patients out of material sin. In 1958, he reiterated his cautious approval, but warned psychiatrists not to delve too deeply into the psyche, especially with regards to sexuality, as he tried to reserve such speech acts for the confessional.[38] Paul VI continued the papal support with a December 1963 address that the Guild reprinted in its entirety.[39] During the 1950's and 1960's, the Church received psychiatry more favorably, but continued to resist psychoanalysis as a secular threat to the theology of sin and the authority of the confessional.[40] The Church's suspicion of psychoanalysis, when taken together with the resistance of analytic institutes to accept Catholic psychiatrists, suggest why Lally's Catholic psychiatrists more often found employment as physicians then as analysts. In the 1950's and 60's, Catholic psychiatrists and administrators found themselves at the margins of their faith and their profession: a few ascended to prominent positions within American psychiatry, but most, due to internal, external, and personal factors, struggled to integrate their Catholicism into their professional life.

The *Bulletin*'s Synthesis of Profession and Faith

Reading the *Bulletin* strongly suggests that the members of the Guild were more successful at introducing psychiatric services into the lives of Catholic clergy and members of religious orders and congregations than they were at introducing Catholicism into American psychiatry. The tension can be inferred by the numerous articles and

[38]For a contemporaneous appraisal of these events, see Robert P. Odenwald, "Psychiatry, Papal Pronouncements On," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 11 (Washington, DC, 1967), pp. 951-2. In the midst of these announcements, the Vatican issued a *Monitum* on July 15, 1961 that prohibited priests from practicing psychoanalysis without an indult. However, priests needed an indult to engage in any form of medicine; the Church reserved priests for positions that the laity could not perform. Priests could not be psychiatrists or psychoanalysts without an indult, because the positions required a medical license that laymen could receive. Priests likewise needed an indult to practice pediatrics or surgery; see Ellsworth Kneal, *Medical Practice by the Clergy: Medicine, Irregularities, Indults, Psychiatry* (Rome, 1967).

[39]Pope Paul VI, "Pope Paul VI Speaks to Psychiatrists," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 9:3 (1964), 166-168.

[40]Sheen insisted that his criticism was limited to psychoanalysis, especially Freudian analysis. Indeed, most of the ecclesiastical Catholic resistance to psychiatry centered upon psychoanalysis, but since psychoanalysis was the dominant theory and practice in mid-century American psychiatry, it was perhaps to be expected that many Catholic psychiatrists believed Sheen's distinction inadequate; see Sheen, *Peace of Soul*.

comments in the *Bulletin* in which the Guild's leaders returned to the theme of how non-Catholic psychiatrists initially feared that the Guild would be "divisive," but found it rather to be a "uniting" force within American psychiatry.[41] The authors in the *Bulletin* characterized themselves as reuniting psychiatry to the more complete account of humanity afforded by the Catholic faith, and claimed the American people hungered for such a rapprochement between faith and psychiatry. For example, the Guild's chaplain announced that after publishing an article in a women's magazine, he received "1,431 letters and post cards seeking information about psychiatry and religion; and 812 of these correspondents expressed varying degrees of surprise that Catholics could have anything to do with psychiatry!"[42] The presumed opposition between Catholicism and psychiatry was illusory, because, he continued, "[w]hatever opposition may be expressed in religious circles towards psychiatry is opposition not to the profession as a whole, but to those schools of psychiatry which make atheism and materialism their basis."[43] The Guild sought to convince pious Catholics that psychiatry, rightly understood, was no threat to a well-formed Catholic conscience, and simultaneously argued for the necessity of theology for a fully realized psychiatry.

While the *Bulletin's* authors earnestly desired this synthesis, reading the index to all previous issues the *Bulletin* published in 1968 shows that the *Bulletin's* articles chiefly addressed specifically Catholic themes, offering apologetics for disputed Catholic sexual and medical ethics or suggesting applications of psychiatry for religious life. In my analysis, I found that while the former were published throughout the *Bulletin's* run, the latter articles eventually dominated the *Bulletin*. This is in some respects a surprise, because Cavanagh preferred apolo-

[41]For exemplary expressions of this sentiment, see two articles by Guild chaplains, John J. Hayes, "Chaplain's Message," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists,* 2:2 (1954), 2-4 and Wilbur Wheeler, "Chaplain's Message," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists,* 8:3 (1961), 128.

[42]John J. Hayes, "Chaplain's Letter," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists,* 3:2 (1955), 2

[43]John J. Hayes, "Chaplain's Message," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists,* 4:1 (1956), 2. The "schools of psychiatry" denigrated by Hayes is a thinly veiled reference to analytic techniques that derived from the work of Freud. However, Hayes makes a somewhat disingenuous claim here, because American psychiatry was then very much dominated by analytic techniques derived from Freud; see Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry,* and Roberts, "Psychoanalysis and American Christianity." Hayes, like most Guild writers, avoids the difficult question of how exactly to ground psychiatric practice in Catholicism rather than Freudianism.

getics. In the index, Cavanagh is the only author credited with addressing the Church's teaching on abortion; he wrote four lengthy articles supporting the Church's teaching. He also wrote frequently on marriage and homosexuality and later published several books on the subject.[44] More than any author, Cavanagh consistently used psychiatry and psychology to defend the Church's sexual mores.[45] While Cavanagh addressed issues specific to Catholic laypeople, his presumed audience was often the clergy: instead of teaching laypeople the psychological rationale for Church teachings, he often taught the clergy how to counsel laypeople.[46] During his tenure, the bulk of the *Bulletin's* articles were not directed to the major pathologies of psychiatry—psychosis and mood disorders—but to the needs of a religious audience, teaching counseling skills, advocating psychiatry for selecting candidates for the religious life, and ministering to the mental health needs of the religious. Recall that Lally's survey found Catholic psychiatrists working in institutions; the pages of the *Bulletin* show that the institutions that most interested the Guild were convents, monasteries, seminaries, and the psychiatric institutes and sanitariums established to minister to Catholic clergy.

The Influence of the Guild and Further Questions

The Guild acclimated its members and the readers of its *Bulletin* to the practice of psychiatry, but it apparently failed to draw its readers and members into Catholic psychiatry as a subculture unto itself. Reading Cavanagh's editorials today makes the Guild seem so small and struggling as to be irrelevant, a group vainly organizing on the margins of mainstream psychiatry. The Guild strove to reintroduce faith into psychiatry and to convince the Catholic faithful they could safely avail themselves of psychiatry, but with their small numbers and absence from the historical record, did the Guild actually affect either situation? I propose that the

[44]Cavanagh, *Fundamental Marriage Counseling: A Catholic Viewpoint* (Milwaukee, 1957); Cavanagh, *Sexual Anomalies and Counseling* (Washington, 1969); and Cavanagh and John F. Harvey, *Counseling the Homosexual: John R. Cavanagh, in Theological Collaboration with John F. Harvey* (Huntington, Indiana, 1977).

[45]Cavanagh notably dissented from the encyclical *Humane Vitae*, because he concluded from his survey work that the Church-advocated rhythm method would have deleterious effects on the psychological health of women; see Cavanagh, "The Rhythm of Sexual Desire in the Human Female," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 14:2 (1967), 87-100.

[46]In addition to editing the *Bulletin*, Cavanagh taught psychology and counseling skills to seminarians at The Catholic University of America, see Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism,* p. 120.

Guild and its members influenced at least three aspects of the relationship between Roman Catholics in America and psychiatry.

First, the Guild was a platform for prominent lay Catholic psychiatrists, and none was more prominent than Francis J. Braceland. Braceland was at once a publicly committed Catholic admitted to the Knighthood of St. Gregory by Pius XII in 1951 and an esteemed psychiatrist who taught at Yale and Harvard, edited the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, and presided over the APA.[47] Braceland published five articles in the *Bulletin* between 1959 and 1965, and gave a presentation on its tenth anniversary at the February 3, 1959 meeting.[48] In his books, Braceland identified psychiatry as the most likely site for a rapprochement between religion and medicine.[49] From 1954 until 1968, he helped run summer workshops to train religious in psychiatric techniques for pastoral care at the Benedictine Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota; the list of participants in these Collegeville workshops include many officers of the Guild and many authors published by the *Bulletin*, but also the names of prominent psychiatrists unaffiliated with the Guild, including several self-identified Jewish psychiatrists.[50] Braceland certainly influenced mid-twentieth century American psychiatry, and did so self-consciously as a Catholic, insisting both that psychiatry liberates the soul so that it may realize its religious ideals and that theology provides the unified anthropological vision psychiatry lacks while accounting for the operation of grace in humanity.[51] Braceland was a personal physician to Franklin Delano Roosevelt and an advisor to the Vatican, a prominent Catholic psychiatrist during the era of Pius XII's favorable 1953 address to the International Society of Psychotherapists, and Vatican II's "Constitution on the Church in the Modern World" which applauded advances in psychology.[52] With Braceland as an example, Catholic psy-

[47]Howard P. Rome, "Francis J. Braceland, M.D. 1900-1985," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 142 (1985), 1206-1209.

[48]See Braceland, "Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists."

[49]Braceland, "Contributions of Medicine and Theology to the Health of Man: A Dialogue," in *Dialogue in Medicine and Theology*, edited by Dale White (Nashville, Tennessee, 1967), pp. 19-38.

[50]For a contemporary account, see Dana L. Farnsworth and Braceland, *Psychiatry, the Clergy, and Pastoral Counseling: The St. John's Story* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1969). For a historical perspective, see Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism*, p. 168.

[51]Braceland, *Faith, Reason, and Modern Psychiatry*, p. 27.

[52]Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism*, pp. 116-119, 200 n. 9. Cavanagh also attended the Third Session of Vatican II, but only as a spectator; for his account of Vatican II, see Cavanagh, "Notes from the Editor," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 6:4 (1964), 232-236.

chiatrists saw that they could achieve international prominence within their profession and their faith.

Second, the Guild's members embraced an institutional model for psychiatry. When Braceland addressed his fellow Catholic psychiatrists at the Guild's 1959 meeting, he quoted Erasmus and Lincoln but never any saint, pope, or theologian; he spoke of changes in the American community mental health system, but never the particular roles of Catholics within it. What Braceland did say was that psychiatry must become an ever more medical discipline: he called Catholic psychiatrists further into the roles in which Lally saw them, away from psychiatrist as analyst and toward a conception of psychiatrist as physician and institutional administrator.[53] Today, Braceland's vision is the dominant practice model for American psychiatrists; it would be intriguing to study further the influence American Catholics exerted toward the development of the current medical and institutional psychiatric model.[54]

Braceland and the members of the Guild also helped American Catholics form institutions that, for good or ill, attended to the mental ailments of its clergy. The *Bulletin* published numerous articles on how to evaluate and care for clergy, translating psychiatry into a discipline suitable for ordained Catholics. Following the recent Catholic clergy sexual abuse scandal, these institutions richly deserve scholarly scrutiny, because while they presumably succored thousands of ailing clergy, they also appear to have shielded sexual offenders. For example, the Reverend Thomas Kane, who served on the Guild's Board of Directors for two decades, founded the House of Affirmation in Worcester, Massachusetts as a treatment center for mentally ailing clergy. The ponderously-named House of Affirmation was certainly a place where a priest could dry out and recognize himself as an alcoholic, but it also became one of the chief clinical sites to which bishops assigned sexually abusive clergy. In 1987, Kane was fired for embezzlement. Two years later, the House of Affirmation closed and Kane fled to Mexico trailing rumors of financial and sexual impropriety behind him.[55] The role of these institutions, and the Guild, in the mental health care of the clergy warrants further exploration.

[53]Braceland, "Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists, 1959-1969, The Future of Catholics in Psychiatry," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 6:2 (1959), 10-18.

[54]Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry*; see also Tanya M. Luhrmann, *Of Two Minds: The Growing Disorder in American Psychiatry* (New York, 2000).

[55]Jason Berry, *Lead Us Not Into Temptation* (New York, 1992).

Third, the Guild and its members helped American Catholics, especially members of the clergy and of religious orders and congregtions, accept psychiatric care. Perhaps the impact of the Guild is best illustrated by returning to Fulton J. Sheen. On February 3, 1959, twelve years after the Lenten sermon that infuriated and demoralized Catholic psychiatrists, Sheen spoke at the Guild's annual meeting in Washington, D.C. While his speech was not printed in the *Bulletin*, the Catholic psychologist Eugene C. Kennedy reports that Sheen said, "As I cannot speak of a great Catholic left fielder, but only of a great left fielder who is a Catholic, so I cannot speak of a great Catholic psychiatrist but only of a great psychiatrist who is a Catholic."[56] The crowd laughed in approval: Sheen had come around, in a decade's time, to embrace psychiatry as a licit discipline for Catholic patients and physicians alike. The members of the Guild must surely have counted Sheen's conversion as part of their legacy. While the Guild's Catholic psychiatrists may not have transformed American psychiatry, they made terrific inroads into the most redoubtable of Catholic cultures, the enclosures of the clergy and religious and the pulpits of its pastors.

[56]Quoted in Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism,* p. xii.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Religious Foundations of Western Civilization: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Edited by Jacob Neusner. (Nashville: Abingdon Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 686. Paperback.)

With *Religious Foundations of Western Civilization*, Jacob Neusner has assembled a substantial volume of writings, from a dozen contributors, on the three monotheistic religions of the West—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The essays in this book cover historical, theological, and philosophical topics, and consider each religion in itself as well as the historical interaction of the three religions in the context of Western civilization. Shaded sections include excerpts from important primary sources, from antiquity to the recent past.

Neusner has navigated a sensitive topic with brilliance and sensitivity: each of these religious traditions is treated fairly and respectfully, yet without omitting the historical blemishes on each tradition's record.

Students doubtless think of these three religions as inveterate antagonists, or at least inherently unfriendly. But in his discussion of Averroes, Maimonides, and Aquinas, Seymour Feldman reminds readers that "during the medieval period there existed a continuous and mutually profitable conversation amongst some of the intellectual giants of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam" (p. 209). (The essay is followed by excerpts from Averroes' *Decisive Treatise*, Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, and Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*.) At a stroke, Feldman addresses the myth—still widespread among students and the general public—of the intellectually moribund Middle Ages and demonstrates the possibility of fruitful intellectual exchange among representatives of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

A section on "Zionism, Imperialism, and Nationalism" includes essays entitled "Zionism," "Christian Imperialism," and "Political Islam." Of particular note is Neusner's sound and dispassionate overview of Zionism, a phenomenon that initially attracted the opposition of Orthodox and Reform Judaism, both of which viewed the Zionist program as a secularization of the divine promise that the Jews would one day be restored to the land. Neusner concludes that there is "no more probative evidence" of the ongoing significance of religion in Western civilization than this fact: "Much of the history of the West from World War II to the present would be written in the conflict between Zionism and the State of Israel and Arab nationalism and the state of Palestine" (p. 388).

Toward the book's close we are treated to three worthwhile studies regarding the "modernization"—an unfortunate, ideologically loaded term—of each of these religions over the past several centuries. Islam comes under particular scrutiny here, largely by way of the primary sources for this section, which include an eighteen-page excerpt from the writings of Fazlur Rahman, the Islamic modernist who was forced to flee Pakistan in 1968 because of the hostility his views incited.

Finally, we conclude with a discussion of modern ecumenism. In Bruce Chilton's essay, subtitled "Christianity Meets Other Religions," we have the book's weakest contribution. Caught outside his area of specialty, Chilton discusses nineteenth-century economic history as if the great standard-of-living debate had never occurred and R. M. Hartwell had never taken up his pen, and his coverage of Vatican Council II, necessarily brief, is superficial.

Worse, we do not actually read anything in the essay about Christianity's meetings with other religions—quite an interesting topic, that—apart from a couple of throwaway lines in the concluding paragraph and a brief reference to "militant Islam" as allegedly "a direct consequence of Christian policies of war and oppression" (p. 616). Although Islamic anger today may be attributable, at least in part, to Western and particularly American foreign policy, that policy is neither presented nor conceived of as expressly "Christian." And if Chilton is instead making oblique reference to the Crusades, they were such a minor event in Islamic history that as recently as the eighteenth century hardly any Muslim at all would have heard of them.

Still, the excellent essays, well-chosen primary sources, and useful discussion questions make *Religious Foundations of Western Civilization* ideal for course adoption. We are indebted to Professor Neusner for this instructive volume, which fills an important gap in the world of religious-studies texts.

Ludwig von Mises Institute THOMAS E. WOODS, JR.

Introduction to the History of Christianity. By George Herring. (New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 370. $70.00 cloth, $22.00 paperback.)

If you are looking for an introduction to church history that gives a balanced overview of 2,000 years, this is not the book. If, however, you are looking for an introduction to church history that looks at representative periods, written with passion and commitment, then Herring's volume is for you. George Herring, author of *What was the Oxford Movement?*, has written a book that he wanted to write, focusing on three, two-hundred-year periods that were critical for the development of Western Christianity and which, Herring says, are "things which particularly interest me" (p. xiv). It is clear that as he discusses these three historic periods (300-500; 1050-1250; 1450-1650) Herring writes about material he has traversed many times and about issues he greatly values.

Why focus on only three periods in a book that purports to be an "Introduction?" Herring is concerned to understand how Christianity, as a religion that both embraces and insulates itself from culture, develops authority, relies upon tradition, how it reforms and expresses authority. He does not ignore traditional historical categories, but he has special concerns about the Church's authority and its ongoing reform. One example should make this clear. His section on reformations ("Grace and Authority: Western Christianity c. 1450-1650") is a delightful interplay arguing that there were ongoing reformations in Western Christianity up to 1517. But then he states clearly that both Protestant reformers and the Council of Trent were of a completely different order. Although the Church goes through reforming movements every century, there was something great, dramatic, and final about "The Reformation," as we call it.

In terms of style, Herring writes for the most ill-informed historiographic neophyte, but then leads one quickly to see the major academic arguments concerning the material. In his section on the Crusades (pp. 165-171) he tells the story of the Crusades focusing on the various explanations: economic, political, religious, spiritual. He pauses in the discussion and takes a little side-trip to explain two interpretations of 1054. Then he says that the Runciman and Chadwick view, which sees 1054 not as an institutional break, but as personal excommunications, is the view to be preferred. In many places throughout the book Herring introduces material, gives contrasting interpretations, and then analyzes how best to understand the event or period.

The volume has two other very helpful components. An appendix of twenty-four short documents helps the reader enter into some of the actual material of history. Of course it is very cursory, but it does whet the appetite for further primary-source reading. Secondly, there is a forty-three page introduction to the first centuries of Christianity. This section, titled "Making all Things New," is a wonderful stand-alone introduction to earliest Christianity that could be used to introduce some of the unique features of Christianity and some of the themes that should be followed. I found this whole volume a wonderful read and would encourage its use, but now I am not sure how to encourage its use. Unless someone is teaching a class on themes or periods of premodern Christianity, it would be difficult to use this as an introductory text. As a supplemental text it would be excellent, but it discusses only the European church, as church history, rather than as Christianity. The writing style is engaging and accessible; the material is covered in a fair manner, and many of the presentations are creative, covering well-worn territory with a freshness seldom seen in an introductory volume.

Pittsburgh Theological Seminary SCOTT W. SUNQUIST

Renewed by the Word: The Bible and Christian Revival since the Reformation. By J. N. Morris. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers. 2005. Pp. 160. $16.95.)

The tension between structured organization and changing circumstances has been particularly acute in Christian history. Jeremy Morris, Dean of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, suggests in this volume that the attempt to adapt to the changes of the modern world gave rise to revivalism, which therefore holds a central place in the recent story of the faith. The theme of revival is treated broadly, encompassing not just the revivalism associated with the Great Awakening and Pentecostalism but also the Reformation and the Catholic resurgence after the French Revolution. The renewal of the church is the fruit, Dr. Morris claims, of attention to the Bible, which is why "the Word" finds a place in the title. Painting with a broad brush, he presents an outline of the Protestant Reformation and the ensuing wars of religion, suggesting that by the eighteenth century toleration and pluralism were in place. The revivals of that century, he contends, were deeply rooted in the continental world of Pietism and Moravianism. He depicts the Evangelical Revival of Britain as part and parcel of a larger international movement that found expression in America's Great Awakening. The Evangelical movement, he argues, had triumphed in the English-speaking world by the mid-nineteenth century and was largely responsible for the missionary expansion of that era. Roman Catholic revival, by which Dr. Morris means the whole process of the nineteenth-century reinvigoration of the church spearheaded by the religious orders and fostering ultramontanism, was as much a sign of adaptability as what was passing among contemporary Protestants. The author goes on to point out the transformation of worship, and especially its setting, over the last two hundred years. He also shows the novelty and success of Pentecostalism, which he does not distinguish sharply from charismatic renewal, justly remarking that it deserves to be recognized as a third wave of revivalism as mighty as its Evangelical and Catholic predecessors. The book amounts to a brief overview of modern Christian history organized around the theme of revival. It is evidently designed for a broad public with little previous knowledge of the field: on one page the word "theology" is explained. This is not a book for those the author calls at this point "the specialists" (p. 105). Naturally it cannot be comprehensive, but it is a pity that in a book on movements of revival no room was found for even a mention of the Anabaptists of the Reformation, who, after all, survive as a vigorous Christian tradition in parts of the contemporary world. Nor, oddly, do the Jesuits put in an appearance until the nineteenth century. The treatment of missions could have benefited from fuller use of recent scholarship. It is doubtful whether the missionary enterprise was bound up with national ambitions to the extent that is assumed here; and there is no hint that most evangelization was undertaken by indigenous people. There are also a number of imprecise comments: Dissenters, for example, enjoyed no "rights" under the English Toleration Act of 1689, which merely exempted them from certain penalties under existing legislation (p. 32). So this is an introductory

work for beginners, and as such it is to be welcomed. Basic themes in Christian history, made readily intelligible to non-historians, need to be disseminated in this way.

University of Stirling D. W. BEBBINGTON

The Petrine Ministry. Catholics and Orthodox in Dialogue. Academic symposium held at the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity. Edited by Walter Kasper. (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: The Newman Press, Paulist Press. 2006. Pp. vi, 257. $24.95 paperback.)

This symposium was organized by the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity (PCPCU) and held on May 21-24, 2003, as an attempt to further respond to John Paul II's call for an ongoing fraternal dialogue on the question of how the Petrine ministry can be of service to the unity of the Church (see his encyclical *Ut unum sint*, par. 95). In addition, this academic gathering was preparing for the continuation of the dialogue with the Orthodox on the theological issues which had been suspended since Emmitsburg in 2000. There were five speakers from each side. Other experts were present as well.

The range of topics covered in this symposium centered around the specific question of primacy in the first millennium of the Christian era as it related to the role of the Bishop of Rome. Two particular issues were treated by three speakers: one by Metropolitan John Zizioulas, which was a summary of recent discussions on primacy in the Orthodox theological tradition and the other by Kasper and Hermann Pottmeyer, who explored questions of Catholic hermeneutics around the teachings of Vatican I on the question of primacy, collegiality, and infallibility.

This work represents solid historical and exegetical research from both sides. After a preliminary, introductory article by Kasper, to which I wish to return at the end, the book is organized in an historical fashion beginning by biblical studies, then by patristic studies, and finally canonical explorations. The book ends with two presentations: "Recent Discussions on Primacy in Relation to Vatican I" and "Recent Discussions on Primacy in Orthodox Theology."

Some important information may be gleaned from these chapters. First in relation to biblical studies there seems to be a common consensus that the New Testament will not provide answers to all the questions that we pose concerning a special role of Peter and primacy that are transmitted. This agrees with the major work already done by Lutherans and Catholics. In all of the patristics studies a very interesting fact is affirmed by both Orthodox and Catholics, namely, the importance of the bishop of Rome as patriarch. This is interesting in light of the fact that the title "patriarch of the West" has recently been dropped from the *Annuario Pontificio*. The importance of this title is

seen in the fact that it preserves the Bishop of Rome from assuming universal jurisdiction over all churches.

Kasper offered a very punctual reflection on the touchy issue of the re-reception of the teaching of Vatican I, especially the teachings on papal primacy, jurisdiction, and infallibility. Two important points are to be retained from his presentation. First, the necessity to think about going beyond the teaching of Vatican II incorporating a synodical structure to that of episcopal collegiality. Secondly, the necessity to interpret the teaching of the Vatican I on the primacy and infallibility of the Pope according to the 'normal' and common rules of dogmatic hermeneutics. According to these rules, dogmas should be abided by in the sense in which the Church once declared them. In terms of the question of the Petrine ministry and the unity of the Church this means that the unity of the Church is the *raison d'être* and the context of interpretation of the Petrine ministry. The truth of the first millennium needs also to be received in the second since what was true in the first may not be untrue in the second. This principle of hermeneutical interpretation of dogmas needs to be applied to the re-reception of Vatican I's teaching on the papacy.

This book merits serious study and reflection not only for ecumenism but for its value in method of doing systematic theology.

Centro Pro Unione, Rome, Italy JAMES F. PUGLISI, SA

Rereading Paul Together: Protestant and Catholic Perspectives on Justification. Edited by David E. Aune. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic. 2006. Pp. 272. $24.99 paperback.)

This collection of essays derives, in part, from a symposium that the University of Notre Dame and Valparaiso University cosponsored in February of 2002: "Rereading Paul Together: A Colloquium on the Modern Critical Study and Teaching of Pauline Theology in Education and Ecumenical Context." The special focus of that Pauline colloquium was the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* that Lutherans and Catholics had ratified on October 31, 1999. That declaration came into being, in large measure, because Catholics and Lutherans had engaged in a process of rereading Paul together.

The first three essays of this volume deal most directly with the Joint Declaration. Dale G. Truemper rehearses how the Joint Declaration came about, summarizes some of its key features, and describes those habits of the mind and heart that made it possible. Susan K. Wood recounts the Catholic reception of the Declaration, giving special attention to the concept of merit, the Lutheran understanding of *simul justus et peccator*, the importance of justification as a criterion for all other doctrines, and the effect of the Declaration on church identity. Michael Root then summarizes the Lutheran reception of the Declaration, noting that whereas the Declaration pursues a way of media-

tion, Lutheran theology has tended to be more contrastive in nature. Root concludes that a theology built solely on contrasts is not sufficient to interpret the full meaning of the Gospel.

The remaining essays deal more specifically with Paul. Focusing on Romans and Galatians, Joseph A. Fitzmyer summarizes the Pauline notion of justification by faith from a Catholic perspective. John Reumann does the same from a Lutheran perspective, giving his attention to Philippians. While they essentially agree on Paul's understanding of justification, Reumann is more inclined to interpret justification as the core of Paul's theology whereas Fitzmyer emphasizes that, as important as justification is, it is one of many ways Paul describes the effects of the Christ event. In his response to Fitzmyer, Richard E. DeMaris warns that newer approaches in Pauline exegesis may make it more difficult to read Paul together in the future. In her response to Reumann, Margaret M. Mitchell suggests that if Catholics and Lutherans are to continue to read Paul together, they will have to draw upon a tradition of interpretation that consciously preserves alternative points of view in reading the text.

The essays of David M. Rylaarsdam and Randall C. Zachman are more historical in nature. Rylaarsdam summarizes three interpretations of Paul in the early church: those of Origin, Chrysostom, and Augustine. Zachman then contrasts the medieval reading of Paul that was indebted to Augustine—who focused on how we are to love God—with Luther's reading of Paul that asks how sinners can know with certainty that God loves them. David E. Aune, the editor of this volume, concludes with a masterful overview of recent readings of Paul as they relate to justification by faith.

The essays of this volume are uniformly good, indeed excellent. On the one hand, they show how Lutherans and Catholics were able to agree on an issue that once divided them by making use of an historical-critical method and reading Paul *together* rather than in isolation from each other. On the other, this volume suggests that it may be more difficult to read Paul together in the future, given the proliferation of so many new readings of Paul and the disparagement of the historical-critical method by some.

The Catholic University of America FRANK J. MATERA

The 33 Doctors of the Church. By Christopher Rengers, O.F.M. Cap. (Rockford, Illinois: Tan Books and Publishers. 2003. Pp. xxx, 692. $33.00 paperback.)

Since Benedict XIV, a pope with a penchant for bringing order to disorder, laid out three criteria for those considered a "doctor" for the entire Church: *eminens doctrina* (eminent learning), *insignis vitae sanctitas* (distinguished holiness of life), and *Ecclesiae declaratio* (declaration by pope or council), the number has more than doubled. Together they constitute a fairly diverse group: a married man, eight from the East, three Africans, six from Asia, and

since 1970, three women. The title *doctor ecclesiae* conveys an official judgment that a certain man or woman is a trustworthy resource from which the entire Church can draw to better understand the faith. One might, therefore, expect a plethora of information concerning their lives and teachings available to the educated Catholic. Unfortunately, this is not the case, with many of these figures unknown to all but specialists. When did you last hear someone refer to St. Peter Chrysologus, or St. Lawrence of Brindisi? This problem is not insignificant. If the title "doctor" is to be more than a mere honorific, those so entitled must be widely known.

Christopher Rengers, O.F.M. Cap., in a final act of a life devoted to sharing the fruits of scholarship with the public, provides his readers with a needed and fascinating tour of the doctors of the church. Each is explained in the light of his or her historical context as well as the ongoing relevance of their life and work. The prose is clear and crisp, and befitting an introductory work, no prior knowledge of the figures or church history is required. A generous selection of quotations enables the reader to encounter the figure directly. To my knowledge, it is the most extensive treatment of all thirty-three doctors in a single volume currently available.

Not surprisingly, Rengers's scholarly interests in mariology and hymnody color his treatment. The contributions each has made to Catholic thought and practice in these areas are highlighted. The average reader will be surprised to find out just how much of what the Church sings, prays, and believes derives from these figures. In addition, the writer does justice to the fact that the designation of *doctor ecclesiae* is inseparable from doctrinal controversy and a polemical style jarring to contemporary sensibilities. In refusing to shield his readers from the infamous aggressiveness of such figures as Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria, and Bernard of Clairvaux, Rengers rightly insists that taking the doctors seriously requires taking their passion for the truth with equal seriousness. Apart from such a connection they can have little contemporary relevance. Ultimately, he argues that much can be forgiven in the defense of Catholic truth, even to the point of defending Bernard's treatment of Abelard: "the gesture of truth sometimes has to be not a pointing finger, but a mailed fist" (p. 284). While this statement is problematic, to say the least, it serves to highlight the crucial issue of appropriation. In an effort to inspire his readers to treasure these men and women, Rengers downplays the need for critical discernment. This task is necessary, however, not only because of historical and cultural distance but the fact that the ecclesial designation of doctor ensures only a *general* reliability; even here the wheat needs separating from the chaff. It would have helped if the book contained a more thorough introduction, tracing the history of the ecclesial practice of singling certain saints to honor as teachers of the whole Church. Even so, readers looking for a reliable and interesting introduction to *doctores ecclesiae*, their lives, teachings, and influence, will find it here.

Providence College JAMES F. KEATING

Spirituality and Mysticism: A Global View. By James A. Wiseman. [Theology in Global Perspective Series.] (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books. 2006. Pp. xiv, 242. $20.00 paperback.)

The author of this book is a Benedictine monk of St. Anselm's Abbey in Washington, D.C., and a long-time professor of theology at The Catholic University of America. It is part of the "Theology in Global Perspective Series" (Peter C. Phan, General Editor). This series emphasizes the interconnectedness among all people and nations and thus has a strong ecumenical, intercultural, and interreligious thrust. This volume seeks to present the topic of spirituality and mysticism in that global context. This broad context and the constraints in length dictated by the series itself understandably force the author to be highly selective in his treatment of Christian spirituality. He meets this challenge in a creative manner.

The first two chapters present various introductory material dealing with the meaning of spirituality and mysticism, as well as various aspects of biblical spirituality. Although the author clearly summarizes a great deal of information on these topics from various contemporary sources, these two chapters may seem somewhat overloaded with introductory material.

The following five chapters are devoted to a chronological treatment of selected persons and themes from the history of Christian spirituality from the second to the sixteenth century. Individual chapters are devoted to the martyrs and other witnesses in the Early Church (chap. 3); the beginnings of the monastic movement (chap. 4); the Patristic era (chap. 5); the spiritual renewal in the medieval West and East (c. 6); and Reformation Spirituality, Protestant and Catholic (chap. 7). Many of the familiar figures and movements from these centuries are treated, but mindful of the global perspective of this book, the author takes care to broaden the investigation and be inclusive of other traditions. There are sections, for example, devoted to such figures as Saint Ephrem from the Syriac spiritual tradition, Pachomius, the Coptic monastic founder, and Dhuoda a ninth-century Frankish laywoman. The contributions of women spiritual writers are also highlighted in these chapters.

The final three chapters focus exclusively on aspects of Christian spirituality that developed on the continents of Asia, Africa, and the Americas after the Age of Discovery in the sixteenth century. The chapter on Asian Christian spirituality has representatives from various countries. Christian spiritualities in India are represented by Abhishiktananda (Henri LeSaux) and Bede Griffiths. Japanese Christian spiritualities are represented by the Lutheran theologian, Kazoh Kitamori, and the Catholic novelist, Shusaku Endo. Filipino Christian spirituality is illustrated by the Benedictine religious woman, Mary John Mananzan.

Topics treated in the chapter on African Christian spirituality include African traditional religion; examples of liturgical inculturation in Ghana and

Zaire; and the struggle for justice as illustrated by the work of Archbishop Bakole wa Ilunga in Kananga and Archbishop Desmond Tutu in the Republic of South Africa.

The final chapter has to be more selective since it covers Christian spirituality in both North and South America. The areas chosen include the liberation spirituality of Gustavo Gutierrez; the feminist spirituality of Sandra Schneiders, Jacquelyn Grant, and Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz; the affective spirituality of Jonathan Edwards and Pentecostalism; and the contemplative prayer of Thomas Merton.

The scope of this book forces the author to range far and wide and to be highly selective in the material chosen. He is, however, a very clear and insightful writer, and he proves to be a very competent guide. Each chapter concludes with helpful questions for reflection and suggestions for further reading and study.

Blessed John XXIII Seminary CHARLES J. HEALEY, S.J.

The Origin and Development of the Christian Liturgy According to Cultural Epochs: Political, Cultural, and Ecclesial Backgrounds: History of the Liturgy. By Attila Miklósházy. 5 volumes. (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 1174. Vol. 1: $119.95. Vol. 2: $139.95. Vol. 3: $119.95. Vol. 4: $129.95. Vol. 5: $149.95.)

Written by the Hungarian Jesuit teacher and bishop Attila Miklósházy, known especially for his 2001 publication *Benedicamus Domino! The Theological Foundation of the Liturgical Renewal* (Ottawa: Novalis, 2001), this massive five-volume collection of liturgical materials, called by the author, a "compilation and thesaurus of liturgical data from the origin and of development of Christian worship" (Vol. 1, p. iii), is truly remarkable on several levels. First, Miklósházy always presents texts in context, taking note of how the overall political, cultural, and ecclesial contexts are not only shaped by the liturgy but how the liturgy is itself shaped by those contexts. Second, in addition to the general bibliography offered at the beginning of the first volume (pp. xi-xvii), each historical section and topic covered in each volume contains more specific additional and helpful bibliographies. Third, Miklósházy provides a veritable wealth of short biographical and liturgical source entries, as well as lists and charts of various liturgical rites and important events in the overall historical contexts of each period studied. And, finally, each volume has its own helpful index thus making each volume an independent study: Volume 1 treats the "antecedents" of Christian worship in Judaism and paganism as well as the New Testament; Volume 2 is concerned with the Patristic period up to the year 800; Volume 3 covers the eighth through the fifteenth centuries; Volume 4 offers an overview of the period from the sixteenth-century Reformations through the Romanticism of the nineteenth century; and Volume 5 offers a study of contemporary liturgical renewal, especially in Roman Catholicism.

Written especially "for the use of those, priests and laypeople, who want to know how the present Christian liturgy has arrived at the point where it is today" (Vol. 1, p. vii), this work does provide a helpful *outline* of that story. Those expecting an historical narrative, however, will find instead a collection of very expensive ($600 plus!) lecture notes, many of which will certainly serve the teacher in the preparation of lectures on various periods of liturgical history as well as charts and lists that may also serve as suitable handouts for students in classes in liturgical history. But as a narrative history, priests and laypeople, teachers and students alike, would be better served by studies such as the recent *Oxford History of Christian Worship*, edited by Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen Westerfield-Tucker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), and/or Frank Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), which does not appear in Miklósházy's general bibliography, and his more recent *The People's Work: A Social History of the Liturgy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006).

Because I received only Volumes 1-3 of this work I cannot comment on Miklósházy's treatment of liturgical history from the Reformation period to the present, and, as such, my comments are limited necessarily to his presentation of liturgy in the patristic and medieval/Renaissance periods. And here I cannot but be rather critical. While I find his treatment of Greco-Roman religion helpful, Miklósházy has not sufficiently integrated his own bibliography, with entries by Lawrence Hoffman and Paul Bradshaw, into his presentation of Jewish liturgy, and does not cite the important studies of Joseph Heinemann or Ruth Langer. Similarly, with regard both to Jewish and New Testament worship, the author tends to assume anachronistically that Jewish liturgy in the time of Jesus was relatively stable and that there is a kind of mono-linear link between the *Birkhat ha-mazon* and *the* early Eucharistic prayer, and even here one looks in vain for the scholarship of the likes of Thomas Talley, Enrico Mazza, Paul Bradshaw, or Cesaré Giraudo.

His treatment of the Patristic period in Volume 2 is clearly better than his presentation of Jewish and New Testament liturgy in Volume 1. Even here, however, in spite of recent studies to the contrary, and certainly available before publication, Miklósházy's view of early Christian documents, such as *The Apostolic Tradition*, in particular, remains unaffected by much of modern scholarship with the lone exception of Alistair Stewart-Sykes' controversial study. And, together with this, while clearly noting that Easter initiation was but a preference for some in the first three centuries, he assumes nevertheless that the extant sources all refer somehow to Easter Vigil baptism. And, with regard to Christian initiation in general in the entire volume one looks in vain for the significant scholarly studies of Gabriele Winkler, Sebastian Brock, and, again, Bradshaw's *Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, the *second* edition, which offers a helpful summary of the current scholarly picture. Hence, the story of early liturgy is not quite told completely, something that gets expressed by the use even of the traditional categories of a liturgical "diversi-

fication" in the fourth century which came to replace an essential "unity" in the first three. No one in the field of liturgiology today quite speaks of it that way any longer but rather sees historical development leading *from* variety and diversity to uniformity and unity.

Lest I seem unduly critical, let me note that I find his presentation of the various rites of the non-Roman west in Volume 2, including the charts and diagrams he offers, to be a helpful overview, including his overview of the liturgical year in Rome, though even here it is not all that evident that scholarship such as that of Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (only the *first* edition is listed) has been considered seriously. Similarly, Miklósházy offers a somewhat helpful overview of the origins and development of the Roman Canon, but again one wonders where the more recent studies on the Canon are.

The same sorts of strengths and weakness appear in the third volume. Here, in addition to the useful charts and diagrams, Miklósházy puts the later medieval period and the Renaissance of the whole of Western and Eastern Europe, including that of the papacy from 1049 to 1303, into helpful context. In addition, he provides useful information on the various monastic orders and their liturgical usages as well. But, with regard at least to Christian initiation rites, he again makes some assumptions that will not stand up in the light of more modern approaches (cf. On "Visigothic" baptism, p. 900 and on Gallican baptism and confirmation, p. 919), and, once again, the work of Gabriele Winkler and others would have been helpful here.

As a library resource for teachers and students, *The Origin and Development of the Christian Liturgy According to Cultural Epochs: Political, Cultural, and Ecclesial Backgrounds: History of the Liturgy* is truly a helpful work, especially for the contexts and overall outlines it provides for the in-depth historical study of liturgy. As a study of *liturgical history* itself, however, I find the first two volumes to be rather deficient, especially in the use made or not made of the bibliographies provided. Indeed, much of this study could easily have been written before the past twenty or thirty years or so of modern Jewish and Christian historical-liturgical scholarship, since it tends to assume that those views are still relatively current. Such is a problem, I suspect, for anyone today trying to provide a comprehensive history of just about anything. Attila Miklósházy certainly has my admiration and respect for making this attempt.

University of Notre Dame MAXWELL E. JOHNSON

Histoire des curés. By Michel Lagrée, Nicole Lemaitre, Luc Perrin, and Catherine Vincent. (Paris: Fayard. 2002. Pp. 523. €23,00.)

The four authors of this work have set themselves a formidable task. Drawing on a vast body of scholarship, most of it published in the last thirty years, they describe and analyze the history of the Roman Catholic Church

from the fourth century until the present, focusing, as much as possible, on the perspective of the parish priest, the person placed in charge of the "care of souls" in a specific territorial space within a diocese.

Catherine Vincent is the author of the introduction and the first section, which in a little over a hundred pages covers the period from the fourth century until the fourteenth. It is a remarkable achievement. Vincent draws on a wide range of studies, most of them in French but including a respectable number of works in Italian and English as well. She emphasizes that our knowledge is still fragmentary and that much of the written record reflects the ideal and not the reality of parish organization and priestly conduct.

Adapted from the structures of the Roman Empire, the organization of the Church into dioceses and parishes was the distinct contribution of the church based in Rome. It was not present in the Eastern Church or in Celtic Christianity, which until the Middle Ages was essentially autonomous. The establishment of the parish system was a process of centuries, articulated by Carolingian and Gregorian reformers but not firmly in place until the thirteenth century.

The second section, on the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, is the work of Nicole Lemaitre. A central theme is that from the perspective of the parish clergy, the period reflects two contrasting notions of the nature of the Church, both of which had had their advocates in the previous millennium. The reformers, at least those of the mainline Reformation, rejected the notion of hierarchical authority within the clergy and the special calling of the clergy, living within communities but set apart from them, to embody spiritual and moral perfection. Those who adhered to Roman authority were equally committed to reform, but only within the traditional structures of authority. The Council of Trent, Lemaitre argues, was a genuine work of reformation, addressing the concerns of the past and resolving many of them. Especially crucial for the future, she demonstrates, was the decision to create seminaries in which the clergy would receive an education as little concerned with the material, secular world as possible.

The third section, on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is by the noted scholar Michel Lagrée. It is difficult to summarize. Lagrée notes that despite their training, many clergy, at least in France and Italy, were deeply involved in the social and intellectual transformation that was the Enlightenment. The French Revolution thus presented a tragic dilemma, because so many priests, some of them influenced by the pervasive movement of Jansenism, welcomed it as a divinely sanctioned opportunity to transform both Church and state. The chapters on the nineteenth century are somewhat fragmentary, perhaps because Lagrée attempts to cover too many topics and as a result loses sight of the central theme of the evolution of the parish clergy.

The final section, on the Church since World War I, is the work of Luc Perrin. It is the least satisfactory part of the book, but then recent develop-

ments, especially since Vatican Council II, are the least amenable to historical analysis. Perrin emphasizes the enormous impact of the World War I on the clergy—fourteen per cent of Frenchmen killed in the war were priests, monks, or seminarians. The role of the Church in occupied Europe in World War II is treated without much depth or analysis, although it is still a topic of enormous controversy. The section on Vatican II is fuller and more balanced, especially concerning its impact on the Church in France.

The excellent conclusion (also by Michel Lagrée) explores the possibility that the era of the parish priest, after over a thousand years, may be in the process of disappearing. The responsibilities that once belonged to the parish priest alone are now increasingly taken over by laity, including women. In the future, Lagrée asks, will decisions as to spiritual leadership be "conditioned by the choice of the faithful rather than by that of the ecclesiastical authorities?"

Dickinson College (Emeritus) CLARKE GARRETT

Satan: A Biography. By Henry Ansgar Kelly. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 360. $ 65.00 hardback; $19.99 paperback.)

There is no shortage of recent interest in the Old Enemy. A study of his "birth" appeared in 2005, and the English translation of a well-known French scholar's study of him as a heretic appeared simultaneously with this work.[1] Doubtless, more books about him (for, despite all the misogyny in Western literature, its personification of evil remains unshakably male) will soon follow. Besides this work, Kelly himself has also contributed to the recent renaissance of Satan by re-issuing two of his earlier books about the Devil; one of them, originally published back in 1968, adds an appendix giving an English version of Kelly's entry on '*Teufel*' published in 2001 in a German theological encyclopedia.[2] Does anything distinguish the work under review from such surrounding *tutti frutti*? Here, Kelly refurbishes the argument that the Biblical Satan was a very different figure from the personification which began to be fabricated by his "new biographers" among early Christian intellectuals. This newer image of Satan has persisted, with further embellishments, down to the present. Kelly's approach explains why he devotes over half of this book to what he considers the "correct" English translations of key passages in Hebrew and Greek Biblical texts, supplemented by a few passages from the Apocypha and the Dead Sea scrolls (pp. 32-50). This essentially Protestant procedure also explains why the most recent work Kelly chooses to discuss at any length (pp. 308-315) is Friedrich Schleiermacher's dogmatic synthesis of 1830.

[1] T. J. Wray and G. Mobley, *The Birth of Satan* (London: Palgrave, 2005); Alain Boureau, *Satan the Heretic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006; French original, 2004).

[2] H. A. Kelly, *The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft* (Eugene, Oregon, 2004). Kelly's *The Devil at Baptism*, first published in 1985, was also re-issued in 2004.

By turns pedantic and *faux*-chatty, the work reads like the script for a Power-Point lecture which takes its visual illustrations primarily from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, supplemented by a few from William Blake and Gustave Doré; once again, Kelly avoids the twentieth century. While Kelly argues a case made by others, he makes no claims to be either comprehensive or systematic and can be extremely cavalier when discussing Satan's "new" biographers. However, the book is not without its virtues; readers can learn a few things here, including the medieval origins of an iconic rock group (p. 287 and n. 6). There is even an occasional bit of modesty, as when Kelly admits (p. 237) that he cannot explain how Satan got put in charge of Hell and promises to make it a future research project.

Readers of this journal seeking information in English about Satan's post-biblical transformations should therefore still begin by consulting Jeffrey B. Russell's now-classic volumes,[3] which Kelly makes no claim to have replaced. Instead, the author has created something stranger, a genuine curiosity of early twenty-first-century ecumenicism. In conceptualizing Satan, an avowedly Catholic scholar, fully aware of recent papal pronouncements affecting this topic (*e.g.*, pp. 315-316, 321-322, 326), has proposed a kind of *aggiornamento* based on two fundamental guidelines taken from someone who is never mentioned: Kelly has borrowed not only Martin Luther's quintessential principle of *Sola Scriptura*, but also Luther's burning desire to make "correct" (if idiosyncratic) translations of Scripture into the dominant vernacular.

Northwestern University (Emeritus) WILLIAM MONTER

Antisemitism: Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present. By Marvin Perry and Frederick M. Schweitzer. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002.) Pp. x, 309. $35.00.)

Two professors, respectively at Baruch College and Manhattan College, collaborate on a topic on which they have previously edited a similar volume, *JewishChristian Encounters over the Centuries: Symbiosis, Prejudice, Holocaust, Dialogue* (Peter Lang, 1994). Capable of good historiography, they largely desert its canons for a prose that regularly employs terms such as "vicious," "vitriolic," "violent," "satanic," "irrational," and "lethal." Normally, the material thus described is such as to require no verbal qualifiers. Another technique is the quotation of contemptuous remarks of some highly placed person that are then cited in notes "as found in." This is distressing enough if the source is a newspaper or magazine article but if it is a quotation from someone like Josephus or Eusebius, it cannot be checked in the original. Elsewhere the citation scheme is all that one could ask, but the ambivalence is an indication of the uncertainty as to whether the authors have a scholarly or a popular readership in view.

[3]See especially *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1981).

One regrets having to make these observations because of the book's importance as a compendium of Christian antipathy to Jews and Judaism over the centuries. As such it is probably not suitable for use in college, seminary, or graduate school courses, where such a volume is badly needed. Professors are likely to know either too much or too little about the subject to be at ease with portions of the presentation. Thus, while the first chapter on "The Trial and Death of Jesus" correctly describes the gospel narratives as *kerygma*, the proclamation of religious faith, rather than as a chronicle of historical events, there is the assumption that four writers not themselves Jews were laying responsibility for Jesus' death on the Jewish people. Any speculation as to why the evangelists who wrote from within the people of Israel like the prophets of old chose to exculpate a pagan outsider and charge the pilgrims in Jerusalem with responsibility for Jesus' death, as in Acts, would have been at least helpful. With the writings of Origen, Chrysostom, and other Church fathers, the problem is the same. Their position as gentiles in a religious minority relative to the religious majority of Jews, both engulfed by the pagan populations around them, could have been explored societally and not solely religiously. The book consistently opts for religious motivations, if only because these are the only ones the chosen texts provide. This is not a plea for psychohistory but for a better type of history. In the authors' defense, the many early texts cited are what led to the anti-Judaism of the subsequent Christian ages. It remained for two popes in 1247 and 1272 to identify the myth of the blood libel (Jewish infants' blood mixed with the dough of matzoth at Passover) as rooted in covetousness of the possessions of Jews and thirst for their blood.

A chapter on "The Diabolization of Jews" explores the medieval peasant outlook, the creation of the Aryan myth, and the variety of uses to which the fictitious plan of *The Elders of Zion* for world domination has been put. The treatment of "The Jews as *HomoEconomicus*" is better researched than much that went before, recording fully among other matters Henry Ford's active career as an anti-Semite. A chapter on deniers of the Holocaust contains some solid information on how the death-camp killings were carried out based on documents that the SS were not successful in destroying. There is a brief account of the anti-Semitism of the Nation of Islam of which Wallace Muhammad assumed leadership at the death of his father Elijah (Poole) in 1975. Having learned what Islam really taught, he terminated the movement's anti-white and anti-Jewish stance, leaving the vacuum of leadership on those terms to be filled by Louis Farrakhan (Walcott). There is a necessarily unsatisfactory summary of "Jewish-Muslim Relations in History" in an appendix of four pages, another on the activities of a German-born Canadian anti-Semite, Ernst Zündel.

The volume's content can be summarized, perhaps equally unsuccessfully, as providing large measures of information on the sorry tale of Christian verbal persecution and worse of the Jewish people. At times its historical method is

flawless, at other times flawed in the authors' zeal to multiply details they have culled from other authors as well as from primary sources.

Temple University (emeritus) GERARD S. SLOYAN

Kingship: The Politics of Enchantment. By Francis Oakley. (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing. 2006. Pp. xiv, 193. $34.95.)

This is an ambitious undertaking which considers kingship as a form of government over a period of five thousand years. Of necessity, it follows a comparative approach ranging over cultures in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Professor Oakley starts from the assumption that, historically, kingship in its various forms is the most common form of human government. For him it is part of the "political commonsense of mankind." He rejects any notion that modern secular concepts are the norm for political discourse and that the study of monarchy has to be justified as a proper subject for political enquiry. Monarchy he sees as the wisdom of most ages of mankind.

The book ranges over all the major topics and significant periods. It begins with a survey of archaic patterns of kingship and then considers the seminal contributions of Hellenistic, Biblical, Roman, and Islamic conceptions. The main strength of the book lies in its treatment of Christian rulership. Emphasis is given, where it must be, to the Eusebian accommodation of Christian ideas with Roman imperial conceptions and then to the Carolingian combination of Christian notions with Germanic ideas of kingship. Oakley is at his best in dealing with the high and late Middle Ages into the early modern period. He ends by tracing the overall decline of the admittedly tenacious institution of monarchy in the modern period.

At the core of his approach is a treatment of the interplay of sacral and secular elements in kingship, following a complicated process of decay and partial reappearance of religious elements. Two moments stand out: the downgrading of kings to the status of laymen by the eleventh-century papal reform movement and the paradoxical reassertion of sacral notions in the coronation service of Queen Elizabeth II of England. Overall, Oakley sees the general trend of modern secularism as part of Max Weber's "disenchantment of the world."

Considerable attention is given to ways in which people sought to explain and understand the enduring institution of kingship with an acute appreciation of Hegel's view that the philosophical understanding of an historical phenomenon comes at the end of a process—too late: "The owl of Minerva spreads its wings only with the falling of the dusk." As regards method, Oakley is unrepentant in his disagreement with many historical approaches in that he is happy to argue from anthropological models without firm historical evidence.

So, what is the value of this book? It is without doubt a most useful and informative survey of the theme: a huge subject is condensed into a short space. The juxtaposition of so much diverse material is certainly thought-provoking and demands changes in historical perspectives. The notes are helpful, and the bibliography is useful for providing guidelines for further reading. The question remains in the reader's mind of whether there is much that is new in this book. But anyone interested in kingship should certainly read it.

University of Wales JOSEPH CANNING

Covenant Marriage in Comparative Perspective. Edited by John Witte, Jr., and Eliza Ellison. [Religion, Marriage, and Family.] (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xiv, 342. $34.00 paperback.)

The term "covenant marriage" has acquired two widely accepted definitions. The first is the historical sense, derived from Calvinist theology. John Calvin, who rejected traditional Catholic notions of the sacramentality and indissolubility of Christian marriage, wished to ground his new vision of Christian marriage on a fresh interpretation of biblical texts. In the revolutionary sixteenth century, he sought marital stability even while rejecting the old theological and canonistic understandings. He found that stability in the emphasis he placed on the biblical notion of "covenant." God made a covenant in the Book of Genesis with the people of Israel, and he renewed this covenant with the Christian people through the atoning acts of Jesus Christ and the heartfelt conversion every Christian must experience as the first step toward salvation. Marriage, Calvin argued, should replicate, in the terrestrial world, this grand and transcendent vision of God's relation to His creation. Man and wife should bind themselves as lovingly and irrevocably toward one another as God has bound Himself to those He lovingly brought into being and whose welfare He continues to look after.

If this is the generally accepted theological meaning of the term "covenant marriage," it has acquired a second sense also, in recent American debates over no-fault divorce. Thanks to the tireless efforts of the Louisiana legal scholar Katherine Shaw Spaht, covenant marriage has acquired in those American states that have adopted such statutes the general legal sense of a binding relationship that requires greater formality and commitment than other forms of legal marriage. Parties to a covenant marriage must, as a matter of state law, undergo premarital counseling to gain a deeper sense of marital permanence and fidelity; they must pledge to take measures to preserve the marriage in the face of difficulties; and they agree in advance to abide by narrowly drawn grounds of divorce and not seek divorce under the state's no-fault provisions.

The contributors to this collection of essays take these two senses of covenant marriage as basic and seek to accomplish two further goals: A number of contributors seek to expand the ambit of "covenant" marriage by finding analogues to this tradition outside the Calvinist and the American legal

experiences. Other contributors, meanwhile, seek to explore in greater depth and detail the significance of covenant marriage to the reformed Protestant tradition and to American law. Edited by John Witte, one of the most prodigiously creative and versatile members of the American legal academy and by Eliza Ellison, the Projects Director for the Emory University Center for the Study of Law and Religion, this book achieves both ambitions. The result is an interdisciplinary work of great originality and skill.

Several essays stand out as especially significant for the readers of the *Catholic Historical Review*. These include, first, Michael Lawler's article "Marriage as Covenant in the Catholic Tradition." Aside from some ambiguous references in Hosea and Malachi, Lawler finds little support for an explicit biblical understanding of marriage as covenant. Similarly, he finds that, aside from a reference to marriage as a *foedus* in the fourth-century Arnobius and again in the letter of the ninth-century Pope Nicholas I to the Bulgarians, the medieval writers eschewed the language of covenant in favor of *sacramentum*. This tendency became fixed with the twelfth-century rise of scholasticism and the Council of Trent's subsequent inclusion of marriage as one of the seven sacraments. And yet, Lawler continues, the Catholic tradition is not hostile to the ideal of covenant marriage. Indeed, Lawler stresses that the Second Vatican Council has spoken approvingly of the concept.

If Lawler succeeds in reconciling the Catholic sacramental tradition of marriage with the reformed covenantal perspective, two essays treat explicitly of the history and significance of covenant marriage to the Protestant tradition. James Turner Johnson, in "Marriage as Covenant in Early Protestant Thought: Its Development and Implications," traces the growth of this way of thinking and talking about marriage from its continental roots in the works of John Calvin through the English Puritans of the seventeenth century and on to early American writers like Anne Bradstreet. Max Stackhouse, for his part, looks to the implications for modern Protestantism of the Protestant reformers' "more expansive view of covenantal relationships as the model for organizing the common life" (p. 155

Lest one conclude that this work is narrowly focused on Catholic and reformed traditions, however, attention must be called to its broad ecumenical sweep: Important essays by Michael Broyde and David Novak discuss the Jewish foundations of covenant marriage, while Azizah Y. al-Hibri and Richard C. Martin look at its Islamic analogues. Stanley Harakas, for his part, examines the Orthodox tradition to conclude that "[t]he mutuality inherent in the idea of covenant marriage is reflected in the Orthodox tradition's understanding of the purposes and goals of marriage" (p. 95).

The American legal treatment of covenant marriage is the subject of an important study by Katherine Shaw Spaht. Professor Spaht, whose work places her in the first rank of American family law scholars, both reviews the late-twentieth-century legislative history of covenant marriage, which she sees as a

response to the radical autonomy of 1970's divorce reform, and explains how covenant marriage works in practice. She defends covenant marriage against common criticisms and concludes that these statutory experiments seem to have resulted in "qualitatively better marriage[s]" (p. 263). Peter Hay then provides a lawyerly coda to Spaht's work by reviewing the extraterritorial implications of legally regulated covenant marriage in his study entitled "The 'American Covenant Marriage' and the Conflict of Laws." He concludes that covenant marriage may possess only limited applicability in divorce cases brought outside the state where the parties contracted their union. Margaret Brinig and Stephen Nock, finally, make the case that "covenant relationships are more likely to be successful than contract-governed or less formal alternatives" (p. 293).

The book also features a sweeping scholarly introduction authored by John Witte and Joel Nichols. Witte and Nichols review the theological dimension of covenant marriage from its biblical antecedents to more modern documents, and also consider the strong commitment to marriage found in many American legal sources of the nineteenth century. They conclude that "[i]n the American common law tradition, marriage has long been regarded as a natural if not a spiritual estate, a useful if not an essential association, a pillar if not the foundation of civil society" (p. 6).

In closing it must be reiterated that this work is both highly creative and comprehensive. It reviews the history of covenant marriage in its legal and theological dimensions. It offers a rich tapestry of sources and insights for those who have grown dissatisfied with the thinness of the claims that marriage should be explained as rooted in the radically autonomous individual. It should prove itself an indispensable starting point for further research for many years to come. The editors are to be greatly commended for their singular intelligence and inexhaustible thoroughness.

University of St. Thomas CHARLES J. REID, JR.
Saint Paul, Minnesota

Historiam perscrutari: Miscellanea di studi offerti al prof. Ottorino Pasquato. Edited by Mario Maritano. [Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose, 180.] (Rome: Editrice L.A.S. 2002. Pp. 882. €50,00 paperback.)

Ottorino Pasquato, S.D.B., is professor emeritus in the Università Pontificia Salesiana, where for nearly a quarter of a century he taught ancient and medieval church history and related subjects. The *Festschrift* under review presents over fifty studies that make contributions to the many domains to which Don Ottorino has himself contributed over his long and fruitful career. (His numerous publications are detailed in the bibliography; see pages 31-39.) To give a sense of the scope of this book, it may be helpful to say a word about Pasquato's academic formation: he completed a laurea in ecclesiastical history at the Gregorian University with a thesis on paganism and Christianity in

Antioch and Constantinople with reference to the works of St. John Chrysostom (1973), and a second laurea in philosophy at the University of Padua with a thesis on Christian historiography in the writings of Henri-Irénée Marrou (1979). Accordingly, the major themes in this book include history, theology, and Christianity (Part I), religious historiography (Part II), catechesis in history (Part III), and finally the Fathers in ecclesiastical tradition (Part IV).

The contents are so rich and varied as to resist satisfactory summarization. It may suffice instead to mention a sample of the noteworthy chapters. In Part I, there are insightful contributions on Christology in different cultures (M. Bordoni), de Lubac's historiography (G. Coffele), and the ecumenical "reconciliation of memories" as a historiographical issue (L. Sartori). Two chapters on ancient historiography—monasticism and episcopacy in late antiquity (M. Forlin Patrucco) and late antiquity in Italian scholarship (G. Penco)—as well as two on H.-I. Marrou (P. Chenaux and J.-I. Saranyana) stand out in Part II. M. Dujarier's analysis of terms used to describe the process of becoming Christ's disciple is a typically wide-ranging example of the close textual work displayed throughout Part III. And in the fourth and final section, there are excellent chapters on broad themes (e.g., M. Spanneut on divine *apatheia*) and on particular fathers (e.g., P. Allen on Severus of Antioch), as well as ten chapters on John Chrysostom in particular (among which I. Oñatibia's chapter is especially good).

There is a great deal to be admired in the chapters of this book. For instance, I have only alluded to the direct treatment of contemporary theological concerns, such as ecumenical engagement and the transformations of Christianity in Africa, Asia, and South America. But what I found most important in the book was its balanced representation of scholarly research into antiquity and scholarly reflection *on* that research. Both of these elements enrich the theological project as a whole, and it is gratifying to seem them so well integrated here. *Festschriften* sometimes lack coherence, but that is not a problem that affects this collection, which is unified by the emphasis on history, theologically considered. As Cardinal Poupard rightly claims in his foreword to the book, it offers an "invitation to understand the past better in order to live a fuller and more balanced life in the present" (p. 23). It is recommended.

University of Wales, Lampeter AUGUSTINE CASIDAY

Ancient

The Cambridge History of Christianity. Volume 1: *Origins to Constantine*. Edited by Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xlviii, 740. $180.00.)

The Cambridge "histories" often include hefty articles on religion, but this is the first time Cambridge University Press has launched a series devoted solely to the history of Christianity. The entire project will include nine vol-

umes and extend the story from the beginnings until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with two volumes on "world Christianities." It is an ambitious and welcome undertaking.

The aim of the series is to reap the harvest of the scholarship of the last several generations on the history of Christianity, and the first volume, "Origins to Constantine," does that well. There are, for example, articles on the "Jewish Diaspora" and "The Roman Empire," essays on Marcion and on Irenaeus, a series of chapters on the growth of Christianity in distinct geographical areas, e.g., Egypt, Syria, Gaul, chapters on Christian institutions and theology, good articles on persecution and on Constantine, and a chapter on early Christian art and architecture.

Because of the way the two disciplines have developed, New Testament studies and church history are often viewed as separate fields. But here the New Testament writings and the historical epoch they reflect are seen, as they should be, as part of the history of Christianity. Accordingly, the editors include an introductory chapter on Jesus and Christian beginnings as well as essays on Jewish-Christianity, Christianity, and Johannine Christianity.

The essays are written, in the main, by recognized scholars in the several areas, e.g., Wayne Meeks on social life of early Christian communities, Harry Gamble on Marcion and the "canon," Birger Pearson on Egypt, Susan Ashbrook Harvey on Syriac-speaking Christianity, W. H. C. Frend on persecutions, A. M. Ritter on church-state relations. It is a book one can take in hand with confidence that it offers an up-to-date account of the current state of scholarship in the many areas it treats.

I think, however, that the volume will be more useful to scholars than to the general reader. One reason is that it is hard to get a sense of the whole by reading the individual essays. In works of this sort it is always a challenge how to tell the big story and it would have been helpful to have at least one essay that offers a narrative account and helps the reader to put the individual essays into context.

In a final essay the editors do step back to view the whole, but the chapter is too sketchy and too tentative. Though they recognize that these early centuries laid the foundation for the form of Christianity that was to create the new civilization built on the foundations of ancient Israel, Rome, and Hellenistic culture, varieties of life and expression hold greater interest than commonalities. Of course, the penchant to favor diversity over unity and continuity is one of the interpretive clichés that has dominated the scholarship of the last generation. And that is not all bad. As a result of the researches of the last several generations, e.g., on conflicting views and rival communities, we have a much clearer picture today of the social and religious world of early Christianity.

But it is surely not enough to say that what early Christianity bequeathed to its descendants "was a set of tensions or problematics that would preoccupy each generation of followers of Jesus for the next millennium." One does not

win the hearts and minds of millions of people and change the face of societies from the British Isles to Persia and beyond on the basis of tensions or problematics. Nor is it adequate to say that the early Church provided the "raw materials," as the editors would have it, for future generations. Such things as the office of bishop, Baptism and Eucharist, the canon of Scripture were not raw materials; they were the stuff of Christian life and were firmly in place long before the conversion of Constantine. And it was the institutions, teachings, and practices forged in the first three centuries that were transmitted to the next generation, not the raw materials.

Still the value of this volume is considerable, for it pours forth a rich bounty of data and interpretive ideas to help scholars and students in the ongoing task of understanding the formative years in the history of Christianity.

University of Virginia ROBERT LOUIS WILKEN

The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority. By Lee Martin McDonald. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers. 2007. Pp. xlii, 546. $29.95 paperback.)

Anyone with an interest in the development of the Christian biblical canon is familiar with the work of Lee M. McDonald. He is the author of numerous books and articles on the subject, the most well known of which include *Early Christianity and Its Sacred Literature* (co-authored by Stanley Porter and published in 2000), and *The Canon Debate* (co-edited with James A. Sanders and published in 2002). The text currently under review is a thoroughly revised and expanded edition of *The Formation of the Christian Biblical Canon* (1995), which was itself a revised and expanded edition of a book by the same name published by Abingdon Press in 1988. Needless to say, the magisterial sweep of the current edition represents the culmination of a lifetime of investigative work on the historical production of the Christian Bible. More than that, it is a sensitive exploration of the manifold hermeneutical and theological concerns such an investigation inevitably raises for people of faith. For both the scholarly wisdom and pastoral insight evident in this current book, we are in the author's debt.

This volume attempts to offer a thorough summary of the origin of both testaments of the Christian Bible. The first part identifies the issues at stake in such an exploration, and establishes the working difference between "scripture" and "canon" presumed throughout the book. The second part explores the origins of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Canon, including a helpful survey of the differing collections of scripture maintained by various Jewish communities in the first century B.C., as well as a consideration of the scriptures used by Jesus and earliest Christianity, and (in an excursus by R. Timothy McLay of St. Stephen's University) the use of the Septuagint in the New Testament. The third and final section of the book turns to the New Testament

Canon, tracing the process by which early apostolic writings were received, first as authoritative documents, then as scripture, and finally as canonical texts in their own right. The book concludes with nearly a hundred pages of useful appendices identifying primary sources and questions in canon research, ancient catalogues of canonical collections, citations of and allusions to apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings, and ending with a final essay on the work of Brevard Childs.

The unavoidable risk of such a wide-ranging introductory examination, of course, is the need to resort on occasion to unsupported (and therefore potentially inaccurate) summarizing. Despite his stated concern to carefully avoid assumptions that could not be backed up by primary evidence (p. xvi), one often finds that issues of ongoing scholarly debate are summed up in ways that may lead the reader to conclude the matter is settled. To cite but one example, on page 395 one encounters the largely unsubstantiated claim that the letter of James was cited or alluded to by nearly every major early to mid-second-century patristic source, including Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, and the authors of *The Didache,* the *Letter of Barnabas*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas.* While many contemporary James scholars support the possibility that *1 Clement* or *Hermas* is dependent on James, very few would consider the others real possibilities.

Given the introductory scope of the work, McDonald is to be forgiven if specialists find particular gaps in what is ultimately a very useful survey. The book is highly recommended for students and scholars alike as an excellent introduction to the central issues at stake in the formation and reception of Christian scripture.

Seattle Pacific University DAVID R. NIENHUIS

Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity. By Denise Kimber Buell. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 257. $45.00.)

In *Why This New Race*, Denise Kimber Buell offers a theoretically sophisticated analysis of ethnoracial discourses in early Christian writings before the legalization of Christianity in 313 A.D. She employs a "prismatic approach" for dealing with the ideas of race *and* ethnicity as a strategy for avoiding the essentializing discourse that pervades many discussions about these concepts and as a means for bringing together three historical vantage points: the present, the recent historical past, and the ancient historical period (p. 33). Central to her analysis is the premise that race and ethnicity are characterized by a "double-sided discourse" of both fixity and fluidity. By focusing on the dynamic interplay between these two phenomena, Buell complicates and rethinks assumptions about early Christian self-definition, especially with respect to its claims about universalism and inclusiveness.

The book is organized as follows: an introduction, which develops a theoretical foundation for understanding four strategic uses of ethnic reasoning for early Christians; five chapters that examine in detail various examples of the ethnic reasoning in early Christian writings and the rhetorical situations that produced ideas of "peoplehood"; and an epilogue, which discusses the implications of this study for both ancient and contemporary interpretations of race, ethnicity, and religion. A bibliography of ancient and modern sources and two indexes (ancient sources and general) are also included.

Throughout the book, Buell analyzes a wide range of texts generated by writers such as Clement, Origen, and Justin Martyr to illuminate the four strategic uses of ethnic reasoning: (1) defining ethnicity through religious practices, (2) viewing ethnicity as mutable even if "real," (3) universalizing ethnicity and religion, and (4) using ethnic ideas as polemic. She also exposes the "messier" interpretive process that would result if scholars examined (and articulated) the "motives behind and implications of the historical mappings and reconstructions we produce." In this regard, her book engages ethnic reasoning in order to offer insights into the historical legacy of both contemporary racism and Christian anti-Judaism. Though her arguments are persuasive and grounded in a wealth of scholarship dealing with the ancient and contemporary intersections of Christianity, race, and religion, Buell leans more toward the ethnoracial discourses embedded in ancient texts than towardthe contemporary methodologies and interpreters that are used to interpret these texts. Thus, her claims regarding "race/ethnicity" are more general and suggestive when it comes to assessing modern scholarly discussions about ethnoracial discourses. Despite this limitation, all who utilize this book will be delighted with the sources provided and the eloquent manner in which Buell encourages scholars of the New Testament and early Christianity to examine the interconnections "among our own commitments and values, the ways we have been trained to think and interpret, and the goals and ideologies of ancient texts" (p. 167).

Buell's study is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature dealing explicitly with race and ethnicity in biblical and extra-biblical writings: Robert Hood, *Begrimed and Black: Christian Traditions on Blacks and Blackness* (Fortress, 1994); Mark Brett, *Ethnicity and the Bible* (Brill, 1996, 2002); Gay L. Byron, *Symbolic Blackness and Ethnic Difference in Early Christian Literature* (Routledge, 2002); Shawn Kelley, *Racializing Jesus: Race, Ideology and the Formation of Modern Biblical Scholarship* (Routledge, 2002); and Rodney Sadler, *And They Were All Gathered Together in One Place: Minority Biblical Criticism* (Society of Biblical Literature, forthcoming). All of these studies isolate the need for interpreters of ancient Jewish and Christian literature to engage the conceptual categories of race and ethnicity as integral to understanding the origins of Christianity; Buell's analysis of ethnoracial discourses in *Why This New Race* demonstrates why such scholarship is no

longer the exception, but the rule for contemporary biblical scholarship and historical reconstructions of early Christianity.

Colgate Rochester Crozer Divinity School GAY L. BYRON

Kissing Christians: Ritual and Community in the Late Ancient Church. By Michael Philip Penn. [Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. viiii, 186. $42.50.)

Michael Penn begins his study of the ritual kiss in early Christianity with a quotation from Clement: "There are those who do nothing but make the church resound with the kiss, while not having love within them. This, the unrestrained use of the kiss, also causes shameful suspicions and slander...." Hidden among discussions of fashion, gambling, and the racetrack, this prohibition against unrestrained and passionate kissing in the church gave the author—as I suspect most others who have read Clement—quite a shock! But unlike most of us, Penn followed his instincts and stopped, and listened, and saw anew the importance of ritual, especially the physical act of kissing in early Christian worship. This discovery led Penn to re-evaluate, as he confesses, his image of the ancient Church.

The result is an insightful study of ritual, power dynamics, community formation, and the setting of boundaries that identify the community first to itself and then to those outside. Though not the first study to explore the role and value of the ritual kiss in Christian worship (the work of L. Edward Phillips, Nicolas J. Perella, and others informs much of the historical and liturgical background), Penn brings a fresh and truly interdisciplinary approach to his study on ritual and its meaning. Interacting with the works of Mary Douglas on purity and boundary formation, Catherine Bell on ritual formation, and Pierre Bourdieu on distinction, among others, Penn shows how the ritual kiss functioned as a performative identifier of difference and community demarcations for the initiated and, at the same time, those outside the community.

Having consulted over a thousand ancient references to kissing (p. 6), Penn in his first chapter, titled teasingly, "Kissing Basics", examines how this common and expected public (and of course also private) gesture of kissing family members, friends, lovers, and so forth was distinguished, transformed, and ritualized into a socially productive gesture "within the kiss's larger cultural context" (p. 17). In the growing context of the Christian community, new definitions of "common" and "ritual" were now necessary.

In "The Kiss That Binds: Christian Communities and Group Cohesion," (chap. 2) Penn tells us how kissing emphasized the bonds of the new community, as both Christian and non-Christian authors "viewed kissing as a way to promote group cohesion" (p. 28). To make the point, Penn traces these bonds of social and group cohesion and difference within its Greco-Roman

milieu and structures of social stratification, and then moves to a discussion of kissing as a spiritual exchange to show how Christian communities transformed the popular understanding of the physical exchange of souls (or spirit) through the act of kissing and "employed this pneumatological model...to transfer Christ's spirit between community members, to express the community's solidarity, and to reenact a mythical time of original unity" (p. 39). As such, kissing was not simply a boundary forming gesture, but a ritual that promoted reconciliation and restored peace.

In chapter three, "Difference and Distinction: The Exclusive Kiss," Penn shows that by refusing to kiss pagans, Jews, and heretics, Christians differentiated between those who were not like us, too much like us, and claiming to be us, respectively. Of course, then, the catechumens were also established as different from the baptized, the confessors, martyrs (and their relics), from the rest of us, men from women, and, finally, clergy from the laity (and among their own ranks).

So what happens when boundaries are transgressed? And how exactly are they transgressed? That is the focus of the last chapter, "Boundary Violations: Purity, Promiscuity, and Betrayal." Here Penn examines how Christians struggled with the consequence—real or potential—of such an intimate physical act as kissing. Michel Foucault and Mary Douglas are strong voices in this chapter, guiding the discussion on purity, power, promiscuity, and transgression. In this chapter Penn proposes that the resultant refinement of ecclesiastical rhetoric on "purity" and basic "bad" kissing was an attempt to create and enforce community norms.

This is a fascinating study that invites students of the early Church to take Christian *litourgia* seriously. At the same time, Penn reveals the need for specialists to cross our own disciplinary boundaries and receive the insights of others. Penn's thematic approach may frustrate a bit those who may wish for a more chronological study. Though this book is divided into four chapters, it ought also to be seen as divided into two parts: the chapter narrative forms one part, but the endnotes are not to be neglected at all—they are the second part of the book: the part where the lively discussion with other scholars is brought to life. If I have one qualm with this book, it is not with Penn's excellent study, but with the editors who insist on separating the narrative of the chapters from the notes that give the narrative its soul.

Wheaton College GEORGE KALANTZIS

The Life of Antony by Athanasius of Alexandria; *The Greek Life of Antony, The Coptic Life of Antony,* and *Encomium on Saint Antony* by John of Shmün, and *A Letter to the Disciples of Antony* by Serapion of Thmuis. Translated by Tim Vivian and Apostolos N. Athanassakis with Rowan A. Greer. [Cistercian Studies Series: No. 202.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2003. Pp. lxvi, 290. $27.95 paperback.)

The influential Egyptian ascetic Antony, made famous by Athanasius in his *Life of Antony*, served also as the subject of two additional early Egyptian narrative texts: a letter of consolation sent by Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, to Antony's disciples shortly after his death in 356 A.D., and a florid encomium filled with metaphors praising the saint attributed to John, Bishop of Shmun, dated ca. 600 A.D. The present volume offers English translations of all three texts, including both the Greek and Coptic versions of the *Life of Antony*, an extensive introduction, and a good selective bibliography. Serapion's letter and John's encomium appear here for the first time in English.

The volume is constructed around the translations of the *Life*. As such, the extensive introduction to the volume is, in fact, an introduction to the *Life*, illustrating once again its role in shaping most portraits of the saint. The introduction is separated from the translations of the *Life* by the translations of John's encomium and Serapion's letter, each with its own separate brief introduction. As such, the two shorter texts seem to intervene in the flow of the volume, though not seriously.

The Greek and Coptic translations of the *Life* are set on facing pages, allowing the reader to compare the two and see to some degree how the Coptic translator worked. Vivian offers some exploration of the differences in the introduction, most notably perhaps the alteration of the famous line in the Greek *Life*, "the desert was made a city by the monks," to "the desert filled with monks" (so too the Syriac version). While numerous English translations of the Greek *Life* exist, this is the first based on Bartelink's new and much improved 1994 critical edition (Sources chrétiennes, 400) and as such important. The translation of the Sahidic Coptic version of the *Life*, based on Garitte's 1949 edition, improves on Vivian's earlier 1995 translation (San Francisco: International Scholars Publications).

The authors present these texts not only for those interested in the late antique world of early Christian Egypt, but also as spiritual guides still relevant today. The introductions and notes are useful for both purposes, referencing in particular biblical citations and allusions. The more critical, language-oriented notes in Vivian's earlier translation of the Coptic *Life* are, however, reduced in the current edition. Scholars will naturally want to consult the critical editions. Nonetheless, the present volume offers easy initial access to the texts in translation.

While the authors set the individual texts in their appropriate historical setting, they understand and interpret Antony's quest in terms of the human

predicament. The texts become thereby forever relevant. They make this point explicit at the end of their introduction, noting that "since we are probably not going out into the desert, we need to bring the desert home to us. . . . we need to see enough of Antony's landscape in our own (and ours in his) to make his journey recognizable." As such, this volume continues Vivian's impressive effort, here aided by Athanassakis, not only to make the Coptic accounts of the desert fathers available in English, but to encourage their broader reading both for historical study and individual growth.

University of Mary Washington JAMES E. GOEHRING

Psalmody and Prayer in the Writings of Evagrius Ponticus. By Luke Dysinger, O.S.B. [Oxford Theological Monographs.] (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 245. £55.00.)

Within months of his death, and possibly earlier, Evagrios Pontikos became a figure of controversy, and that controversy has rarely died down. It is generally blamed for the Origenist controversy that erupted in the late fourth century, and provoked the condemnation of some of the Egyptian monks by Pope Theophilos of Alexandria, though, by the time of the condemnation, Evagrios was already dead (on Pope Theophilos, see now Norman Russell's *Theophilus of Alexandria* [2007], in Routledge's alas doomed series, "Early Church Fathers"). Evagrios was certainly among the "Origenists" condemned at the Fifth Ecumenical Synod of 553, though the nature of this "Origenism" is far from clear. As a result of these condemnations, Evagrios' works struggled to survive in their original Greek, though they were more successful than one might have expected owing to the peerless wisdom they contained, especially for ascetics pursuing the monastic life. However, several important works were lost in Greek and survive only in Syriac and Armenian, mostly, the languages of those independent of the imperial conciliar tradition from Chalcedon onwards (in Armenia, Evagrios receives veneration as a saint). Evagrios once more became controversial in modern times, especially after Antoine Guillaumont discovered in the British Museum Library (as it was then) a Syriac manuscript of the Evagrios' *Kephalaia Gnostica*. Guillaumont argued that this manuscript contained a more faithful translation of the Greek original than the text already known, and was, moreover, the source of the "Origenist" opinions condemned by the council of 553. He then proceeded, in a book which transformed Evagrian studies (*Les «Kephalaia Gnostica» d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les grecs et ches les syriens* [1962]), to reconstruct the "Evagrian" system on the basis of the anathemas, supported by passages from Evagrios' authentic works, especially the newly discovered manuscript of the *Kephalaia Gnostica*. Guillaumont's reconstructed Evagrianism has been widely accepted in the scholarly world, despite the fact that using anathemas as a blueprint for heresy seems methodologically quite unsound, and the further fact that these anathemas date from more than a century and a half after

Evagrios' death; his disciples must have been remarkably faithful, for Guillaumont's reconstruction to be valid.

Guillaumont's views did not pass without challenge, notably from the scholar-hermit, Father Gabriel Bunge, who has done more than anyone to rehabilitate Evagrios, producing translations and commentaries on his works, as well as sharply argued articles dismantling various aspects of Guillaumont's reconstruction, and in general presenting Evagrios as a great master of the spiritual life, whose wisdom needs to be heard today. If Bunge's impact on Western scholarship has been limited, his reception in the Orthodox world has been much more enthusiastic. Parallel to Bunge's work has been the rediscovery of the importance to Evagrios of the Scriptures. Although much of his scriptural commentary is lost, it seems that Evagrios devoted a great deal of time to the genre of commentary called "scholia," brief comments on individual verses, and indeed words. His scholia on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes have been published in *Sources Chrétiennes*, and there has been available for some years now in electronic form to those with persistence enough to track it down a working edition of his scholia on the Psalms, prepared by Marie-Josèphe Rondeau on the basis of a manuscript in the Vatican Library. The *Scholia on the Psalms* emerges as one of Evagrios' longest works. Luke Dysinger's book is the first attempt to approach Evagrios through what, on the face of it, has a good claim to be his most important work.

It is a wonderful book, opening up whole new vistas in our understanding of Evagrios. Like most great works, it all seems so obvious: why has no one done this before? Psalms were, and to some extent still are, the bedrock of the monastic life. As Dysinger, himself a Benedictine monk, shows, Evagrios entered into a tradition of monasticism in which the heart of the life, when not distracted by visitors and the pressing demands of disciples, consisted of reading or chanting the psalms, meditation on the Scriptures, all this interspersed by periods, probably quite brief periods, of prayer. The bedrock of such monastic practice was recitation of the psalms. Dysinger then looks briefly at the way Evagrios interpreted Scripture, his use of allegory and numerology, and also examines passages in Evagrios' other works, where he expounds the significance of psalmody for the spiritual life. There follow three chapters that explore the value of psalmody. Firstly, psalmody as a spiritual remedy, largely, though not exclusively, as a way of calming the *thumos*, the "spirited" or "incensive" part of the soul, which, when aroused, can form one of the principal obstacles to the prayer of the *nous* or intellect. Dysinger draws attention to the pervasiveness of medical imagery in the Fathers, and argues that Evagrios commands a much more developed medical knowledge, which he uses in his exposition of the healing of the soul. The next chapter deals with the use of verses of the psalms as spiritual weapons to repel the attacks of the *logismoi*, obsessive trains of thought that enslave the *nous* and deprive it of attentiveness. In this chapter Dysinger makes good use of Evagrios' often neglected *Antirrhetikos*. A final chapter deals with the contemplative vision disclosed in

the Psalms, which covers the place of Christ in the Psalter and discusses (with rare clarity) what is meant by the contemplation of the *logoi* of judgment and providence. Dysinger also looks at those passages in Evagrios that have been used by Guillaumont and others to support the allegation that he embraces an Origenist Christology. In an appendix, Dysinger looks specifically at the evidence Guillaumont used to support the existence of a *nous*-Christology in Evagrios, and finds it wanting. Dysinger's conclusion here is that, while Evagrios does indeed work within an Origenist framework, in which pre-existent intellects fell and became souls provided with bodies in a material cosmos, his respect for Orthodoxy is such that he hesitates on the very brink of the *nous*-Christology this seems to entail, and preserves a cautious silence on the question of Christ's *nous*. This seems to me as close to the truth as we are ever likely to get.

In short, this is an exceptionally fine piece of scholarship, distinguished by a rare clarity of exposition, sureness of touch, and carefully weighed judgment. Without ignoring Evagrios the intellectual—the "philosopher of the desert," as Guillaumont dubbed him—it focuses on Evagrios the monk, which is surely how Evagrios would have seen himself, and is certainly the reason why he exercised such a profound influence over the Byzantine ascetic tradition.

University of Durham ANDREW LOUTH

Medieval

A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin. By Roger Wright. [Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 10.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2002. Pp. viii, 389. €65,00.)

Roger Wright's scholarly work has focused on a single problem: when and how did the Romance languages become distinct from Latin? His answer was articulated at length in his *Late Latin and Early Romance* (1982). Until roughly the year 800, as Wright puts it, "late Latin *was* early Romance." The difference between the two is simply the difference between the written and spoken forms of a language. Just as English-speakers write *boatswain* but say [bo'sun], so early medieval Latin speakers wrote *quattuor*, but pronounced it [katt'r], [kwattro] or what-have-you. This "complex monolingualism" first changed under Charlemagne with the educational reforms of the English scholar Alcuin. Henceforth the clergy were to pronounce Latin words as they were written (and, not coincidentally, as they had always been pronounced in Alcuin's Britain). *Quattuor* was no longer to be [katt'r] or [kwattro] but [kwa-too-ore]. As a result, "Latin became . . . a foreign language for everybody," just as contemporary English would if its speakers were suddenly forced to pronounce *tough*, *nation*, and *Leicester* phonetically. Since written *quattuor* now had a new pronunciation, a new written form had to be devised for the ordinary pronunciation [katt'r]: such a system is first attested in the Strasbourg Oaths of 842—generally regarded as the first example of written Romance.

The "Wright thesis" has not convinced everyone, but it is undeniably provocative. Even most skeptics would agree that it has reframed the debate in interesting ways. The twenty-five pieces collected here defend the basic model, while developing its implications or exploring particular aspects in more depth. With the exception of one 1981 article, all were originally published between 1993 and 2002. Many have been revised or updated, and ten pieces originally published in other languages have been translated by the author.

On the one hand Wright is concerned to restate and bolster the argument against any Latin/Romance differentiation before c. 800. Here he finds welcome support in Michel Banniard's *Viva Voce* (1992), an extended review of which appears as Chapter 4. But the weight of the collection falls on the post-800 period, with special attention to Ibero-Romance. While Wright still regards the Carolingian reforms as initiating the split, he now sees a "more nuanced process," in which consciousness of the Romance languages as distinct from Latin and (later) from one another may have taken firm hold only in the twelfth or thirteenth century. In the mid-800's, Wright argues, a Spaniard traveling along the "dialect continuum" from Cordoba to Strasbourg would have recognized almost every word in the Strasbourg Oaths (chap. 12). Tenth- and eleventh-century glosses from San Millán and Silos, sometimes regarded as the first written "Spanish," in fact show no conceptual differentiation between Latin and (Ibero-)Romance (chaps. 14-16). It is only around 1200, under figures like Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, the Paris-educated archbishop of Toledo, that the two are clearly distinguished. The subsequent division of Ibero-Romance into "Castilian," "Galician," "Portuguese," etc., may reflect political more than linguistic developments.

Wright's observations will be of interest to both Latinists and Romance linguists. But they also open the door to more general issues: the arbitrary nature of linguistic periodization (chaps. 3 and 13), the role of textual evidence in historical linguistics (chap. 23) and the perplexing question of "What Actually Changes During a 'Sound-Change'" (chap. 24). The central thesis lends the collection a substantial unity (even if it does not quite justify the singular "study" of the title); some repetition is inevitable, and forgivable. Few university libraries will own all of the original pieces—my own institution scores only eleven out of twenty-five—and it is useful to have them accessible in one place.

University of Virginia GREGORY HAYS

Saint Mary of Egypt: Three Medieval Lives in Verse. Translated and introduced by Hugh Feiss and Ronald E. Pepin. [Cistercian Studies Series, 209.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2005. Pp. x, 159. Paperback.)

This volume adds three translations of medieval narrative poems on Mary of Egypt to the considerable literature of that saint. Mary of Egypt is something

of an anomaly in the annals of sainthood, since she was neither virgin, martyr, nor queen: as her original vita had it, she was a working-class nymphomaniac. Her story may be linked with a small group of early Byzantine lives of penitent harlots, but unlike those of her fellow-sinners such as Pelagia and Thais, her story was widely told and re-told in the Latin-speaking West after having been translated by the ninth-century Paul the Deacon. The numerous versions in Latin, French, Spanish, and other Western languages have been the subject of an extensive modern literature which includes translations of most of the versions: the notes to Feiss and Pepin's introduction give details.

In their introduction, Feiss and Pepin do an excellent job of putting together the background and first context of the story. A slight tendentiousness in their approach is suggested by their describing the story of a hermit called Mary told by Cyril of Scythopolis as "the earliest mention of the story of Saint Mary of Egypt." The life outlined for Mary of Jerusalem has, obviously, points of contact with that told a little later by Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, about Mary of Egypt, but there is no actual way of telling whether we are looking at a developing tale-type or a revised biography.

Subsequently, the translators round up the Latin redactions and the translation history, in order to context the three metrical versions which are their particular concern: two Latin poems by Flodoard of Rheims and Hildebert of Lavardin (tenth and late eleventh centuries respectively), and a Spanish poem based on medieval French redactions from the first half of the thirteenth century. In keeping with the usual practice in the "Cistercian Studies" series, the highly readable translations are given without parallel texts, and annotation is minimal.

Flodoard stays extremely close to the original story. Hildebert is somewhat more prolix, and introduces extraneous minor themes, notably the role of alcohol in Mary's youthful folly, which was generally a concern of his. The Spanish version is the most digressive from the original narrative. In it, the narrative begins with Mary rather than Zosimas, and Mary's story is modified to bring it within the conventions of vernacular romance. Thus pre-conversion, she is a young noblewoman, her personal beauty and her clothes minutely described from her white brow to her shoes of cordovan leather decorated with gold and silver, and most surprisingly of all, "the son of the emperor took her as his wife." In her penitent wanderings, her beauty is systematically undone, feature by feature, by her privations, just as that of François Villon's "belle Heaulmière" was undone by age.

Thus the last of these three versions may be of interest to anyone interested in Christian romance, but otherwise, only those very deeply concerned with the minutiae of the development of the Mary legend will find themselves interested in the minor adjustments which Flodoard makes to his prose source, the Life of Paul the Deacon. As an introduction to the life of Mary of Egypt, the book is readable, accessible, and attractive, but there are few readers likely to

find it of more use than Benedicta Ward's *Harlots of the Desert*, also in "Cistercian Studies," and still in print.

University of Aberdeen JANE B. STEVENSON

Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700-c.1500. By Diana Webb. [European Culture and Society.] (New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xvii, 185. $69.95.)

Pilgrimage, defined as a religiously motivated journey to a sacred place, is practiced in most of the world's religious traditions. Diana Webb's book on *Medieval European Pilgrimage* deals with a particularly important period of pilgrimage in the Christian tradition. The book, which is sparsely referenced and intended primarily for students, follows Webb's more comprehensive study on *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (1999).

An introduction places Europe's medieval pilgrimage tradition in context and introduces some of the problems with interpreting a complex phenomenon taking place over the approximate twelve hundred years between the Emperor Constantine and Martin Luther. Chapter One outlines the evidence for changes in shrines and objects of pilgrim devotion that took place during broadly defined historical periods. Motives for making pilgrimage are dealt with in the second chapter. Some pilgrimages were purely penitential whereas others were devotional. Seeking a cure or fulfilling a vow were common reasons for traveling to a shrine, as indeed they still are. The section on indulgences sheds light on a reason for pilgrimage that was probably more significant in medieval times than at present. Then, as now, critics suspected that some people traveled in the guise of pilgrims for reasons not especially religious in nature. In an age when there were relatively few opportunities for travel, especially for women, it seems likely that vows to make pilgrimage were sometimes made to justify a desired trip.

Chapter Three explores the variety of pilgrims. There is ample evidence that people of all social classes made pilgrimages, although relatively more is know about journeys made by churchmen and members of the nobility, including kings and queens. The section on female pilgrims is especially interesting and provides insights into the extensive mobility of at least some European women of the times.

The geography of pilgrimage provides a theme for Chapter Four. The author uses pilgrim accounts, court records of pilgrimages imposed as sentences, guide books, itinerary lists, miracle records kept at shrines, letters of recommendation, wills, and collections of souvenirs to reconstruct a rough idea of the network of shrines and pilgrim routes. Far more is known about pilgrimage to such major destinations as Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela than to the many regional and district shrines scattered throughout Europe. A series of maps, in addition to the map provided on page vii, would have made a useful addition to this chapter.

The final chapter explores the impact of pilgrimage on the evolution of European culture. These journeys played an important role in the spread of music, dance, art, and architectural traditions throughout Europe. Images became increasingly important after about 1300 and were important in the shift toward increasing proportions of shrines dedicated primarily to Christ and the Virgin Mary rather than to the saints. The section on pilgrimage narratives and the growing popularity of travel writing provides insights into the impact of pilgrimage on literature.

In general, this book provides a good overview of the significance of medieval European pilgrimage and the kinds of sources that scholars use to gain insights into the phenomenon. In some sections the text seems more like a literature review than an interpretive account of the theme under discussion. However, each chapter includes many interesting details about particular shrines and pilgrims and should encourage further reading and research.

Oregon State University, Corvallis (Emerita) MARY LEE NOLAN

The Making of Christian Malta: From the Early Middle Ages to 1530. By Anthony T. Luttrell. [Variorum Collected Studies Series.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Co. 2002. Pp. viii, 342. $105.95.)

Dr. Anthony T. Luttrell has over the past forty-odd years given an outstanding contribution to the study of the medieval past of the Maltese Islands. The rigors of his inquisitively analytical study of the written and unwritten evidence have been a major driving force in the demythologizing process of a seminally important period in the history of the small Central Mediterranean archipelago. Together with, but independently of, the Maltese medieval specialist, Godfrey Wettinger, he has in this way been responsible for the opening of new approaches that have been pursued and consolidated by the research of other academics, among them Stanley Fiorini, Charles Dalli, and the present reviewer. The great breakthrough came in 1975 when he edited for the British School at Rome a book of collected essays by an international team of scholars, *Medieval Malta—Studies on Malta before the Knights,* to which he contributed the introductory and most substantial study, that was subsequently published separately as *Approaches to Medieval Malta.* It is also reproduced as the second essay in the collection of studies under review.

Strategically located at the cultural crossroads of Christian South Europe and Muslim North Africa, the Maltese Islands have played a role in history disproportionate to their physical limitations of space and natural resources. International scholarly attention has focused largely on the Knights of St. John, who ruled them between 1530 and 1798, and, to a lesser extent, on their subsequent role as the most important British naval base on route to the Middle East and India. Their interest as a microcosm of the social, economic, religious, and linguistic realities, that shaped the emergence of a multifaceted Central

Mediterranean identity in the millennium between the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and the dawn of the modern age was largely ignored. It is in this regard that the true significance of Anthony Luttrell is best appreciated.

Luttrell's first interest in Malta were the archives of the Knights of St. John, particularly those relating to their origin and early history. His introduction to the Maltese Middle Ages came through Professor Lionel Butler, a Fellow of All Souls and principal of Royal Holloway College, who in 1962 delivered a brilliant series of lectures on the subject at the British Council in Valletta, that unfortunately remained unpublished and he passed away tragically in 1982.

Luttrell's meticulously researched studies on Malta are scattered in an impressive number of specialized books and learned journals, foremost among them the *Papers of the British School at Rome,* and *Melita Historica*, the annual publication of the Malta Historical Society. The merit of the book under review is to gather in a manageable and easily accessible volume some of his more significant contributions. There are some notable omissions, such as the seminally important "Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela: Tradition and Invention in Maltese Historiograpy" (*Melita Historica,* vol. VII/2, 1977) which puts in a meaningful political context the distortions and fabrications that since the seventeenth century fueled the myth of a Maltese national identity rooted in an uninterrupted Christian and Latin tradition, but the choice is otherwise admirably comprehensive.

The first essay, contrary to the twenty other studies in the volume, is being published for the first time; it has a special interest. Called "Medieval Malta: Approaches and Reproaches," it puts under the lens the research and publications that have in Luttrell's own words "revolutionised medieval Malta" since the publication of his benchmarking volume of essays in 1975. Most of this revolution he himself engineered, thus ensuring an outstanding and lasting contribution to Maltese historiography.

University of Malta MARIO BUHAGIAR

Im Zeichen von Kirchenreform und Reformation: Gesammelte Studien zur Kirchengeschichte in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit. By Heribert Smolinsky. Edited by Karl-Heinz Braun, Barbara Henze, and Bernhard Schneider. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Supplementband 5.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2005. Pp. vi, 469. €59,00.)

Heribert Smolinsky has been one of the towering figures in the late-twentieth-century interpretation of Early Modern Catholicism. A careful reader of Reformation-era dogmatic treatises and an original researcher in the area of Catholic confessionalization, Smolinsky has over three decades helped shape our understanding of political and religious history during the sixteenth century. Since much of his work appeared in collected volumes and is not avail-

able in digital form, this collection by three former students of twenty-two (from a total of over a hundred) of his papers is especially welcome.

Organized in four sections representing the distinct research areas to which Smolinsky has contributed (Humanism and Educational History; Reformation History and Church Reform; the Reformation in the Upper Rhine; and History of Theology and Scholarship), these articles taken together demonstrate a mastery of detail combined with a methodological acuity that is instructive for church historians of any era or region. For many American historians of Early Modern Catholicism, Smolinsky's 1983 essay on Reformation History as Church History stands alongside the contributions of Hubert Jedin and John O'Malley for its clear grasp of the religious aspects of the Catholic response to the Reformation. Whether elucidating Thomas Murner's polemical use of satire (1987) or analyzing in 1991 the ecclesiastical diplomacy of Archbishop Albrecht of Brandenburg, Smolinsky is careful to set his findings within the extended Reformation narrative that includes late-medieval thought and Catholic Reform. Historians of late-medieval theology will find in the 1976 essay on Jean Gerson a detailed account of that chancellor's reform initiative at Paris. This was Smolinsky's first statement of the thesis that university reform was a precursor to religious reform, an argument supported in this volume by a 1994 survey of reformist tendencies in the universities and a close reading (first published in 1990) of Johann Eck's lectures on Genesis at Ingolstadt in the 1520's and '30's. These investigations expand our understanding of the role humanism played in religious reform; and Smolinsky's contributions also include wide-ranging essays from 1990 and 2002 on humanism in the Catholic theological faculties during the Reformation period and in the Rhineland, as well as a 1996 revision, using Jodocus Clichtoveus as the test-case, of the view that the Romanist controversialists were as opposed to humanism as they were to Protestantism. Popular religion also comes under scrutiny in studies of educational and catechetical reforms in Jülich-Cleve-Berg (1989); of literary forms of popular piety in Freiburg and its environs (1996); and (from 1998) of the "language controversy" of the immediate post-Tridentine decades, in which vernacular translations of scripture and liturgy were promoted in the interest of pastoral care. Smolinsky's 1995 essay on literary "Mirrors of Marital Life" (*Ehespiegel*) offers an illuminating glimpse of early-modern moral theology in vernacular form; and his depictions of the Jewish convert Paulus Weidner and of Jakob Feucht, the bishop of Bamberg who described in detail the 1577 conversion of two Jews, add little-known figures to a controversy long associated with the names of Johann Eck and Andreas Osiander. Two final essays, on patristics and exegesis in the Catholic controversialists (1999) and on the concept of apostolic succession (2004, originally for an ecumenical working group of German theologians) display a rare constructive subtlety and are likely to be especially influential in coming decades.

As the dates of original publication indicate, all but two of these essays were no more than twenty years old in 2005, and many remain the latest con-

tributions on their topics. Heribert Smolinsky's work remains influential, and the editors are to be lauded for bringing it to the attention of a wider range of historians.

University of Iowa RALPH KEEN

Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem. By Ann R. Meyer. (Rochester, New York: D. S. Brewer, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer Ltd. 2003. Pp. x, 214. $70.00.)

This is a book with an ambitious agenda: the correlation of architectural form, allegory, and revelation to link the artistic, intellectual, and religious cultures of medieval Europe. Linking mechanisms are provided by the author's concern with allegory as a means of communicating the relation between human experience of the divine world and the image of Heavenly Jerusalem. "Allegory" is understood as a language capable of "saying other things": cloaking hidden meaning behind palpable form. The image of the New Jerusalem is derived, above all, from chapters 21 and 22 of the Revelation of Saint John: "And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."

The material is organized in three parts. The first part deals with the reworking of Hellenistic ideas on art and the sensible world by Plotinus—whose ideas were then further developed by Saint Augustine, whose concept of the relationship between visible and invisible worlds echoed down through the Middle Ages. Particularly important in Augustine was the eschatological image of the Church as the New Jerusalem reunited with Christ at the end of time with the understanding of the Church as the community of the faithful. There appears to be nothing controversial here—the reader will find a useful summary of a stream of thought that certainly illuminated the mentality of medieval thinkers.

In the third part of the book the author builds upon her own earlier research on the fourteenth-century account of the late-fourteenth century dream-vision known as *Pearl,* where the author describes "the spiritual progress of a man grieving over the death of a beloved young daughter." Professor Meyer focuses upon the account of the vision of the celestial City, New Jerusalem—an account that occupies a substantial portion of the text. What begins to be troublesome is the desire on the author's part to construct very close links with contemporary architectural forms, comparing the "private New Jerusalem" of the text with the specific forms of English Decorated and Perpendicular architecture, particularly chantry chapels.

But it is the second part of the book that is most provocative. Based upon two case studies, the author seeks a global understanding of the meaning of medieval church space as an eschatological landscape. The key text is found in the liturgy of consecration so dramatically described by the Abbot Suger of

Saint-Denis. As Stookey demonstrated many years ago, the liturgy of consecration made extensive use of the image of the Celestial City described by Saint John. Although the author claims to be building upon art historical scholarship of recent years, in fact her account of the dependency of the abbot upon the writings of the Pseudo Dionysius is heavily based upon the canonic work of art historians such as Erwin Panofsky and Otto von Simson—work which has been repeatedly challenged in the art historical scholarship of the last thirty years by scholars such as Peter Kidson, Willibald Sauerländer, and Christoph Markschies, none of whom find their way into the bibliography.

Despite these reservations (and some editorial problems) there is, nevertheless much to like about the book. Particularly important is the author's insistence upon the idea that the church edifice is not a static thing but a *medium* providing the possibility of a transformative experience and her concern with the *integumentum*—overlaid form that partially both conceals and reveals underlying truth. Architectural historians could gain much through the application of such ideas to the understanding of medieval buildings.

Columbia University STEPHEN MURRAY

The White Mantle of Churches. Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium. Edited by Nigel Hiscock. [International Medieval Research, Volume 10: Art History Subseries 2.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2003. Pp. xix, 283. Paperback.)

One intriguing issue facing medieval historians is whether the passing of the millennium in the year 1000 had any connection with the birth of Romanesque architecture. Nobody can deny that the early years of the eleventh century brought a new and more ambitious approach to building, something that the contemporary chronicler Rodulf Glaber appeared to sense in his famous comment about the world "shrugging off the burden of the past" and "cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches." But was the chronicler providing a literal description of church building or was the phrase "white mantle of churches" merely a metaphor for a new world order, brought about by monastic reform and political stability? The interpretation of Glaber's comments lies at the heart of several of the essays in this impressively produced collection, nine out of fourteen of which were delivered as papers at the Leeds medieval conference in a session designed to mark the year 2000.

Several contributors review the nature of architectural activity on either side of the year 1000, the general thrust of the arguments being to emphasize continuity rather than sudden change. But the arguments are not really conclusive either way. Most of the key monuments have been destroyed or reconstructed, and precise evidence for building chronologies is rare. We are reminded that evidence is "elusive," problems are "notorious," interpretation is "difficult," and questions are "complex." It is perhaps inevitable, therefore, that

the conclusions reached in some chapters are not as impressive as the display of learning (of 264 pages of text and illustrations, some fifty-nine are occupied by footnotes).

Refreshing in its clarity is Carolyn Malone's study of St. Benigne at Dijon, that extraordinary building designed by Glaber's mentor, William of Volpiano, around the year 1000-01. As well as providing a succinct account of the design, the author deconstructs Glaber's text in a subtle and plausible way. The three levels of the rotunda, she argues, "afforded access to God, expressed as light descending through its oculus" while at the same time providing an anagogical framework for worshipers ascending upward through the various storeys to the light and altar of the Trinity. Equally memorable is the final essay in the book, by Richard Landes, who depicts an alternative view of the millennium, one which subverts assumptions made by some of his fellow authors. Far from being a non event, the millennium may have been regarded by William of Volpiano (and his acolyte Rodulf) as a dramatic turning point in history, inaugurating an era in which a renewal of the Church "brought the saving grace of God to earth, transforming it from a world of war and injustice to one of peace and prosperity." At a "popular" level, Landes suggests, the millennium had a profound impact, producing a more inclusive approach to Christianity, one that encouraged the development of pilgrimage and the building of new churches. Architectural historians would do well to study the implications of this thought-provoking study.

Other chapters are somewhat removed from millennial concerns. There is an excellent analysis by Kristina Krüger of the Burgundian *westwerk*, though the author prefers the more neutral term *avant-nef*. This is a lucid and measured essay in which the architectural layout is related to liturgical practices at Cluny, in particular to the commemoration of the dead. The word "galilee," Krüger explains, was used to describe this part of the church, the term being derived from Christ's warning to his disciples that he would re-appear to them in Galilee, just as the monks would be united with Christ at the time of death. Less convincing, perhaps, is the sharpness of her distinction between the Burgundian *avant-nef* and the Carolingian *westwerk*: while functions may have differed, the formal relationships are hard to ignore. Burgundy is the focus of a second essay, this time devoted to the archaeology of Autun, where recent excavations around the former cathedral brought to light the ancient cloister. Erected in the ninth century with timber framed galleries around a square garth, the cloister was twice rebuilt in subsequent centuries.

One of the merits of the volume as a whole is its geographical range, providing a snapshot of recent thinking on architectural matters in Germany, Italy, France, and Spain. The essay on Ottonian building by Richard Plant is especially useful in this regard, highlighting recent discoveries that might not otherwise be familiar to an English-speaking audience.

Trinity College, Dublin ROGER STALLEY

The Nave Sculptures of Vézelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing. By Kirk Ambrose. [Studies and Texts, 154.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. 2006. Pp. xiv, 148; Plates 26, Figures 110 capitals. $95.00.)

This study, the author's dissertation, of the nave capitals in the Benedictine church of Vézelay, argues against the thesis that churches of ample dimensions were built mainly for the pilgrimage trade and not for the monks' own devotions. Ambrose argues that Vézelay's nave was constructed as a setting for the regular orthopraxis of the *opus Dei*.

Ambrose focuses on a few themes, such as decapitation and hair-pulling (his attention to the theme of hair—tonsured among the holy, wildly flying among the demons—is particularly lively), the saints' lives featured in the narrative capitals, and the use of gesture and gesticulation. This latter he identifies as peculiarly twelfth century, and analyzes in terms of speech-act, performance, and theatricality. He notes that forty percent of the nave capitals "feature speech." These represent "carved gestures with communal meaning [which] encourage the viewer to engage in a process of contemplation. . . . The images mimetically reproduced performances within the cloister." "[T]he repetition of a variety of speeches throughout the sculpture of the nave encourages the viewer in a process of comparison and contrast that delimits proper speech" (pp. 33-34). Trying to apply such a fundamentally literary analysis to visual material is a challenge that Ambrose is not quite up to. Much of what he terms "theatricality" and "speech act" is better accounted for using the terms of rhetoric, dialectic, and grammar which lay at the heart of monastic compositional analysis, of buildings and music as well as words.

He is more persuasive in a chapter on the little-studied foliate capitals of the nave, to which he applies an Oleg Grabar-inspired analysis of their role as "the syntactic structures that govern the production of meanings.... The significance of a given ornamental motif resides not within an object, but is performed largely by its audience" (p. 65). In Ambrose's analysis, the viewer's "performance" consists mainly in someone noticing for himself repetitions and variations on themes (such as hair-pulling). He gives short shrift to any notion of pre-planned program in the disposition of the capitals, observing that the masons constructing the nave did so seriatim, placing on the columns whatever pre-formed capitals were at hand rather than carving them *in situ*. "This representational strategy, which encourages constant metamorphoses in meanings, is particularly suited for the life-long ruminations of a monk" (p. 85). Well maybe. But the formal strategies described, of repetition, amplification, and variety, are not representational but rhetorical. The meaningfulness they convey is not wholly dependent on an individual's mental activities or "performances." The forms incorporate disposition and ductus, those signals and strategies within a rhetorically conceived work which conduct a viewer (or listener) through itself.

This is a thought-provoking book by a gifted young scholar. It deserved better treatment from PIMS press. The reproductions vary greatly in quality, some so muddy that the detail is lost. There are absurd copy-editing errors, many from evident failures to integrate prior corrections. A helpful iconographic catalogue, with bibliography, of the nave capitals is marred by a running head in which "catalogue" is misspelled on the odd-numbered pages. On page 69 we read of "waddle and daub" technique (though the phrase appears correctly on page ix). Earlier on this page a dog is said to "bray" to warn its master—howl perhaps, bark for sure—but bray? And in my copy one bifolium had escaped the binder; fortunately it was still with the book.

New York University MARY CARRUTHERS

The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp: Fécamp, Musée de la [Palais] Bénédictine, Ms 186. Edited by David Chadd. [Henry Bradshaw Society, Vols. 111-112.] (Rochester, New York: Published for the Henry Bradshaw Society by the Boydell Press. 1999, 2002. Pp. xii, 378.; viii, 379-885. $65.00 each.)

These beautifully produced volumes contain Professor David Chadd's (Department of Music, University of East Anglia) edition of the liturgical directory of the great Norman monastery of La Trinité of Fécamp, now MS 186 in the museum of the Palais Bénédictine in Fécamp (home of the collections of Alexandre le Grand, who founded the firm that produces the liqueur *Bénédictine* in 1863). A number of features indicate that this manuscript was copied in the later years of the abbacy of Raoul d'Argences (d. 1219), and the editor suggests that the completion of the rebuilding of the abbey church by Abbot Raoul was the likely occasion for the redaction and careful execution of this ordinal suited to the new church building.

The core of an ordinal, according to Chadd, is "essentially a collection of rubrics and accompanying incipits, which acts as an explanatory directory to the texts (prayers, chants, lessons, and so on) contained in the various service books of a particular church," and its basic function was to provide "the codification of current practice where that was found to be satisfactory; and the incorporation into a main text of elements which had been introduced as additions or modifications to a previous edition." But in his discussion of "The Fécamp Ordinal as a Liturgical Book" (pp. 5-11) he observes that the conventional distinction between ordinal, which tells what is to be done, and customary, which tells who is to do it, is routinely blurred in ordinals from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and that in the case of ordinals produced to regulate local practice (rather than to propagate it to another locale or community), the particular mélange of contents will suggest a function and even the figure to whom that function was entrusted in a particular community. This is the basis of Chadd's hypothesis that this manuscript was a compendium of the duties of the cantor in the monastic community of Fécamp.

The monks who created this manuscript were conscious that their work represented only one stage and one version of the liturgical observances of their community, for they were guided by a "libellus quem usus uocant" and what they call *antiqua consuetudo* and *prisca consuetudo* (see p. 3 n. 10), but also provided for the adaptability of their work to generations to come. Chadd sees this in the peculiarity in the page-design of this ordinal of having the line-rulings of the written space extended into the margins as if to accommodate glosses, and the insertion into the margins of supplementary and explanatory notes by contemporary hands and corrections and revisions by hands from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries attest to the serviceability of this manuscript over more than 400 years.

The conspectus of the liturgy of Fécamp which the edition of the ordinal provides is supplemented by an apparatus which contains variants, corrections, and supplements drawn from seven additional liturgical manuscripts from Fécamp (twelfth through fifteenth centuries) and by seventeen appendices drawn from the same sources. The utility of this edition is enhanced by a thorough *Repertorium liturgicum* (incipits of liturgical texts, pp. 791-875) and an *Index nominum, verborum et rerum* (pp. 876-885), the latter particularly welcome because of the number of *termini technici* of monastic liturgical life which it contains. The toil of the monastic community that produced MS 186 has found a modern complement in the work of Professor Chadd and the Henry Bradshaw Society.

University of Notre Dame DANIEL J. SHEERIN

Aelred of Rievaulx: On Love and Order in the World and the Church. By John R. Sommerfeldt. [The Newman Press Significant Scholarly Studies.] (Mahwah, New Jersey: The Newman Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 232. $24.95 paperback.)

John R. Sommerfeldt's new book on the thought of Aelred, the great twelfth-century abbot of Rievaulx, complements his 2004 book, *Aelred of Rievaulx: Pursuing Perfect Happiness*. That book's theme, Aelred's confidence in God's infinite love, also underlies this one. But whereas the earlier book focuses on the experience of the individual called to happiness by God, this one explores Aelred's treatment of the four orders of Christian life—cenobites, solitaries, priests, and lay people.

The book begins with three chapters on Aelred's cosmology and anthropology, his conviction that God created and ordered the world in love, that after the world became disordered through sin God reordered it by grace, and that humankind can recover the divinely ordained happiness through humility, love, and *affectus* (attachment, or friendship). These chapters establish the theoretical lens for all that follows while also clarifying the book's title, which concerns order understood theologically as the opposite of chaos—the chaos

that preceded creation as well as that which resulted from the Fall and still rages through the world today.

After a chapter on the community of the saints, the order of all Christians, Sommerfeldt devotes six chapters to the four discrete orders. Numerous passages from Aelred's sermons and treatises demonstrate that men and women have many ways of responding to and living in God's love. Significantly, Sommerfeldt begins these chapters with two on monasticism and ends with two on "the order of lay folk," emphasizing Aelred's judgment that monasticism is only one authentic way of coming to God and that secular life is also a vocation, complementary and equal to that of the monk.

Finally Sommerfeldt turns from Aelred's treatment of the individual orders to consider the relationship among them, examining internal hierarchies and the roles of action and contemplation, conventionally allegorized in the persons of Mary and Martha. An appendix on Aelred's treatment of Jews and heretics concludes with the inference that Aelred foresees the eventual gathering together of Christians, Jews, and heretics in the great banquet of God's love.

Throughout the book Sommerfeldt uses Aelred's own words to show that Aelred views all Christians, whether male or female, religious or lay, as equally part of the Church and God's kingdom. The extensive quotations reveal the elegance of Aelred's prose and the incisiveness of his thought.

Sommerfeldt's consistent enunciation and demonstration of Aelred's teaching on the way God's love guides and preserves all creatures will be particularly valuable to readers unfamiliar with Aelred or with twelfth-century Cistercian theological optimism. Consciousness of the needs of new readers probably also explains the interpretive glosses within many quotations. These phrases thoughtfully anticipate readers' difficulties by expanding or clarifying individual phrases or ideas, although they sometimes blunt Aelred's metaphorical phrasing or over-determine his meaning. Two such phrases appear in a sentence allegorizing the Church as a cow with a calf: "It will not give milk unless its own [calf] is there [at the udder]" (p. 165). Such insertions may deprive the reader of the opportunity to read exactly what Aelred wrote (although in translation) and wrongly imply that he writes clumsily. They also subvert Sommerfeldt's excellence as a translator, diluting the crisp clarity that otherwise characterizes his prose.

The book is in fact consistently clear, well written, and full of wonderful passages from seldom-read works; it is rich in its analysis and articulation of Aelred's theology. With the exception of Sommerfeldt's previous book, only two others—both in French—offer real theological insight into Aelred's thought; this volume beautifully conveys Aelred's teaching, simplicity and clarity of explanation, and wide-ranging textual exemplification. It also has a fine bibliography of primary and secondary sources and a useful index and thor-

ough notes. These tools, along with the book's extensive quotations, offer a treasure house of materials, giving an Aelredian overview otherwise available only to those who read Aelred's thirteen treatises and five volumes of sermons—as Sommerfeldt himself has clearly done. Anyone interested in Aelred or twelfth-century views of human experience should celebrate the publication of this book and keep it close at hand.

Ohio University MARSHA L. DUTTON
Athens, Ohio

Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150-1220. By Elizabeth Freeman. [Medieval Church Studies, 2.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2002. Pp. x, 245.)

The twelfth and the thirteenth centuries witnessed a blossoming of historical writings in England from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum anglorum* to local historians of a monastery such as Jocelin of Brakelonde's *Chronicle of the Abbey of Saint Edmund's*. Elizabeth Freeman's book offers new readings of the somewhat less studied historical narratives written by English Cistercian monks between 1150 and 1220. Informed by recent historiographical studies, the author brings tools typical of literary criticism to shed light on the meaning, goals, and audience of the texts in question.

Freeman divides her book in four parts with a total of six chapters, and each part focuses on a specific historical narrative or type of narrative: Aelred of Rievaulx's *Relatio de Standardo* and *Genealogia regum Anglorum* (Part 1), the recording of history in English Cistercian monasteries of the twelfth century (Part 2), two works written at least in part by Hugh of Kirkstall (the *Fundacio abbathie de Kyrkestall*, and the *Narratio de fundatione Fontanis monasterii*) (Part 3), and finally on Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum* (Part 4). The four parts are tied together by a theoretical introduction, where Freeman introduces the themes and goals of her inquiry, even though the different parts had been originally conceived as relatively independent entities (p. 15).

Freeman's emphasis on aspects such as audience reception and manuscript dissemination allows her to take a fresh look at some familiar texts. If, for example, Aelred's *Relatio de Standardo* seems little more than a traditional description of a single medieval battle, a close reading of the text shows his interest in creating a national identity and the role of the monastic foundations in it. Aelred's success in this goal is paradoxically witnessed by the limited dissemination of the work, read and copied only in the monasteries of northern England. In chapter 2 (Part 1), Freeman enters into a dialogue with Benedict Anderson's ideas on nationalism and community, but also concentrates on the intended audience for the *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, showing it to be a manual for a king who in himself would represent a strongly male-gendered nation.

After a clear and useful survey of historical writings in medieval England in Part 2, the author investigates in Part 3 the goals of Hugh of Kirkestall's histories from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and especially the presence of the description of the negative and difficult moments of the early story of the monasteries. Freeman convincingly explains the writing of these histories in terms of the creation of the tradition of the Cistercian order. In this context, the pitfalls of the early history of the monastery simply help to confirm the trend toward a resolution of internal conflicts. Also of particular interest is the discussion in chapter 5 (Part 3) of the use of short narrative texts, or *exempla*, in Hugh's *Narracio*. Cistercian *exempla* are a different brand from the later, thirteenth-century exempla used by friars in their preaching, and Freeman argues persuasively that Hugh's use of those short narratives in his *Narracio* was meant "to speak to individual monks" (p. 165).

The final chapter (Part 4), with the captivating title of "Meanings in the Borders," is devoted to Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*, and in particular to the way Ralph created his work, what she calls how "the *process* of narrativization occurs," and not on the work as a finished, polished piece of work (p. 177). In particular, Freeman concentrates on the insertion of fictional and wonder tales into the historical narrative, stressing how, if they do not conform to our modern view of how history should be written, they place Ralph squarely in the tradition of medieval Cistercian writing. The wonder and miracle stories would complement the historical narrative with useful moral teachings, but also show the conviction that "a history would never gain readers if it was not interesting to read at its most basic level—the literal" (p. 207).

Freeman's book is not only a clear and penetrating analysis of the role of historical writing in the creation of the identity of the idea of the nation and of the ideals of community inside the Cistercian order, but it is also full of stimulating analysis and will be read fruitfully by all interested in historiography, church history, and narratology.

Middlebury College STEFANO MULA

The Franciscans in the Middle Ages. By Michael Robson. [Monastic Orders.] (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 239. $47.95.)

Author of a favorably reviewed book on Saint Francis, Michael Robson here attacks the larger subject of the Franciscans in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. He brings to the task an impressive command of the primary and secondary sources. The book is brimming with data, all of it relevant to the story of how the order developed as well as how it affected and was affected by medieval society as a whole. Robson traces his topic over a long period and throughout western Europe as well as in the east. (The second and third orders play a relatively minor role in his story, however.)

If Robson is generous with data, he is less so with analysis. For example, he devotes a chapter to Bonaventure and in the process summarizes a number of his works. He includes a three-page summary of the *Legenda maior* but makes no serious attempt to describe how it resembles or differs from earlier writings on the saint and what those differences suggest. Robson comments that "historians now shy away from the concept that he was the second founder of the order" but does not explain why they ever thought of Bonaventure as such or why that view is now questioned.

Again, Robson gives a five-page summary of Angelo Clareno's chronicle, which he describes as providing "a solid foundation for the historical development of the reform movement among the friars." He qualifies this judgment by citing some of its more obvious errors, but the question of Angelo's reliability goes much deeper than that. Indeed, it is arguable that throughout the chronicle, Angelo is artfully bending the facts to turn Franciscan history into a rather simplistic morality play.

Again, Robson devotes substantial attention to the Observants, and that is all to the good; but how, precisely, did their goals compare with those pursued by earlier reformers like Angelo Clareno, Ubertino da Casale, and Olivi? The point here is that Franciscan history is not simply the story of lax elements in the order diverging from a generally static view of what Franciscan life entailed, while reformers sought to bring the order back into conformity with that view. On the contrary, even the greatest of reformers—indeed, even contemporaries like Angelo, Ubertino, and Olivi—differed in their sense of what Franciscans should be doing. Reform was their goal, but they meant different things by it, and the same could be said of the Observants. Franciscan history was characterized by a continuing debate as to what fidelity to the Franciscan ideal really involved, a debate influenced not only by individual participants' reading of Francis' original intention but also by their sense of how that intention should be weighed against changing circumstances. The debate was not only among those we normally label "reformers," like the spirituals and later the Observants. Others whom we too easily categorize as "the community" or "the conventuals" also had varying positions to defend, and they too need to be heard.

Asking Robson to address these matters in addition to doing what he does so well is probably asking more than one should expect of any human being, but I would certainly like to know what he has to say.

Virginia Tech (Emeritus) DAVID BURR

The Privilege of Poverty: Clare of Assisi, Agnes of Prague, and the Struggle for a Franciscan Rule for Women. By Joan Mueller. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 182. $40.00.)

With Clare of Assisi, it is practically obligatory to identify her as the first woman to write a monastic rule for other women. This achievement, the

culmination of a decades-long battle with the papal curia to secure the right for a female monastic community to live without endowments, is Joan Mueller's subject. As a Franciscan herself, Mueller writes sensitively about what it meant for these women to choose radical poverty following the model of the Poor Christ. For historians, her main contribution is that of bringing Clare together with the Bohemian princess, Agnes of Prague, to show how some women could negotiate effectively with the papacy to define how their institutions developed.

When Francis of Assisi died in 1226, Clare realized that her community at San Damiano needed ecclesiastical recognition of their commitment to radical poverty. However, papal efforts to monasticize San Damiano and like-minded communities with endowments provoked a crisis. Mueller characterizes Pope Gregory IX as moving from sympathetic regard for the sisters' evangelical vocation, to an adversarial role in which the commitment to radical poverty became "mere rhetoric" (p. 36) and "pious flourishes" (p. 48). Apparent victories, such as the *Privilege of Poverty* granted to San Damiano in 1228 (and a few other houses at later times), were rather temporary compromises offered in the hope that the women eventually would accept possessions. By 1230, Clare and the pope were at "loggerheads," and Mueller asserts rather dramatically that "her soul, her identity, and the quality of the monastery were at stake" (pp. 51-52).

Enter Agnes of Prague, whom Mueller casts as Clare's collaborator and "soul mate." These chapters, drawing on her earlier studies, represent the book's most original contribution. The women and their allies used diplomacy to achieve their goals, while invoking spiritual authorities for their commitment to evangelical poverty. Agnes also secured exemptions that allowed her community to live without possessions, but the papacy remained determined to secure their welfare. In 1247 Pope Innocent IV issued a new rule designed to unify standards within female Franciscan communities. It required endowments, a situation that was not unwelcome to many houses. This constitution provoked Clare to compose her rule, which Innocent approved on her deathbed in 1253. Mueller identifies its historical significance in recognizing radical poverty as a legitimate, but exceptional, vocational choice for women. Only a few other houses beyond San Damiano requested and were allowed to adopt it. Mueller suggests that the rule, combined with the lived experiences of both Clare and Agnes, further indicates that some Franciscan women saw radical poverty as a spiritual ideal with a social dimension. In response to Kenneth Baxter Wolf's claim that Francis' conversion hurt the medieval poor, she argues that these Franciscan women valued their commitment to being "poor among the poor" (p. 106).

Shortly before her death, Clare wrote a final letter to Agnes of Prague which Mueller reads as a practical guide for Agnes to protect and promote apostolic poverty (pp. 118-121). This idea is intriguing, but also problematic in the broader context of understanding Clare's role in the nascent female Franciscan

Order. Throughout the book, Mueller casts her as a leader of a movement for apostolic poverty. Recent scholarship carefully distinguishes between the pious identification of Clare as an active founder and her more limited influence revealed in thirteenth-century documents. Mueller remains somewhat vague about how she understands Clare's involvement in the broader female penitential movement and whether communities founded in poverty are meant to be connected to her, rather than papal efforts to regularize female religious life. The connection with Agnes of Prague offers an example of Clare's influence; however, there were other contemporary models of female Franciscanism, such as those advocated by Douceline of Digne or Isabelle of France (another worthy diplomat, as Sean Field has shown), which she does not address. By focusing on Clare and Agnes' negotiations with the papacy, Mueller also does not discuss the significant role played by certain friars in developing and promoting the spiritual authority of Clare of Assisi, a topic that is the focus of recent debate among European scholars of the medieval Franciscan Order. Mueller has laid out an important part of the story, but there are other pieces that complicate this story and deserve to become better known to Anglophone readers.

Marquette University LEZLIE KNOX

Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century. By Sean L. Field. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 288. $35.00 paperback.)

Isabelle of France (d. 1270), daughter of Louis VIII and Blanche of Castille, sister of Louis IX, devoted virgin of Christ, founder of the Franciscan female convent of Longchamp, pious, ascetic, and princess, was never formally canonized. This, despite the fact that she fit the ideal of pious royal women in the thirteenth century so often sainted (in a pattern of late medieval sanctification now clarified by Gábor Klaniczay), and despite an early and co-ordinated effort, including the writing of an important vita and the backing of her brother, the indomitable Charles of Anjou. Successful canonizations might founder on a myriad of institutional, political, or devotional rocks, but in this case must largely be attributed to Louis IX's own canonization in 1297, overshadowing his sister's fame and filling whatever appetite existed for a Capetian royal saint. In recent years, Sean L. Field has recovered Isabelle. First, in his edited edition of Agnes of Harcourt's Life of Isabelle of France, written in the 1280's (Sean L. Field, *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt: The Life of Isabelle of France and the Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp* [Notre Dame, Indiana, 2003]), and now in his new biography of Isabelle herself (under review here), Field has explored Isabelle's career. As he indicates in his introduction (pp. 5-8), the life of Isabelle of France relates to three central themes in late medieval history—the power of women, sanctity and sanctification, and the development of female Franciscan spirituality and institutions. It is also a fascinating exploration of an extraordinary woman—from her rejection

of the putative heir to the imperial throne (Conrad, son of Frederick II), to her commitment to lifelong virginity, to her deft negotiations with popes and kings, to her ability to quietly translate her moral authority as a consecrated virgin into political influence, to the veneration shown her after her death. Field argues that in the 1250's Isabelle was seen as a budding saint whose fame and renown was spreading beyond the court, who was recognized as such by contemporaries like Pope Alexander IV and Thomas of Cantimpré, and who was able to translate this reputation into effective power. The dual attributes of virginity and royalty were the defining features of Isabelle's identity for contemporaries.

The book is structured chronologically. The first chapter examines Isabelle's childhood and negotiations for a political marriage. Her refusal to marry, and a subsequent illness, led to a vow of virginity which shaped her vocation and her life. Chapter two chronicles her cultivation of an independent (virginal) identity within the politics of the court, and her attraction, in the 1240's and '50's, to the Franciscan Order. Chapters three and four discuss her foundation of Longchamp, and, in Field's words, the "process by which she parlayed her royal status and religious renown into a role as co-author of a new form of life for Franciscan women" (p. 61). It is notable that Isabelle chose to found a Franciscan convent, rather than the hospital for the poor that she first considered (and in which she would have emulated existing models of female royal sanctity found in Agnes of Prague and Elizabeth of Hungary). Field traces the driving role Isabelle played in the composition of a rule in 1259, and then a revised rule of 1263 in which she won the right to call her nuns *Sorores Minores.* Field argues that although politicized considerations downplayed explicit record of Isabelle's contributions, her hand and her influence are evident, as with, for example, a move to strengthen the abbess's institutional power. The rule was subsequently adopted by Franciscan convents in France, England, and Italy, making Isabelle central to the early history of female Franciscan institutions and ideology. Chapter five, drawing on the evidence of the hagiographical life written by Agnes of Harcourt, deals with the abbey itself, Isabelle's life there, and the way in which she straddled life "between court and cloister." Field puts to bed the question of whether Isabelle ever took the veil (the answer is no). The final chapter discusses contemporary belief in her sanctity, efforts to prepare a canonization dossier for her, and the relationship between the developing cults of Isabelle and her brother, Saint Louis, in these same years. Here, Field also sketches out the later history of the cult, which was eclipsed in the later fourteenth century only to be revived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A short conclusion summarizes his major findings.

The result is an exploration of the development of Franciscan ideology and identity in the middle thirteenth century and a nuanced perspective on the culture and religiosity of the Capetian court. The audience for this book will range from those interested in medieval women, to those who work on saints and sanctity, the Capetians, or Franciscan institutional history and spirituality.

What is extraordinary is that Isabelle has not before received the attention Field shows she so clearly deserves. And we are fortunate that Field, with his careful and discerning eye, has focused his attention on her.

Dartmouth College M. C. GAPOSCHKIN

Women, Men and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators. By John W. Coakley. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 354. $45.00.)

Ever since medievalists rediscovered holy women a generation ago, the men who chronicled them have occupied a peculiar niche. In the idealizing mirrors of saints' lives, we glimpse not only female ascetics and mystics, but also the clerics whose fascination with them enables our own. As feminist historians in the 1980's and '90's debated the extent of women's agency, two sharply differing images of such hagiographers emerged. Portrayed by some as humble, self-effacing conduits to charismatic women, they were seen by others more as barriers—men bent on delimiting women's access to authority and, by extension, our own access to women's voices. In a series of influential articles from the 1990's, John Coakley struck a welcome balance, weighing the specific desires, anxieties, and goals that governed friars' involvement with religious women and their promotion of saint cults. The present, long-awaited book is the culmination of that project.

Building on the work of Caroline Bynum, Dyan Elliott, and Catherine Mooney, Coakley argues that high-medieval clerics perceived a complementarity between their own priestly, institutional authority and the unofficial but compelling powers of holy women. The female mystic's raptures, revelations, and ascetic feats betokened a direct access to God that priests admired and envied, while at the same time fearing potential delusion and abuse. Thus at the center of every *vita* stands a triangle comprised of Christ, a priest-confessor, and a charismatic woman. Coakley focuses unapologetically on the priest's role, asking how each perceived his relationship with the woman and her own relationship with Christ. His nine case studies begin in the mid-twelfth century with Ekbert of Schönau and his sister Elisabeth, and end in the late fourteenth with John Marienwerder and Dorothy of Montau. All the accounts ring changes on a now-familiar theme of spiritual partnership, sparked by awe yet tinged with caution.

Coakley's great merit is that he has no axe to grind, no grand theory to prove, so he is free to explore the subtleties of each case. As a result, we see not abstractions or caricatures, but the complex interplay of personalities in their concrete worlds. Despite commonalities, all the women and their hagiographers emerge as distinct individuals. At times we can even surmise the shared traits that brought two people together in collaborations lasting sometimes a year or two, sometimes decades. On one end of the spectrum we find

Raymond of Capua and Catherine of Siena, two enormously forceful, confident personalities. Coakley stresses the polemical edge in Raymond's *vita*: knowing that he needed to defend Catherine the political activist against her critics, Raymond deliberately emphasized Catherine the mystic, creating a larger-than-life portrait that would set hagiographic standards for centuries. At the opposite pole, Coakley introduces another Dominican, Peter of Dacia, who longed for a holy woman so desperately that he all but invented one. Left unfulfilled by his scholastic training, Peter's soul caught fire only when he met the beguine Christine of Stommeln. In a series of hagiographic texts, Peter insisted on representing Christine as a bridal mystic, though the experiences she reported herself tell a different story. When we read of the joy Peter felt on seeing Christine pelted with excrement flung by invisible demons, we can sense the intensity, if not the precise nature, of their psychological bond.

As the capstone of a well-established scholarly edifice and a spur to further research, Coakley's elegant study belongs in every medievalist's library.

Northwestern University BARBARA NEWMAN

The Medieval Court of Arches. Edited by F. Donald Logan. [The Canterbury and York Society, Volume 95.] (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xlviii, 240. $49.95.)

The metropolitan appellate court of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Court of Arches (or the Arches, for short) that met in St. Mary le Bow church in central London, was the most important medieval English ecclesiastical tribunal. Logan's study of the court ranges from its creation sometime in the mid-thirteenth century until the early sixteenth century, when Henrician statutes prohibited legal recourse in ecclesiastical matters from England to the pope.

The volume contains an excellent lengthy introductory essay, wherein Logan not only offers a summary history of the Arches, but also provides an analysis of the court's structure, personnel, administrative routine, and trial procedures. He has collected and carefully edited an impressive range of Latin documents, which he has grouped in three sections after his introduction: archiepiscopal statutes concerning the Arches, the customs of the court, and procedural treatises designed for practitioners in this tribunal. Two further sections follow the edited texts. One lists the names, ordered chronologically and by office, of several hundred court personnel (*officiales Cantuariensis*, deans of the Arches, examiners general, registrars, scribes of the acts, apparitors, proctors, and advocates). The other briefly describes the court's calendar of sessions.

While the existence of the Court of Arches dates at least from 1251, Logan suggests that disputes concerning appeals could have spurred Archbishop Boniface of Savoy after his 1245 consecration to establish a provincial appel-

late tribunal fixed at St. Mary le Bow. By the end of the century the Court of Arches had presiding officers (the archbishop's *officialis* and the latter's commissary-general, the dean of the Arches) as well as a professional—and probably already closed—group of sworn practitioners, namely, the advocates and proctors who functioned roughly in the same manner as modern barristers and solicitors. Several archbishops had already issued statutes; the customs of the court had been redacted in written form, and several procedural treatises had been composed.

During this early period the Arches heard three kinds of cases: appeals from diocesan courts, direct complaints, and so-called tuitorial appeals, whereby a litigant appealed the main issue in dispute directly to the pope, while requesting protection (or tuition) from the archbishop in the interim. The second and third kinds of cases periodically caused friction between the archbishop and his suffragans. In the early 1280's the latter charged that direct complaints to the Arches bypassed their own diocesan courts, and that the appellate court's summary procedure of granting tuition permitted frivolous appeals. Arbitration settled this conflict in 1282; apart from intermittent disputes, Canterbury archbishops and suffragans managed to co-operate in the smooth functioning of the court.

Direct appeals to the Arches could be made from a diocesan court's sentence, and by a grievance or expected grievance regarding the lower court's proceedings. Direct appeals could also result from a complaint regarding an actual or expected administrative act. Tuitorial appeals were possible at any time, and procedure for such was summary and could be completed within several days. During these proceedings the parties could even agree to have the main issue determined definitively in the Arches, in effect bypassing the bishop's court. In direct appeals the procedure was more complex and protracted.

The first section of Logan's edited texts contains archiepiscopal statutes concerning the court, most of which can be found in the official court copy, the Black Book of the Arches. Logan presents not only Winchelsey's (1295) and Stratford's (1342) general sets, but also ten other individual statutes from 1273 to1423 dealing with single subjects. The general sets and individual statutes legislated all manner of procedural detail, regulation of personnel, and court authority. Five other statutes edited by Logan are not found in the Black Book, but elsewhere; they range from 1280 to1528, and also concern individual subjects. In the second section of texts Logan presents the *Consuetudines curie de arcubus*, the written customs of the court that complement the statutes and were of equal juridical value to them. Here court procedure provides the main focus. The longer and earlier version was composed early 1280's x 1295, while the shorter and later version was written 1342 x 1371.

Five procedural treatises make up the final section of texts. The existence of these tracts indicates that some form of legal instruction at the Arches probably occurred as early as the 1290's. Logan avers that this material provides

perhaps the richest body of procedural literature of any medieval provincial court of Western Europe. One tract (*Modus procedendi in tuitoriis negociis*) offers a guide to correct forms of action, while a second (*Iste est modus prosequendi causas in curia Cantuariensi*) provides for lawyers a practical guide on how to proceed in the Arches. A third treatise (*Hic calumpniatur processus curie Cantuariensis*) concerns calumnies in the narrow sense, i.e., unjust, unfair, inappropriate court practices. The fourth and fifth works are academic handbooks for advocates. While *Quia cause ad curiam Cantuariensem* is straightforward, the *Tractatus super appellacionibus tam directis quam tuitoriis secundum consuetudinem curie Cantuariensis* presents the longest and most developed procedural treatise on the court. Composed in stages by several authors, this last-named treatise evidences no principle of organization after a short initial summary section.

This volume is now the indispensable starting point for all future discussion, research, and translation of texts regarding the Court of Arches.

Lander University ROBERT C. FIGUEIRA

Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages. By Amnon Linder. [Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Volume 2.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2003. Pp. xx, 423. $113.00, €90,00.)

In the renaissance that is now crusade studies, scholars have increasingly turned their attention to the wider implications and expressions of the movement. Once relegated to the periphery of medieval history, new studies have demonstrated that the crusades existed at its very core, animating events and dynamics across Europe. Modern studies no longer view the crusades as mere military campaigns, but as intensely religious activities incomprehensible outside of religious history. The crusades were the barometer of Europe's soul. For medieval Christians, success in the crusades meant spiritual health and the favor of God. Defeat, which was the norm, was clear evidence of a sickness in Christendom and general divine disfavor. That is why "home front" crusade activities, such as prayers, processions, and fasts were seen as integral to success as the mustering of troops and the fighting of wars.

It is all the more surprising then, that virtually no scholarly attention has been paid to the ways in which medieval Christians sought to win victories abroad through prayers at home. In that respect, this book is the first spade full of dirt in what promises to be a large and fascinating excavation. It is the first study to gather together and examine crusade-related prayers within medieval liturgy. Specifically, Linder looks at five kinds of liturgical prayers: the Holy Land Clamor, a genre of prayer that appears after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 that was usually injected into the Mass or the Office; the Holy Land Mass, identified by distinctive prayers in the Collect, Secret, and Postcommunion; the

dedicated war Mass, which weaves together the triple prayers along with additional supplications and appropriate Scriptural readings; the Gregorian Trental, a series of Masses—usually thirty as the name suggests—for the deliverance of Christians or Christian lands held in bondage or (as was much more often the case) the deliverance of souls from Purgatory; and the Holy Land bidding prayers, which were vernacular petitions read at Mass.

Perhaps it is due to the ground-breaking nature of this book, but the organization is unlike anything I have encountered before. Historical narrative is woven together with meticulous textual analysis, detailed charts, and extensive manuscript catalogs. It is almost a reference work, not so much to be read as to be mined. Nevertheless, in so doing the reader would miss some of Linder's important insights which are sandwiched between ponderous discussions of textual evolution. For example, when one reads of the entire population of Rome taking part in a religious procession as a symbolic crusade in 1212 (p. 10) one cannot help but be struck at the awareness and anxiety at all levels of Christian society with regard to the success of the crusades. A review this brief cannot begin to describe the sophisticated level of textual and source analysis which Linder undertakes.

My only criticism of this remarkable work of scholarship regards the larger implications that Linder seeks to draw. At the outset he contends that the liturgy and rites were "effective channels of information and propaganda for the knowledge they imparted was perceived by the faithful as authoritative. . . . Rites, furthermore, addressed the entire community as well as each individual. . ." (p. xv). At the book's conclusion he returns to this theme, noting that "one faces the question of effectiveness: how successful was this liturgy in implanting its values and aims on late medieval society?" (p. 364). While it is certainly true that bidding prayers, which claim the smallest portion of this study, were a means of communicating to the faithful, could Mass or Office prayers often said quietly or silently and always in Latin have really acted as a means of "information and propaganda"? Linder thinks so, arguing that most people would get the "gist" of these prayers. Yet he ultimately closes the question (and the book) by declaring it "beyond the scope of the present study" (pp. 365-366). Surely, though, the people who crafted these rites and those who performed them would have measured their effectiveness not in modern terms of communicating to people, but in medieval terms of communicating with God. Like carved sculptures on the roof of a medieval church, the audience of these liturgies was Heaven, not Earth. If the prayers were answered with victory, then the liturgy, like the faraway crusade, was effective.

Saint Louis University THOMAS F. MADDEN

Theology, Rhetoric, Manuduction, or Reading Scripture Together on the Path to God. By Peter M. Candler, Jr. [Radical Traditions: Theology in a Postcritical Key.] (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2006. Pp. xii, 190. $26.00 paperback.)

Do not be put off by the unfortunate title of this thought-provoking book. Candler's aim is to reorient theology by recovering the medieval practice of reading. Unlike post-Reformation, post-print, post-Cartesian reading, understood as a transfer of data from the page to the reader, medieval reading leads the reader by the hand (hence, "*manuductio*") along an itinerary toward the wisdom that is the Son of God (p. 48), a journey that repeats the *exitus / reditus* pattern of Scripture. This practice of reading is learned in liturgy, where the Book of Scripture is carried in procession into the congregation, so that the people draw near to it. Likewise, the readings pass from Old Testament to Psalm to Epistle to New Testament, drawing toward the center and aim, Jesus. Theology nurtured on such reading does not aim to produce systematic, complete, closed, encyclopedic structures of propositions but rather participates in the ongoing community of interpretation that is the church (p. 125). Past masters are engaged in a continuing conversation that leads along an itinerary to knowledge of God that is not cognitive, but moral, an apprenticeship in divine love (p. 124).

Candler terms this practice of reading a "grammar of participation" (in contrast to a modern "grammar of representation"), and he analyzes its operation chiefly in Augustine's *Confessions*, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and Thomas' *Summa Theologiae*. Augustine reorients rhetoric from persuasion to conversion, centering reading and preaching Scripture on memory (not recollection of the past but remembrance, keeping in mind, as when we speak of "remembering where you came from"). Memorial reading leads to the right relation to God, *caritas*, joining the individual to the Church's peregrination through the world back to God.

The *Glossa*, he argues, is misread if seen as bringing the biblical text into relation with the text of commentary. Rather, Scripture echoes in memory as heard in liturgy. In the pages of the *Glossa*, the voice of Scripture gathers voices that respond to it, forming an icon of the indivisibility of Scripture and tradition while keeping them distinct (p. 82). Tradition here is no deposit of knowledge but an activity, the ongoing interpretive conversation that is the life of the Church. By contrast, the Reformation principle of *sola scriptura* silenced this conversation, clearing Scripture's margins of exegetical accretions and loosing the text directly on the reader (p. 75), isolated from the body of the Church.

Thomas' *Summa* resituates moral teaching within a theological itinerary of the soul's return to God (p. 91). *Sacra doctrina* aims not at irrefutable arguments but at a contemplative way of life (p. 135). The reduction of the *Summa* to an encyclopedic tabula of propositions distorts its real nature as a dialecti-

cal narrative that brings together the continuing community of interpretive voices so as to manifest truth more clearly (p. 106). Candler rejects Derrida's claim that "the book" is totalizing (applied by Jesse Gellrich to the medieval book). Such a view of the book is a product of printing and the Reformation. The Council of Trent unfortunately modeled tradition on this reification of the book, turning it into a "container" of truth, a second book "alongside" the Gospel, itself a thing to be interpreted instead of being the continuing practice of interpretation.

Candler writes eloquent pages describing liturgy as "a peripatetic passage through the great halls and storehouses of the church's memory, along whose way are placed the *imagines* which recall the story of the church as the tale of God's love for his people" (pp. 155-156). The supporting evidence is strained or speculative, but the general idea seems persuasive.

Candler's book is a dissertation revised for publication; it is an acorn that falls not far from the tree of radical orthodoxy and appears appropriately in the series Radical Traditions edited by Stanley Hauerwas and Peter Ochs. The contrast of a medieval "grammar of participation" and a Reformation and modern "grammar of representation" has about as much truth as usual in such broad generalizations. The invention of printing with related changes in reading practice is too narrow as the ground of so massive a cultural shift. While Candler's main aim is a polemical theological intervention, the book is nevertheless rich in suggestive insights and analyses that historically-minded readers may find fruitfully thought-provoking.

Pepperdine University DONALD G. MARSHALL

Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200. Edited by Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein. [Studies in the Early Middle Ages, Vol. 8.] (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 2006. Pp. xxii, 362. €60.00.)

The editors of this volume, urging that monastic schools remained important between 1000 and 1200 despite historians' focus on cathedral schools and nascent universities, assert that its contents collectively correct that imbalance. Given the essayists' limited attention to monastic libraries, biblical exegesis, chronicles, and music theory and praxis; their omission of monastic theology, art patronage, and female education; and the fact that they treat thinkers and schools not affiliated with monasticism almost as much as those that were, the collection itself is unbalanced. Readers are thus advised to ignore the editors' introductory claims and simply to welcome the book's contributions to medieval intellectual history, some quite original.

Contributors vary on whether "education" means schooling *stricto sensu*, the generic objectives of writers of didactic or prescriptive literature, or affective commitment to shared cultural values. The latter notion informs Mia

Münster-Swenson's essay on bonds between teachers and students ca. 970-1200, some familiar and others less so, unique here in citing German materials. Elsewhere in this book, "northern Europe" means England and France north of the Loire. The editors each reprise their own earlier publications, Vaughan discussing Lanfranc and Anselm as teachers and Rubenstein Guibert of Nogent on the Anglo-Normans. Michael E. Moore and Jason K. Glenn treat authors, especially historians, from the school of Reims, between ca. 800 and 950 and the tenth century, respectively, accenting their site-specific interests. Priscilla D. Watkins' essay on Lanfranc as a teacher at Saint-Etienne, Caen, actually documents his administration as its first abbot. Bruce C. Brasington, observing that we know nothing for sure on where Ivo of Chartres gained his legal education, then pinpoints Ivo's key traits as a canonist. The freshest contributions are those of William C. North on Richard of Préaux as a biblical exegete (with seven appendices printing prefaces to Richard's works), John S. Ott on hagiographers' portrayal of bishops in twelfth-century Soissons, and John L. Snyder on Theinrad of Dover's music theory. These three papers draw substantially and creatively on unpublished manuscripts. And, working with well-known texts, John D. Cotts offers a revisionistic and convincing rereading of Peter of Celle's educational advice to John of Salisbury.

The editors include some thirty illustrations of art objects or texts connected more or less to the essays. Oddly, rather than using current photographs, they reprint nineteenth-century drawings of most of them. Also included is a map of dubious value since it does not locate most of the centers associated with the figures and institutions which this volume treats.

Yale University MARCIA L. COLISH

Peter Lombard. By Philipp W. Rosemann. [Great Medieval Thinkers.] (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 272. Paperback.)

With this volume, Philipp Rosemann has produced a very readable introduction to Peter Lombard, master of theology and then Bishop of Paris (d. 1160), and his *Four Books of Sentences*, a work that became the central textbook of Christian theology for several centuries. He argues perceptively and persuasively that the genius of the Lombard's work lay in its method, its organization, its completeness, and in its humility in addressing the mysteries of the faith.

Rosemann opens with a brief overview of the development of Christian thought, starting from the story presented in Scripture to the canonical and philosophical elaborations of it at the beginning of the twelfth century. He then turns to the Lombard himself, providing a comprehensive account of Peter's biography, together with a description of his works apart from the *Sentences*, notably his glosses on the Psalms and the Letters of St. Paul.

As Rosemann approaches the main focus of his book, he addresses briefly the date of the composition of the *Sentences* (1154/1158), the Lombard's

sources (largely Augustine in all his works), the structure of the work (a more "rationalized" order than that of Hugh of St. Victor's *De Sacramentis*, and a more biblically "narrative" order than that found in the works of Peter Abelard), and the method of reconciling authorities that so predominates medieval (as well as modern, one might add) academic theology. With this prolegomenon, he plunges into a consideration of the contents of the *Sentences*. Book 1 treats of God, the Trinity of persons and the unity of essence. Book 2 addresses Creation: angels, the "six days," the creation of man and woman, the Fall, and Sin both original and actual. Book 3 is given over to a consideration of the Incarnation: how the Son of God could "be made flesh," the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, and Christ's saving work, including the virtues of his human nature. Book 4 discusses the Sacraments (the seven that became fixed: Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Unction, Ordination, and Marriage) and Last Things, namely, the Resurrection and Last Judgment. Rosemann gives lucid descriptions of Peter's text, making it come alive through the glimpses we get of his classroom teaching from his students, exposing the dynamism of the debate that did not always produce an unambiguous resolution, and highlighting the Lombard's essentially conservative approach, with respect both to doctrine and to contemporary innovations in philosophical methods.

As he proceeds through the *Sentences*, Rosemann touches on a few controversial issues: in Book 1, the Lombard's conclusion that "the human love of God and neighbor is nothing other than the unmediated presence of the Holy Spirit in the human soul" (p. 87)—a position that could claim strong, conservative, Augustinian support—was already being debated as theological anthropology came to be informed by a more positive assessment of human capacities, and was eventually rejected by later scholastic tradition. As he recounts the Lombard's Christology in Book 3, he discusses the charge of Christological Nihilianism, that Christ *qua* human person was not a something (*aliquid*)—a charge leveled against Peter after his death (though, as Rosemann notes, it is not clear that Peter held a firm opinion on the matter).

Peter's discussion of penance in Book 4, a controversial topic in his own day, leads to further controversy in Rosemann's treatment: was a sinner's contrition sufficient for the sacrament and were confession and satisfaction unnecessary? Rosemann says "no" against Marcia Colish's "yes" (pp. 163-165). As a matter of fact, throughout his discussion of the *Sentences*, Rosemann carries on a running dialogue with Colish (*Peter Lombard*, 1994), generally approving of her work, but sometimes rather critical, as here. The criticism is largely prompted by what he calls her "overinterpreting," that is, her tendency to read the Lombard through the lens of Aristotelian thought. In his discussion of Book 1, he critiques her analysis of the Lombard's "ways" to God as proofs derived from a framework of Aristotelian causality (p. 75), and takes her to task for trying to square Peter's words about the Holy Spirit's unmediated presence in the human soul with an Aristotelian view of created human virtues (p. 88).

But his dispute with her over the Lombard's position on penance reverses the poles: he wants to claim for Peter a position that gives equal weight to priestly sacramentality, a consensus view which was only satisfactorily elaborated with the help of Aristotelian notions of causality in the thirteenth century.

Nonetheless, Rosemann strives in his presentation to keep as close as possible to the language of the Lombard—an important achievement when dealing with an author who himself went to great pains to be precise in his terminology—without overanalyzing the Lombard's motives or speculating about the impact of his teaching on the broader ecclesiastical dynamics of the twelfth century. In all, Rosemann's *Peter Lombard* is a book that will reward the reader not only with a lively, entertaining and informative read, but also a good basic grasp of the content and character of the *chef d'œuvre* of one of the leading thinkers of the medieval Church.

San Francisco MARK ZIER

The Dominicans and the Pope: Papal Teaching Authority in the Medieval and Early Modern Thomist Tradition. By Ulrich Horst, O.P. Translated by James D. Mixson. [The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies, 2002.] (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 132. $28.00 paperback.)

For many years Ulrich Horst has published enlightening studies of historical ecclesiology. We are fortunate that he delivered the 2002 Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies at the University of Notre Dame and that they have been published in English. Like all public lectures, these are brief, depending on cross references and annotations to address related topics and add depth. In this case, Professor Horst has focused on Dominican viewpoints on papal teaching authority. Related topics like the struggle over papal privileges permitting friars to hear confessions must be pursued elsewhere. One topic necessarily covered, however, is the place of the Franciscans in late medieval controversies about papal power. The first lecture focuses on Thomas Aquinas; the second, on medieval Thomists from Herveus Natalis to Cajetan; the third, on the School of Salamanca.

The discussion of Thomas Aquinas is the more interesting for highlighting less-studied works. Thomas began writing on papal power when combatting the secular masters of Paris who resisted the coming of the friars. His teachings are compared with those of Bonaventure, including attitudes toward the founders of their orders. Thomas made little of Dominic, while Bonaventure made Francis of Assisi into an *alter Christus* whose example of absolute poverty was crucial to the Church. Thomas is shown as having several ideas about papal power in doctrinal matters. The most novel is concerned with canonization, an area in which the pope might be argued to have divine guidance preventing error. This would reassure the faithful that they were invoking men and women who indeed were enrolled in heaven.

The discussion of medieval Thomists focuses on the generation that saw Pope John XXII canonize Thomas. John was engaged in a series of struggles with the Franciscans, both the Spirituals and the Conventuals. Dominicans supported the pope, but they offered only qualified teachings on papal power in matters of doctrine. Their teachings were more geared to the reliability of the Roman Church or the papal office than to that of the reigning Roman pontiff. Horst concludes this section with a carefully nuanced discussion of Juan de Torquemada's reply to conciliarism and a less satisfying discussion of Cajetan's controversy with the doctors of the University of Paris over the powers of pope and council. Horst rightly points to Cajetan's change in emphasis, assigning reliability to the individual pontiff, not just to the Roman see, but he fails to address that theologian's qualification, that the link of pope to office could be judged and even severed.

The School of Salamanca was most distinguished for the work of Francisco de Vitoria and his Thomist successors. Vitoria, who had studied in Paris, was more convinced of the reliability of a council than that of the pope in matters of doctrine. Domingo de Soto made similar arguments. With Melchior Cano the doctors of Salamanca began moving toward an emphasis upon the doctrinal reliability of the pope himself. Cano was responding not just to conciliarism but to the Reformation. The reliability of the pope, not just of the Roman see, triumphed in Salamanca eventually, but only after the Dominicans had ceased being the most significant theologians in Spain.

These lectures on the Dominican view of papal authority can be read with profit by anyone interested in historical ecclesiology. Note, however, that the medieval popes were not usually teachers of doctrine. The Dominicans expected Rome to resolve theological disputes, clarify the Creed and canonize saints, usually with learned advice. As Horst shows in connection with Melchior Cano, the Reformation evoked a different response from many in the order, one emphasizing the reigning pope, not a council or a university, as the inspired guardian of orthodoxy.

Johns Hopkins University THOMAS M. IZBICKI

Schule und Universität. Bildungsverhältnisse in norddeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters: Gesammelte Aufsätze. By Klaus Wriedt. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Volume 23.] (Leiden/Boston: Brill Academic Publishers. 2005. Pp. x, 267. $149.00; €110,00.)

Studieren an mittelalterlichen Universitäten. Chancen und Risiken. Gesammelte Aufsätze. By Jürgen Miethke. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Volume 19.] (Leiden/Boston: Brill NV. 2004. Pp. xiii, 517. $30.00.)

The history of education, of schools and universities in the Middle Ages, has been and still is in the focus of German-speaking historical research.

Nevertheless, questions and subjects depend on methodologial mainstreams, as, for instance, that initiated by Peter Moraw, viz. the constitutional history of universities as part of the development of territories and the beginning of the modern "state." Sociological studies (Rainer Stichweh) argued nearly in the same way but concentrated on the early modern period. Recent historical studies, published and initiated by Rainer C. Schwinges, are dealing with the social history of learned men, the regional and social background of students, and the possible careers of "academics" in contemporary society. Another mainstream changes the focus from the institutional or social history to the cultural history and from school and university to the interdisciplinary subject of a history of knowledge (*Wissensgesellschaft*), as does Johannes Fried. The changing of subjects causes a difference of terminology; history of schools *(Schulgeschichte, Bildungsgeschichte)* and even of universities (*Universitätsgeschichte*) in contrast to social history of learned people (*Sozialgeschichte der Gelehrten*), or the history of knowledge (*Wissensgeschichte*) may nowadays possibly be misunderstood as old-fashioned. If it is no longer necessary to prove that the institutional history of school and university is not at all uninteresting and can in contrast be seen as an actual basic condition for further interdisciplinary research, credit should be given to two German historians: Jürgen Miethke (professor emeritus of the University of Heidelberg) and Klaus Wriedt (professor emeritus of the University of Osnabrück). Together with other European historians such as Jacques Verger or Nicholas Orme and their American colleague William Courtenay, Miethke and Wriedt advanced current historical research on schools (Wriedt) and universites (Miethke). It therefore is highly important and useful to have a collection of the most important articles of these scholars collected in the widely known series "Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance." Both publications will no doubt help to keep the subjects of their study in discussion, as part of historical research as well as of general interest to the public.

Under the title "*Studieren an mittelalterlichen Universitäten*" sixteen articles of Jürgen Miethke are collected. He is known as one of the outstanding specialists on the history of political theory in the Middle Ages as well, but in this volume only his articles on the history of medieval universities are presented. In his introduction (pp. vii-xiii) the author provides some notes on the history of research on his subject, which he defines as social and real life within the institutions. Formal and juridical aspects and the organization of everyday life at universities, therefore, are in the focus, as well as the motivations and hopes of those who decided to start studying at a university. Miethke is careful not to underestimate the role and influence of the Church, whose controlling of the formal correctness of knowledge could lead to severe conflicts between research, academic liberty, and traditional order. Finally the communication at the universities and their contribution to communication in society, as for instance the spoken word as instrument of academic communication, is one of the most important subjects Miethke has brought into discussion.

The presentation of the sixteen articles reprinted here, first published between 1975 and 2001, follows the above cited topics: I. Foundation and constitution of universities (1-4), II. Life and career of students (5-8), III. Ecclesiastical control (9-13), IV. The University of Heidelberg (14-15), V. University and communication (16). Some of the most famous publications of Miethke can be met again ("Die Welt der Professoren und Studenten an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit," „Zur sozialen Situation der Naturphilosophie im späteren Mittelalter," „Die mittelalterlichen Universitäten und das gesprochene Wort") and others might be newly discovered by the readers. Actual research will no doubt derive great profit from his reprinted articles.

The necessary bibliographical information indicating where the articles reprinted here have been published first is given at page 493. A thorough index about persons, places, and most important topics (pp. 495-517) helps one to find individual items and once again proves the intellectual richness of the research of Jürgen Miethke.

The collection of eleven articles of Klaus Wriedt, first printed between 1975 and 2003, are entitled *Schule und Universität. Bildungsverhältnisse in norddeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters*. As the author explains in the introduction (pp. vii-ix), his publications on the history of schools, especially in late medieval northern German towns, and the academic studies of citizens are to be understood as a contribution to social history and prosopography in particular ("*Personenforschung*"). As a leading scholar in German medieval historical research, Wriedt had pointed out that indepedent schools in late medieval towns did not primarily follow the intention of a "civic knowledge," as had been claimed in older studies, but followed the juridical interest of urban independence against ecclesiastical dominance. In recent collaboration with Rainer C. Schwinges, Wriedt has edited the *Registrum baccalariorum* of the University of Erfurt. He has reprinted his articles into the following order: I. History of education and schooling in late medieval towns, concerning Latin as well as vernacular knowledge and including the testimonies of urban administration (articles 1-4), II. Studies of citizens at universities and their later career chances within contemporary society (articles 5-8), III. Institutional history of medieval universities and of their internal organization (articles 9-11). A short list of recent literature on these subjects and an index of persons, places, and (unfortunately only some) topics give additional information to the reader. The collection contains three of the best-known articles of Wriedt concerning the connection between urban civilization, university knowledge, and professional, learned administration ("Schulen und bürgerliches Bildungswesen in Norddeutschland im Spätmittelalter," „Bürgertum und Studium in Norddeutschland während des Spätmittelalters," and "Gelehrte in Gesellschaft, Kirche und Verwaltung norddeutscher Städte").

Universität Münster MARTIN KINTZINGER

Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570. By Eamon Duffy. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 202. $35.00.)

In his *History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, after discussing books designed for emperors, for missionaries, for aristocrats, for monks, and for students, Christopher de Hamel comes to books of hours, which he calls "books for everybody." Because of their abundance and their prettiness, as de Hamel observes, these books have always been loved by collectors and slightly sniffed at by scholars. In the twenty years since de Hamel published his magisterial work, books of hours have become, if possible, even more strongly a focus of interest—now, as tokens of cultural history from which we hope to recover the emotional and personal realities that the past is usually so successful in concealing from us.

This is of course the approach of Eamon Duffy's new work, which is intended for an educated general readership, and its lavish production values and elegant layout are splendidly attractive. It is most unusual to have so many color photographs (120) for such a modest price ($35). Duffy's interest is summed up in his description of books of hours: "unexpected windows into the hearts and souls of the men and women who long ago had used these books to pray" (preface).

Recently this humane focus has been complemented by a general realization that books of hours are economically interesting as well, since they give evidence of the development of a luxury-goods market considerably earlier than the seventeenth- or eighteenth-century date most historians would think likely. Duffy summarizes the work of others, including this reviewer, in order to provide some economic context, relying, for instance, on a market-based analysis of Francois Regnault's printed primers that distinguishes two primer lines—smaller, with more English, vs. larger, with more Latin. But it should be noted that because we have little information about the actual price for which these primers sold, the frequent use of terms like "mid-price" or "cheap" is an extrapolation from size and gives a rather misleading impression of certainty.

Case histories provide the opportunity to analyze the character of these inscriptions. In a chapter on the Roberts family's book, Duffy's thesis is that its added prayers are "in no sense otherworldly…done properly, they are guaranteed to work" (p. 96). Here he is aiming at the view of Colin Richmond, that books of hours may be connected to a "reclusive frame of mind" and perhaps were part of a trend toward privatization of religion. Both here and in the following chapter, whose title, "Sanctified Whingeing," [complaining] will be opaque to most American readers, Duffy engages with surprising energy the views of other scholars which are neither recent nor widely accepted. In "Whingeing," Jonathan Hughes's provocative description of medieval prayers as speaking in a vindictive voice comes under attack. For Duffy, the prayers in books of hours are pragmatic and often evidence of a communal connection.

Thus he reads Holbein's famous drawing of Thomas More's family, for instance, as illustrating their recitation together of the book of hours.

The complexity of religious belief after the Dissolution is strikingly illustrated in the author's work on primers of the 1540's, 1550's, and 1560's, whose annotations show that Catholics used Protestant books, Protestants used Catholic ones—and that well beyond the middle of the sixteenth century, everyone found in this form a satisfying vehicle for personal prayers and hopes.

Despite this volume's sophisticated visual appeal, the text itself is not delivered at such a high level of polish, or indeed of correctness. On pages 24-25 we read about the Wegge family, then subsequently "an Egge daughter...Egge obits." Capitalization practice is idiosyncratic: "the Monastic round. . ." (p. 5), "a Humanist household" (p. 58). Traditional copyediting is not much in evidence: "the principle Catholic prayer" (p. 9) and "the principle focus" (p. 104), while on page 157 we have "the shark pool of Henry's court" and four lines later, "the shark pool of the Tudor court." Importantly, the photographs make it apparent that the transcriptions are not always accurate. Some examples: on page 76, for instance, the inscription does not say "Space me" but "Spare me," and on page 117, the prayer should read "take . . . prosperyte mekely" not "merely."

Fordham University MARY C. ERLER

Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland. Edited by Rachel Moss, Colmán Ó Clabaigh, O.S.B., and Salvador Ryan. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 234. €55.00.)

The later Middle Ages in Ireland were described by the late Robin Flower as the "Franciscan centuries," a fitting comment given that there were over a hundred Franciscan houses in the country (far more than in England) and, as this book makes clear, popular devotion was to a large degree shaped by the teaching of the friars. This era of Irish art and religious history has attracted little attention from scholars outside the country, the visual culture of the time not infrequently dismissed as peripheral or debased. Even that doyen of Irish art, Francoise Henry, resorted to the word "brutal" (on no less than two occasions) when describing illuminations in one sixteenth-century manuscript. But despite a lack of artistic sophistication, surviving images have much to tell us about the nature of Irish spirituality, a key question being the extent to which devotional practice in Ireland followed that elsewhere.

This volume consists of ten essays by scholars drawn from a variety of disciplines—art history, archaeology, history, and conservation—the first time that such a multi-disciplinary approach has been adopted in the context of late Gothic Ireland. Most of the papers were presented at a conference held at Glenstal Abbey in September 2004 (the location no doubt explains the inclusion of the Catherine Yvard's study of the Glenstal Book of Hours, an

English manuscript that otherwise does not fit within the Irish theme). Although "late medieval" is never explicitly defined, it is clear that many of the authors accept that medieval practices flourished at least until the Great Rebellion in 1641, something that emerges clearly from the essay on Marian imagery by Clodagh Tait.

The volume opens with an outstanding contribution from Salvador Ryan, who examines a private "book of piety" commissioned in 1513 by a Gaelic noblewoman, Máire Ni Mháille. Máire's devotions offer a remarkable glimpse of the nature of "popular" religious practice, and Ryan's essay should be required reading for anyone seeking to understand the sculpture of the time. This chapter provides a fitting prelude to the essay by Rachel Moss, who examines the contexts of stone carving and the ways in which sculpture functioned in an ecclesiastical setting. The third editor, Colmán Ó Clabaigh, uses his unrivaled knowledge of the documentary evidence to provide a masterly account of the Irish cult of St. Francis. Other essays are less analytical, providing instead surveys of different types of material, including wall painting, manuscript illumination, wood carving, and stained glass. Amongst them is a review of diverse material from Waterford (including little-known wooden figures and some quite stunning imported vestments), many of which deserve further examination. No Irish medieval stained glass survives intact and in view of this it is good to have Josephine Moran's survey of what is known both from the archaeological and the documentary record. One would have welcomed more discussion of metalwork, though the book does conclude with a lively essay from Raymond Gillespie on the political ramifications behind the making of the shrine of St. Caillin of Fenagh. Not all the authors are familiar with the (extensive) literature on art and devotion in Europe as a whole, and in terms of European scholarship the essays might be considered a fairly "mixed bag." Nonetheless, the book points to a new approach in the study of late Gothic Ireland and this is a most welcome development.

Trinity College, Dublin ROGER STALLEY

Painter and Priest: Giovanni Canavesio's Visual Rhetoric and the Passion Cycle at La Brigue. By Véronique Plesch. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. xxix, 488. $55.00.)

Véronique Plesch's study of Giovanni Canavesio's Passion cycle in Notre-Dame des Fontaines, a pilgrimage church just outside the town of La Brigue in the southern Alps, might appear to be of limited interest even to a scholarly audience. The painter, who was active toward the end of the fifteenth century, cannot be considered a pivotal figure in the history of late medieval art. The region in which he worked, the duchy of Savoy, is similarly peripheral. But Plesch draws the reader in with her lively account of the fresco cycle and its larger cultural contexts. The frescoes are beautifully illustrated, with a generous allotment of color photographs, many taken by the author. And the images

are quite striking: Canavesio was a priest as well as an artist—a critical point for Plesch's argument—and his vivid, expressive figures must have engaged their audience as thoroughly as a charismatic preacher's words engaged the congregation.

The book opens with a painstaking overview of the painter's oeuvre, then turns, in the second chapter, to the church of Notre-Dame des Fontaines and its extensive iconographic program. Virtually every available inch of the church is frescoed. The early life of the Virgin and the infancy of Christ appear on the triumphal arch, the later life of the Virgin in the choir, the Last Judgment on the entrance wall; on the walls of the nave is the surprisingly comprehensive Passion cycle, twenty-six episodes in all—the subject of this study. Chapters three and four focus on art-historical concerns—a characterization of the painter's style, his pictorial sources and method. Plesch next takes up the program of the Passion cycle, noting that the cycle is unusual in several respects, in particular its emphasis on the torments of Christ and on the role of Judas in the Passion. This, she argues persuasively in chapter six, suggests a preoccupation with sin, repentance, and despair—a topic to which she will return in the concluding chapter. In chapter seven, Plesch introduces some of her most interesting material: the Latin *tituli* that, exceptionally, accompany the Passion scenes. As she notes, these texts refer repeatedly to the Jews, insistently ascribing Christ's suffering and death to Jewish malevolence.

The conclusion is less a summing up of previous arguments than an amplification of ideas introduced earlier and an introduction of new material, much of it quite compelling. Plesch returns to the theme of penitence, noting its aptness for a pilgrimage church and arguing that several frescoes function as a kind of visual call to repent. She then turns to a fuller examination of the anti-Semitic polemic she noted earlier, offering visual evidence that corroborates her thesis. She also suggests one local context for the hostility to the Jews: the establishment of the *monti di Pietà*, banks intended as an alternative to Jewish moneylenders, in this region during the second half of the fifteenth century, when the church was frescoed. Plesch concludes with provocative thoughts on preaching, medieval religious theater, memory, and visual images. This study, then, ultimately rewards the reader with a broad contextual reading of these frescoes and a thoughtful analysis of issues that reach far beyond late medieval Savoy.

Hood College ANN DERBES

Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy. By Alison Knowles Frazier. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 527.)

Alison Knowles Frazier's *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* is a scholarly "twofer": it is both a monograph on the important and ground-breaking subject of humanist hagiographers and their literary production of saints' lives, as well as an invaluable research tool, a hand-list of

texts dating ca. 1420-1520 in both manuscript and printed editions, which by itself is an impressive piece of scholarship that comprises approximately one-third of the book's length.

Frazier's intent is to recover and explore the variety and significance of this ignored aspect of Renaissance scholarship, which by virtue of its uncomfortably close relation with the medieval hagiographical tradition no doubt explains in part why this literature has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. Happily, however, Frazier is a scholar of Renaissance humanism who is well trained in the discipline of medieval hagiography and sympathetic to its concerns. Consequently, this serendipitous meeting of mind and material has produced a study that reveals the refashioning of the hagiographical genre according to Quattrocento preoccupations and taste, but is always mindful of continuities with the Middle Ages.

The erudition and scholarship upon which *Possible Lives* is built is formidable, but lightly worn. Indeed, the author's tone is refreshingly modest, but no mere humility topos– it is instead the welcome frankness of a scholar who recognizes and wishes to share with her readers the limits of her material, analyses, and generalizations. Her method is the case study whereby each chapter presents problems that engaged hagiographers of the period. Topics include the Renaissance treatment of martyrdom; Bonizio Mombrizio's *Sanctuarium*, a celebrated legendary whose compositional circumstances remain problematic; saints' lives as humanist teaching texts; the representation of female sanctity, exemplified in Giacomo da Udine's *Vita Helenae utinensis;* and the hagiographical works of Raffaele Maffei, *quondam* scriptor of the papal chancery. Before turning to the textual problems that each of these topics presents, Frazier first situates the matter at hand in its proper bio-historico-political context which perforce shaped the text itself. That context is often revealing. For example, Frazier suggests that the simmering fear of Islamic expansion, fear that became all too concrete after the events at Constantinople, Negroponte, and Otranto in the second half of the Quattrocento should not be overlooked as shaping forces at work in texts such as Tommaso d'Arezzo's *Tractatus de martyrio sanctorum.* Equally telling is the context for the creation of Mombrizio's *Sanctuarium,* which Frazier dates ca. 1477 (based on the dedication and the inclusion/exclusion of certain *vitae*), a date marking the interim regime in Milan that followed the assassination of Galeazzo Maria Sforza.

Close attention to historical context is only one aspect of her finely nuanced approach to the texts; as is fitting, she is equally attentive to the rhetorical technique and invention of her humanist hagiographers. One of the most inventive was Giacomo da Udine (d. 1482), canon of the cathedral of Aquileia, who composed a saint's life in the form of a symposium to honor his compatriot, Elena de Valentinis (d. 1458). Giacomo's narrative conceit is that God has invited fourteen esteemed orators—pagans and Christians alike—to offer eloquent speeches to mark the occasion of Elena's advent in heaven. Among those commanding the speakers' rostrum to laud the impending saint's

virtues are Plato, Cicero, John Chrysostom, Jerome, and Leonardo Bruni. It was a learned hagiographical experiment, one which would not be repeated. Indeed, Frazier ultimately concludes that many of the texts that she has analyzed seem to be no more than "a sheaf of failures" (p. 316). That may be true insofar as the humanists neither produced a better or more enduring template for hagiographical production than had the Middle Ages. Nor did they devise a critical method for editing historical *vitae* such as the Bollandists would do in the seventeenth century. But her "sheaf of failures" might have been fruitfully contrasted against a contemporary case of hagiographical "success"; namely, the cottage industry devoted to the composition of lives of Savonarola which flourished around the turn of the century, a success-story that Frazier herself acknowledges.

Even without a bibliography (the absence of which does not go unnoticed), *Possible Lives* is itself a remarkable achievement. By italicizing the humanist production of hagiography, Frazier invites us to rethink the entire scholarly enterprise known as the *studia humanitatis*. No more is it possible to envision humanist literary endeavors focused narrowly on pre-Christian literature. Now we must re-imagine that enterprise to include writings about the saints, a body of texts that until now has not generally been regarded as offering exemplars of Latin style or models of critical historical scholarship. It is quite a feat, to say nothing of no small irony, that Frazier has employed a quintessential medieval genre of literature to illuminate so admirably the world of Renaissance humanism.

The Catholic University of America KATHERINE L. JANSEN

Renaissance Siena. Art in Context. Edited by A. Lawrence Jenkens. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, Volume 71.] (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 208. $39.95 paperback.)

In the opening line of his Introduction to *Renaissance Siena*, editor A. Lawrence Jenkens asks a significant and seldom-posed question: did the Tuscan city of Siena experience a Renaissance, particularly in regard to art and architecture? The answer, evidenced by this anthology's nine essays, is a resounding yes; taken as a whole, the volume stands as testament to the recent revival of Sienese studies, one with a focus on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries rather than the much-considered Trecento Golden Age. What is new in this collection is an attempt to consider Sienese art entirely within a local context, free from the traditional negative assessment engendered by comparison with Renaissance Florence, and in many cases within a social-political framework that contrasts with earlier, more conservative methodological approaches.

In particular, there is much here that will be of interest to scholars of the history of architecture and urbanism. Judith Steinhoff examines the rise of a new artistic genre, the contemporaneous cityscape, relating several examples

symbolically to specific political issues and moments of crisis for the Sienese commune. In his contribution, Matthias Quast demonstrates that the fully articulated palace façade emerged in Renaissance Siena only after the systematic removal of balconies and cantilevered additions and in one of three forms that stemmed from Gothic, Florentine, and ancient inspiration. Fabrizio J. D. Nevola's essay on the Palazzo Spannocchi situates that palace within the context of competing public and private interests in urban space, tracing the process by which the patron systematically acquired prime real estate along the Strada Romana, the city's most important thoroughfare and a target of commune-sponsored renewal. Similarly concerned with the conflict between the public and the private, Mauro Mussolin explores the architecture of the church of Santo Spirito and its monastic complex in light of the often-rocky relationship among the Sienese, the local observant Dominican community, and the fiery Florentine preacher Savonarola.

Other essays address a range of issues, including civic religion, humanist influence on the visual arts, and the connection between workshop practice and the reading of narrative. Susan E. Wegner charts an increase in Sienese intercessory images of Saint Catherine of Siena and the decline of those of the Virgin, linking the phenomenon to the political strategies of the despot Pandolfo Petrucci. The dynastic and patriotic significance of the frescoes in the Piccolomini Library is addressed by Stratton D. Green, who views the room's painted biography of Pope Pius II as a form of epideictic rhetoric based on the idea of an ancient funerary oration. In his discussion of Francesco di Giorgio's painted scenes on Sienese *cassoni,* David Benjamin unravels the complicated relationship among artists, patrons, literary sources, and the development of visual narrative.

The book's one lamentable exclusion is the study of Sienese sculpture. Although Jenkens partly explains this absence in the Introduction by referring to vital scholarly work yet to be carried out, the anthology would have greatly benefited from at least one exploration of this medium. Regardless of this lacuna, *Renaissance Siena* represents an important contribution to the field and one that will rightly challenge lingering misconceptions about the city and its art beyond the Black Death.

Birmingham-Southern College TIMOTHY B. SMITH

Early Modern European

Madness, Religion and the State in Early Modern Europe: A Bavarian Beacon. By David Lederer. [New Studies in European History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 361. $90.00.)

This challenging book makes a significant contribution to the study of madness in early-modern Europe, an area of rising scholarly interest of late; it pro-

vides as well a suggestive examination of the links between early-modern psychology and the emergence of the modern medical discipline of psychiatry, a lineage long identified by psychological practitioners, including Freud, and given a controversial interpretation, redolent with troubling images of power by Michel Foucault in more recent times.

Lederer's work, though, is not one of grand theory spinning, like Foucault's. Instead it explores "on the ground" the various permutations that developed in early-modern Bavaria in the practice of "spiritual physic," the religious discipline that aimed to treat the psychologically afflicted. The chief mechanisms used to care for troubled, possessed, and senseless people in the early-modern territory were penance, pilgrimage, and exorcism. The application of these remedies increased in the counter-reforming decades at the end of the sixteenth century, with encouraging directives issued from the Wittelsbach duke's Privy and Aulic Councils downward. This book has at least four aims, and thus is difficult to summarize here except in the briefest way. Lederer examines the intellectual foundations of spiritual physic, as explicated in the works of late-medieval and early-modern Catholic theologians and state officials. Secondly, he explores this religious therapy as it developed in Bavaria's villages and towns, but more frequently at the territory's numerous saints' and Marian shrines, which, in the confessionally-charged atmosphere of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became symbols of Catholic identity, but also places noteworthy for treating the mentally ill. In these chapters Lederer ranges broadly across the lush landscape of Bavarian pilgrimage, although he comes to concentrate most significantly on two places —Benediktbeuren and Pürten—which were recognized at the time for their effectiveness in curing the mentally ill. The third aim of *Madness, Religion and the State* is to chart the increasing disaffection of state officials and learned theologians in the later seventeenth century from the practices of spiritual physic. As the centrifugal and disorderly potential inherent in treatments of mental illness rooted in penance, pilgrimage, and exorcism became increasingly obvious to Bavaria's officialdom, confinement emerged to replace spiritual physic as the treatment of choice. The rise of the Holy Spirit Hospice in Munich as one of the primary asylums for those with mental disorders exemplified this trend. And finally, the fourth focus of Lederer's study examines the legacy of these practices and their similarities and dissimilarities to modern psychological praxis.

It is impossible in a short review to capture the richness of Lederer's work. Nearly everyone will find something in it that fascinates, from the case histories he presents of men and women who were made to atone for their maladies in sackcloth and ashes, to the comparisons Lederer makes between practices in Bavaria and those championed by state officials and intellectuals elsewhere. Not everyone may agree with all of Lederer's conclusions. I found his frequent invocation of an early-modern "crisis" reminiscent of the chimerical anxiety of Jean Delumeau's works, even as it appeared too accepting of the labored rhetoric many early-modern advocates of spiritual physic used to

describe their craft. But with this substantial study David Lederer establishes himself as a major historian of psychology and piety, and he takes his place alongside Michael Macdonald, Erik Midelfort, and Lyndal Roper, as a scholar who has set a new high standard for those who choose to explore the discontents of the mind in the early-modern world.

University of Maryland, College Park PHILIP M. SOERGEL

Angels in the Early Modern World. Edited by Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 326. $99.00.)

In the post-medieval period, angels were very nearly erased, both literally and figuratively, from the spiritual landscape of Europe in the wake of the purges of Catholic devotional practices and iconography by Protestant reformers. And yet devotion to angels persisted in the popular imagination through the Enlightenment and well into the modern era; indeed, to this day angels remain immensely popular.

Professors Peter Marshall (Warwick University) and Alexandra Walsham (University of Exeter) have edited an excellent volume which charts the fate of angelic guardians and messengers from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. The thirteen essays in this volume represent original research from a variety of perspectives on the persistence of angelic devotions in this period across confessional and intellectual landscapes from Western Europe and the British Isles to Puritan New England and the Spanish Americas.

The veneration of saints had been rejected by Protestant reformers as being an unacceptable remnant of Catholic superstition. Met with vehement skepticism, devotions to angels were often associated with witchcraft and magic. Indeed, the cult and intercession of saints and angels were among the first casualties of the Reformation. Accounts of angelic apparitions were prohibited. The Book of Tobit, which recounts the interaction of the archangel Raphael and Tobit's son, Tobias, was excluded from the Protestant Bible. Artistic representations of angelic beings were equated with idolatry. By the end of English civil war, a new wave of iconoclasm swept across the British Isles and Europe, and the defacement and destruction of images of angels in churches was widespread.

As many of the essays in this volume demonstrate, however, angels continued to appeal at a popular level. Although the Reformation thinkers had a fundamentally different understanding of salvation from that of their Catholic antagonists, one which precluded the intercession of both saints and angelic beings, there was a split between theological elites and local populaces on the issue of the efficacy of angelic devotion. In general, Protestant theologians accepted the existence of angels and that they had manifested themselves visibly and actively in the Old Testament era, but they were far more reluctant to

accept the active agency of angels in their own day. As a whole, they insisted that angels were not to be adored or worshiped as idols.

Nonetheless, after the iconoclasm of mid-sixteenth century in England, angelic iconography was reintroduced in the mid-seventeenth century. As one might imagine, images of angels were particularly prevalent on funerary monuments. Indeed, it is at the moment of death, or in the contemplation of it, that the Protestant reformers found popular belief in angelic intervention the most tenacious. And although this general acceptance of angels and their ministrations at the moment of death ran the risk of diminishing divine omnipotence, Protestant writers in fact found it useful in their efforts to recast death and salvation from an occasion susceptible to human intervention to one dependent entirely on divine prerogatives.

The essays in this volume are cogent and painstakingly researched. They explore aspects of the early modern period that have not been widely examined. The essays uncover the ways in which angels negotiated and were implicated in the religious, intellectual, and cultural upheavals of the period. Surprisingly, the essays demonstrate that the Protestant reformers permitted angel devotions to flourish through a nuanced theological stance as opposed to outright condemnation. This volume will without a doubt appeal to scholars of early modern religious and cultural history as well as those of art history and literary studies.

Harper College RICHARD F. JOHNSON

Beyond the Reformation? Authority, Primacy and Unity in the Conciliar Tradition. By Paul Avis. (New York: T and T Clark. 2006. Pp. xx, 234. $120.00.)

The times are not long since gone when, for church historians, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were of interest mainly because "they were the age which nursed the [Protestant] Reformation" (William Hunt). With the abject humiliation of Pope Boniface VIII at Anagni in 1303, one simply embarked on the tides of destiny, to be swept forward with irreversible momentum over seas scattered with the wreckage of thirteenth-century hierocratic ambitions, to arrive at one's destination on October 31, 1517, with the banging of Luther's hammer ringing in one's ears. And one of the required ports of call on that providential voyage was the scandal of the Great Schism and the sharp challenge posed by the Conciliar movement to the high pretensions of the papal monarchy.

It is, of course, no longer fashionable to write history in that way; nor, in this interesting and informative essay on the role played by "conciliarism" and/or "conciliarity" in the Roman Catholic Church and the churches of the Reformation, is Paul Avis moved by any nostalgia for the old preoccupation with the providential role played by the "Forerunners." Nor, beyond that, is he

quite willing to endorse J.T. McNeill's later (and more complex) argument that the Reformers were "in a large sense the heirs of the Conciliarists" (p. 107). Instead, in this well-informed and "first full-length study" of the matter, while acknowledging obvious discontinuities, he is concerned to describe, probe, and draw renewed attention to the widely-ignored strands of continuity that link the conciliarist ecclesiology hammered out during the Great Schism with the subsequent ecclesiological commitments of the Lutheran, Reformed, and, above all, Anglican churches. An eminently worthwhile project, and he is to be commended for undertaking it.

General Secretary to the Council for Church Unity of the Church of England, Avis acknowledges that his "motive in undertaking this study ... is ... not purely historical" (p. xiii). Having himself come to the conclusion that "the Continental and Anglican Reformers adhered in slightly different ways to a modified conciliarism and that they should be understood against that background" (*ibid.*), he expresses the hope that "closer acquaintance with the conciliar contribution to Reformation thought" will foster among members of all Christian denominations the "sense of a tradition that bridges the Roman Catholic-Reformation divide and holds promise for the future unity of the Church" (p. 107).

In an effort, then, to promote that sort of closer acquaintance Avis presents here a careful, descriptive analysis of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century conciliarism and then proceeds to an examination in the light of the conciliarist legacy of the ecclesiological preoccupations and practices of the churches of the Reformation. The account he gives is solid and informative, though marred in its medieval phase by the assumption (p. 87) that "there was no true pope" when the Council of Constance enacted its celebrated superiority decree *Haec sancta* (an assumption that would have surprised most of the council fathers who, even as they moved to depose him, viewed John XXIII as *verus papa*), and, still more, by the inexplicable transposition of the *Summa de ecclesiastica potestate* of Augustinus Triumphus (d. 1328) to the year 1473 "in the period of papal resurgence after the abortive reforming councils" (p. 100). That slip notwithstanding, the more taxing problem dogging the case he sets out to argue lies elsewhere. It lies, instead, in a disabling fluidity in the meanings he attaches across time to the vexing term "conciliarism." While he is certainly persuasive on the point that a preoccupation with "conciliarity" is common to the histories of both Roman Catholicism and the churches of the Reformation, I do not believe that the same can be said of his further claim that there was also some sort of continuing commitment to the specific type of "conciliarism" that rose to prominence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Williams College FRANCIS OAKLEY

"Just as in the Time of the Apostles": Uses of History in the Radical Reformation. By Geoffrey Dipple. (Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press. 2006. Pp. 324. $30.00 paperback.)

This book examines the ideas about history of different individuals and groups in the Radical Reformation. Since history was such an important element in Reformation discourse and appeals to history were as important to Radical Reformers as to magisterial Reformers, it was important for Reformers to ask the question: where had the true church been throughout most of Christian history? In answering this question the Radicals were led into arguments about history to justify their reforming programs.

Since the pioneering work of Franklin H. Littell, historians have assumed that the Radicals, and especially the Anabaptists, wanted to restore and follow the model of the primitive church of the apostles in their own day. It was their dedication to a restitution of the primitive church that set them apart from other Reformers and reforming agendas. To this hallowed view Dipple adds a number of important nuances, for all practical purposes reformulating our understanding of the Radicals' view of history. While Dipple sees the late medieval and early modern periods as characterized by a primitivist outlook that gave the past greater authority than the present, a view reinforced by the Renaissance humanists who enshrined the authority of the ancients and by magisterial Reformers with their Biblicism, the Radical Reformers were not simple restitutionist thinkers. They did share a common sense of the Church's historical deterioration, and many began by blaming medieval scholasticism for this decay, but there was great variation among groups and individuals on questions such as when the Church had originally fallen—-some placed this fall very near the Church's actual beginnings—-what period or part of the apostolic Church was to be considered pristine, and to what extent the ancient Church could or should become a model for contemporary reform activity? In fact, Radical visions of the past Church were less driving forces in their reform agendas than mirrors to reflect contemporary religious abuses. Radical historical visions thus evolved as more of the teachings and practices of contemporary churches came under attack.

Oftentimes the Radicals' appeal to a true way of belief or practice in the apostolic Church was more Biblicist than historical: it was primarily based on the activities of Christ and the apostles as related in the Bible then on some perceived historical golden age of the Church. And different Radical groups were more oriented to history and appeals to the past than others: while the Spiritualists and Spiritualizing Anabaptists were perhaps the most historically-minded in their arguments, the Swiss Brethren were by far the least. Dipple points out that involvement in religious controversies with other Radical groups or even with magisterial Reformers was a primary force pushing Radicals to develop historical arguments and appeals, although even in these cases the historical appeals were often made to legitimize particular Radical practices such as believers' baptism or the Lord's Supper. Dipple also points

out that what counted for restitution of the apostolic Church for one Radical group would not be understood in the same way by other groups: thus the Spiritualists wanted to restore the Church of Pentecost and saw the true Church as one populated by individuals filled with the Spirit. Other groups, such as many Anabaptists, believed in the importance of the structure and practices of the apostolic Church in establishing a template for the true Church in their own day. Many Anabaptists therefore tended to put considerably more importance on the visible Church than did the Spiritualists.

It was a complex picture of differing views of the past, and Dipple does a fine job of making this picture clear for the reader. He deals first with the views of Renaissance humanists and magisterial Reformers and then moves on to the Saxon Radicals Karlstadt and Müntzer. He discusses Anabaptist ideas of restitution, historical visions of the Evangelical Anabaptists, the views of the Spiritualists and those of Anabaptist Spiritualizers (Denk, Bünderlin, and Entfelder), the Melchiorites and Münsterites, and the process of confessionalism among Anabaptist groups in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To this process he sees the elaboration of historical visions as intimately related. In the end an admirably drawn picture emerges that will act as a revision to the Littell thesis and which will help readers understand the historical ideas of many Radical Reformation figures.

Lafayette College ANDREW FIX

Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*: Meaning and Invention*. By Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 267, 12 color plates, 31 figs. $75.00.)

Anyone who writes a book on the meaning of the most famous works of Renaissance art and especially of the Roman works which were executed for a pope should know a lot of medieval and Renaissance theology and philosophy in order to appreciate and to explain the full content of the frescoes done by Raphael or by Michelangelo. The new book on the *Stanza della Segnatura* presents as its fundamental thesis a repetition of that of the article of Monsignor Künzle and affirms that the principal man who gave advice to Raphael was the papal librarian Fedro Inghirami.

The book is divided into twelve chapters. The first reaffirms the meaning and function of the *Stanza* as the library of Julius II. The second deals with the problem of identifying the designer of the program. The third presents the person of the papal librarian. The fourth gives a good explanation of the composition of the ceiling decoration and of the meanings of the four inscriptions on the tablets of the four personifications of the disciplines of poetry, law, philosophy, and theology. The fifth chapter describes the relation of the paintings with the geographic situation of the *Stanza* on the Vatican Hill and with the four directions on the terrestrial globe. The next four chapters are dedicated to

the great wall paintings, the "*Disputa,*" the "School of Athens," the "Parnassus," and "Jurisprudence." The last chapter describes for the first time the pattern of the pavement. In the conclusion the author presents her thesis of the exclusive collaboration between the painter Raphael and the poet Inghirami.

Now we have to ask ourselves, "Is this construction not a little bit simple?" There was surely not only one adviser for Raphael. He had always a considerable number of intellectual friends. On the other side, if we find a lot of correspondences in the works of Giles of Viterbo and of the Venetian Cristoforo Marcello, especially for the "School of Athens," and in the works of Petrus Galatinus for the colors of the clothes of the three virtues on the "Jurisprudence" wall, and the explanation for the golden rays in the upper part of the "*Disputa*" in the *Vexillum fidei* of Georgius Benignus, the composition of the program is not to be attributed to one of these outstanding personalities, even less to Tommaso Inghirami, but to a subordinated, still anonymous person, who brought together his knowledge using the works and ideas of the above-mentioned persons. The author gives no proof that Inghirami knew all these more important contemporary theologians and writers. In the pontifical librarian's works there are not to be found traces and quotations of the thoughts and formulations of these personalities.

The value of the book of Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier lies in her treatment of the whole humanistic culture with its many significant quotations of antique authors. The notes are a treasure where you will find many indications of thorough investigation, and other indications of the research that the author often not has done. Thus, she can write a statement that can be easily challenged, "no single work provides a blueprint for the plan of its frescoes..." (p. 153). You will find for the *Stanza della Segnatura* the essential program of the "School of Athens" in the *Politeia* of Plato, as Matthias Winner pointed out, and almost literally the same system of platonic education, on which is based the fresco of Raphael, quoted in the book of Cristoforo Marcello on the tradition of the doctrines on the soul. This book was dedicated in 1507 to Pope Julius II. Surely it was to be found in his library. The Augustinian idea of the *conversio ad lucem*, which stands behind the group on the left side of the "*Disputa,*" could come only from Giles of Viterbo, if not directly from him, then from one of his pupils. The most important of them was Girolamo Seripando.

If the author has assembled a lot of material good for further investigations, her fundamental thesis, that Inghirami, the papal librarian, was the composer of the program, cannot be accepted without modifications and corrections. What is needed is a profound study of very rare Renaissance books and manuscripts, for instance those of Petrus Galatinus in the Vatican Library.

Pontifical Gregorian University HEINRICH PFEIFFER, S.J.

Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations. Edited by Ronald K. Delph, Michelle M. Fontaine, and John Jeffries Martin. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies Series, 76.] (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 265. $49.95.)

This handsome volume is a *Festschrift* in honor of Elisabeth Gleason. As such, one might expect essays reinforcing her fairly traditional approach to early modern Italian religious history, but it contains some surprises in the introduction and twelve collected essays.

In the opening pages, John Martin abstracts the contributions, but adds the argument that an intellectual "tyranny" of traditional monolithic images about early modern Italian history, not to mention the radical oversimplification they require, has now been overcome. The images are well known: victimized *spirituali*, proto-totalitarian *intransigenti*, 1542 as the history turning point, *et cetera*. Instead, historians have found and adopted a "complexity," Martin suggests, for which there was "little room" in early histories of the Counter-Reformation. Part one, "Reformers and heretics: new perspectives," then follows with pieces by Massimo Firpo, Michelle Fontaine, and Paul Murphy. These hold together nicely, showing three different reasons why old categories about who was or was not a heretic, when heresy grew or was repressed in Italy, and when it was not, simply no longer work. In his essay, Firpo speculates—in the absence of evidence—on the reasons behind Lorenzo Lotto's entry, just before his death, into an oblate community at the Holy House of Loreto. Readers of Firpo's other works will likely find his insistence that "overly rigid categories" don't work in explaining Lotto more than a little remarkable. Fontaine's study on the rapid weakening of heretical thought in Modena after 1550—well before the so-called *intransigenti* allegedly seized control of the direction of the Church—is excellent. This piece, plus Murphy's treatment of inconsistent supervision over preachers in Mantua under Ercole Gonzaga, a bishop considered an "iron" ruler even by Ludwig von Pastor, will leave readers craving more.

Part two, on the cultural contexts of reform, which features contributions by Ronald Delph, Frederick McGinness, Paolo Simoncelli, Paul Grendler, and Marion Leathers Kuntz, is less coherent. These essays show the broad context of reform action, but the subjects are disparate. Delph illustrates the attractiveness of humanist notions of restoration among supporters of dredging operations on the Tiber, where ideological motivations mixed with more mundane economic concerns. Grendler shows why the standard notion of early modern universities as bastions of traditional learning resistant to change needs revision. Students driven to attend the University of Padua by tradition, like Gasparo Contarini, later took part in decidedly non-traditional reform, promoting new learning. Kuntz delineates the union of ideal political and religious justice in the doge of sixteenth-century Venice, returning to the written works of Guillame Postel, which, over the years, she has mined so thoroughly. The essay that seems most out of place in this section is the one by Paolo Simoncelli: it is all about political tension in the Florentine exile community in

Venice, rather than heresy, culture, or religion. Still, brilliance also appears in this section, when McGinness displays the reliance of council fathers at Trent upon pastoral ideals and preaching recommendations derived from none other than Desiderius Erasmus, no matter what thumping Tridentine *anathemae* and innumerable Index entries otherwise suggest.

The third part, appropriately entitled "The Vicissitudes of Repression," includes contributions by Silvana Seidel Menchi, Gigliola Fragnito, Elena Bonora, and Anne Jacobson Schutte. Seidel Menchi provides an excellent piece on the inquisitor as mediator, showing the combative approach of some facing inquisitorial proceedings, the culture shared by inquisitors and accused alike, and the attempts of tribunal members to appeal to reason with the accused, especially in the middle decades of the century. The meditative action must not be confused with toleration, she adds, especially considering prosecutions pursued later in the era. Both Fragnito and Bonora show disconnection between plans for repression and their implementation. Fragnito argues here, as she has elsewhere, that the rules for the expurgation of written works were too ambitious to be implemented, resulting in the effective disappearance of many suspended texts. Bonora uses the case of Filippo Mocenigo to show that heresy investigations targeting bishops were not simply adjudicated by the pope, as the Tridentine decrees dictated. Instead, for elite ecclesiastics like Mocenigo, political considerations came into play, and the definition of heresy—not to mention his own guilt or innocence in 1583—turned on determination by the Congregation of the Inquisition, not by pope, church fathers, or council decrees. In the final contribution, Schutte debunks one of the most dearly held myths about early modern social history. Records on forced monachization from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, suggest, she explains, that children remained subject to the will of others, and no shift in family organization away from a patriarchal model occurred. In the end, these essays show that the contemporary bureaucracy of repression operated with limited effectiveness, accomplishing only a portion of the religious, cultural, and social changes we associate with the age of reform. Indeed, the volume beautifully shows that late sixteenth-century religion was complex, incomprehensible via simple characterization. It is a shame, however, that Eric Cochrane, one of the first, strongest voices to make this argument—and one whose commitment to the interpretation far exceeded that of Elisabeth Gleason—is mentioned nowhere within these pages.

Bloomsburg University WILLIAM V. HUDON

Vainglorious Death: A Funerary Fracas in Renaissance Brescia. Translated and annotated by J. Donald Cullington. Edited and introduced by Stephen Bowd. (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. 2006. Pp. lxx, 232. $48.00.)

This volume, an edited, facing-page translation of two pamphlets written by humanists in Brescia in the early sixteenth century, reveals the intense concern

with funeral customs that prevailed among laypeople and religious alike in that period. The pamphlets were written in support of a statute passed by the civic government some years earlier, curtailing funeral expenses, the number of mourners, and the services held after a death. The statute was met with derision by local Dominicans, who claimed that these limits on funeral rituals violated the freedom of the Church, since part of the statute involved a restriction on the number of clerics and religious who could attend a funeral. The two pamphlets were then written in response to the Dominicans' own statement against the statute, which is also included in the volume (as appendix 2).

Stephen Bowd's introduction to the texts of the pamphlets spans the historical context in which they were created, including the individuals involved in the dispute as well as the themes of Christian humanism and sumptuary legislation. He also locates the dispute within the history of Brescia itself, discussing the impact of the prevailing political regime (Brescia had been under Venetian governance since 1426) on the religious and social climate in the city. Furthermore, Bowd argues that the pamphlets, which both sustain that social rank should not be taken into account in the organization of funeral ceremonies (since, as one author stated, ". . . all bodies equally . . . rot and decay. . ." (p. 127), nevertheless reflect a growing "backlash against any loosening up of the social hierarchy" (p. lxviii) in Brescia, as elsewhere on the peninsula at this time. The pamphlets are therefore valuable sources for an understanding of the religious and social culture of an often overlooked Renaissance city.

The two texts translated here are, first, one pamphlet produced anonymously (although the humanist Elia Captiolo is the presumed author) entitled "A defense of the Brescians' statute for reducing the rivalry and the expenses of funerals." The second pamphlet is by Carlo Valgulio, and was published with the title "That the Brescians' statute about funeral expenditure with perfect logic makes no distinction of rank among citizens, and that what are commonly regarded as honors are not so." Two appendices are included in the volume, the first, "General regulation for funerals of the dead" and the second, "An enquiry as to whether the statutes about death disbursements quoted below go against church freedom." Both texts are substantially and appropriately annotated with footnotes explaining the sources of the writers' quotations, and with references to the historiography. The appendices are, first, the civic statute in question, "General regulation for funerals of the dead," and second, the Dominicans' response to that statute, "An enquiry as to whether the statutes about death disbursements quoted below go against church freedom." The volume includes an index but no bibliography.

The texts raise issues ranging from the role played by members of religious orders in the Renaissance city to the status of the Jews (plans for their expulsion from Brescia are mentioned), to the idea of honor in the early sixteenth century. Certainly, as Bowd argues, the texts display the continuing idea of the funeral as a "public ritual designed to reflect prevalent civic mores and reinforce the social status and solidarity of the corpse's family" (p. xv). It would

also be most interesting to compare these texts to testamentary records from the same period to see whether testators followed the instructions in the statute, which specifically forbade the organization of feasts to commemorate the anniversaries of one week and one month after a death. Such feasts were a significant part of the commemoration of the dead in Lombardy and elsewhere from at least the fourteenth century, and their disappearance would have created a significant void in the lives of those left behind when a family member or friend died.

University of Manitoba ROISIN COSSAR

La geografia celeste dei duchi di Savoia. Religione, devozioni e sacralità in uno Stato di età moderna (secoli XVI-XVII). By Paolo Cozzo. [Istituto trentino di cultura: Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Monografie, 43.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2006. Pp. 370. € 22.00 paperback.)

This absorbing study examines the religious policies of the two dukes, Emanuel Filibert and Charles Emanuel I, who ruled the Savoyard state (straddling the Alpine borderland between France and Italy), between 1559 and 1630. It does not deal with their struggle against Protestantism—a subject that has long attracted intensive scholarly research—but pursues a novel kind of inquiry: how they harnessed the Catholic Reformation to underpin their policies of absolutist state-formation and dynastic self-promotion. The author does not fall into the trap of portraying their faith reductively, as simply an *instrumentum regni* manipulated for secular purposes. He is not interested in their private devotional life (a field well plowed by earlier scholarship), but in the public practice of their faith. As they refashioned their domains into an avowedly confessional state, their religious and political agendas converged and reinforced one another.

In 1562 Duke Emanuel Filibert transferred the capital across the Alps to Turin from Chambéry, in the old heartland of Savoy. But this move did not simply involve shifting the court and the government to a new site. Turin had a long tradition of urban autonomy, embodied in the cults surrounding its patron saints—its "civic religion." This the dukes systematically undermined, in order to control their new capital. They appropriated some civic saints, notably St. Maurice, who metamorphosed into a dynastic patron; they intruded into civic rituals; they introduced new cults centering on the dynasty. The most important was that of the Holy Shroud, owned by the dynasty since the mid-fifteenth century. It was conveyed to Turin from Chambéry in 1578 in a solemn *translatio* that made the city a consecrated space, at once the political and the spiritual heart of the monarchy. Similarly, the dukes promoted veneration of the Virgin, as a devotion that transcended civic cults—and civic autonomy—and co-opted a pre-existing form of popular devotion, the *Sacri Monti* (hilltop shrines modeled on the original one at Varallo, designed by its Franciscan

founder in the 1490's as a symbolic representation of Jerusalem). They founded *Sacri Monti* of their own, re-imagined as centers of Marian devotion, at Vico, Oropa, or the Monte dei Cappuccini just outside Turin. The first of these was also designed as a sumptuous dynastic mausoleum, neatly identifying devotion to the Virgin with devotion to the ruling family.

The ideological foundations for this program were provided by the court clergy, based in the expanded ducal chapel, and by members of those new religious Orders that attracted the dukes' favor, notably the Jesuits, Capuchins, Barnabites, and Theatines. They extolled the dukes as the bulwark guarding Italy against the infection of heresy from Geneva and France, perilously close at hand. They designed the ceremonies that dramatized the new devotional forms the dukes were promulgating, and elaborated the strategies for subordinating local cults and promoting those that exalted the dynasty. They aided the dukes in amassing a vast collection of relics that advertised their piety. Some of them functioned as diplomats promoting their masters' interests at foreign courts, especially the Papal curia, the focus of perpetual competition for primacy among the princes of Italy, conducted in the coded language of their shared Catholic values. Here the Savoyard clerical envoys strove to enhance the dukes' prestige by exalting their spiritual merits as rulers of an exemplary state imbued with all the vigor of Tridentine orthodoxy. Externally as well as internally, therefore, resurgent Catholicism underwrote the growing political and dynastic power of the dukes of Savoy.

University of California, Los Angeles GEOFFREY SYMCOX

The Spanish Inquisition: A History. By Joseph Pérez. Translated by Janet Lloyd. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 248.)

After writing on political rebellions, monarchy, humanism, and the Jewish expulsion in early modern Spain, noted Hispanist Joseph Pérez has now turned his attention to the Spanish Inquisition. His objective is to "set the record straight on the form taken by the Inquisition in Spain" (Preface) by evaluating it within the peninsular kingdoms of Castile and Aragón. His assessment is arranged along traditional lines: the first two chapters examine the Inquisition's victims, the next two describe administrative and legal processes, and the final pair question the Inquisition's impact on Spanish society and the ways in which its operations were affected by political authorities. For Pérez, the Spanish Inquisition was founded to persecute racial difference as part of a larger quest toward uniformity: Ferdinand and Isabella wanted a modern state (p. 35); modernity was at odds with heterogeneity, and hence any "Semites" in Castile and Aragón had to be converted or expelled. Much time consequently is spent charting the development of anti-Semitism in Castile, explaining the connections between the Inquisition and the 1492 Expulsion, and linking the Inquisition's prosecutions of Jewish and Muslim converts to Christianity. Once trials of Jewish converts or *conversos* began to decline about 1520, the

Inquisition had to find other targets. Its officials subsequently turned on Lutherans, followers of Erasmus, witches, and especially illuminists who favored an interiorized, free-thinking sort of piety.

Pérez then enumerates the powers and procedures that sustained the Inquisition's operations. His vision of the institution's structure is profoundly hierarchical, whereby the king, who named the inquisitor-general, indirectly controlled the Inquisition, and the inquisitor-general in turn controlled the workings of the district tribunals. His portrait of the inquisition trial is equally cohesive: here, what mattered most were the edicts of grace and the *autos de fe*, the public acts that bookended a prosecution. As for the trials, their outcome was basically inevitable, since defendents were presumed guilty, torture was designed to elicit a confession, and no one was allowed to dispute the ideology that put the Inquisition in place (pp. 167-168). Finally, though Pérez expresses some caution about the Inquisition's larger effects, his conclusions are dire. If the Jewish Expulsion of 1492 produced only an economic slump, not a catastrophe, indices of prohibited books "eventually put [Spaniards] off reading altogether" (p. 187), Spaniards were shut out of the Scientific Revolution because they were unprepared for theoretical thinking (p. 189), and "research and thought . . . were eventually sterilised" (p. 195). Such consequences demonstrate that the Spanish Inquisition was not just another example of religious intolerance in early modern Europe. The sheer scope and power of its bureaucratic, policing, and judicial apparatus made it extraordinary (p. 174).

For this reviewer, at least, this is a puzzling book. Pérez makes some suggestive points about the implications of legal training for inquisitorial procedure, and the "levelling" effects of the Inquisition on Spanish society (p. 169). He also writes persuasively about the financial, social, and legal privileges that came with being part of the staff of an inquisition tribunal. But by and large, his theses are outdated or unsubstantiated: calling the Inquisition a mixed political-religious institution is not new, while arguing that the crisis of 1558-59 owed more to anti-mysticism than fear of Protestantism is perplexing. Though Pérez stresses the efficiency of the Inquisition's top-down administration, scholars of individual tribunals have demonstrated repeatedly that inquisitors functioned in a local environment and were prone to misadventures; while Pérez prefers to make Tomás de Torquemada the guiding force of this institution, most historians would highlight instead Fernando de Valdés. Other gaps are perhaps even more troubling: recent works on moriscos, Portuguese conversos and Count-Duke Olivares, literacy, the effects of the Council of Trent, scientific culture in Catholic countries, and Spanish Erasmianism appear not to have been consulted. Reading seminal studies by Edward Peters would have prevented a number of significant misstatements on the relationship between inquisition and Roman law. Finally, religion is given too little attention here, to the point that it is possible to forget that inquisitors believed they were prosecuting heresy. No one would deny that the Inquisition served polit-

ical purposes, even on the village level. But attention to its religious objectives allows us to gauge the ways in which it mixed pastoralism and punishment, and encourages us to treat it in its own historical environment. Pérez is more interested in twentieth-century analogues, but though he ties the Spanish Inquisition to Soviet psychiatric hospitals (p. 167), he hesitates to follow the implications of his analysis. If the Inquisition came about through a drive for modernity and parallels other modern strategies for persecution, does that make Spain regressive or progressive in the sixteenth century?

College of William and Mary LU ANN HOMZA

The Spanish Inquisition, 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources. Edited and translated by Lu Ann Homza. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company. 2006. Pp. xlvi, 272. $37.95 clothbound; $12.95 paperback.)

Those of us who teach the history of early modern Spain to undergraduates have long lamented the lack of primary sources in English translation. Lu Ann Homza has gone a long way toward filling that gap with this excellent anthology of sources. Homza provides a judicious selection of documents that chronicle the Spanish Inquisition from its establishment by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1478 to root out crypto-Jews to the expulsion of the Moriscos carried out under Phillip III between 1611 and 1614. She recovers many voices from late fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and early seventeenth-century Spain, of defendants, witnesses, politicians, and the ecclesiastical judges whose zeal for religious orthodoxy and correct legal procedure rendered this one of the most famous, if often misunderstood, judicial institutions in European history.

Homza begins the volume with a helpful, clearly written introduction that explains the inner workings of the Inquisition and traces its Roman and medieval antecedents. The idea of an ecclesiastical court of inquiry was hardly new to late fifteenth-century Spain, she rightly points out. What was unique to the Iberian context was the imperative toward religious and ethnic uniformity after many centuries of continuous, if often fraught, coexistence between Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Moreover, the Catholic Monarchs were highly effective at utilizing religious orthodoxy in their efforts to consolidate power in the crowns of Castile and Aragon. Thus, as Homza notes, the Spanish Inquisition was an instrument of monarchical power and state-building, as well as of religious instruction and correction, right from its inception.

It is too bad that limitations of space and chronological range prevent Homza from exploring further this complicated interplay between religion and politics. She does not discuss how political authorities could deploy the Holy Office for blatantly political purposes, as Philip II attempted to do against his former minister Antonio Pérez in 1590-91. Tracing the Inquisition's later history, up to its abolition in 1834, would have enabled Homza to include the prosecution of Pablo de Olavide, condemned in 1778, for what scholars gen-

erally regard as reasons of political and intellectual censorship, not doctrinal error. Cases such as these, that lay bare the potential for corruption and politicization, led many contemporaries, not just modern-day historians, to doubt that inquisitors' motives were always purely religious in nature.

Nevertheless, Lu Ann Homza has succeeded in compiling an anthology that is both erudite and accessible, and available at a refreshingly low price. Thus, students as well as teachers and scholars will welcome this significant contribution to the religious and legal history of early modern Spain.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro JODI BILINKOFF

Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain. By Andrew W. Keitt. [The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Volume 25.] (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers. 2005. Pp. viii, 229.)

Too much of a good thing, as everyone knows, can be bad. Such was the case in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, where one of the most difficult tasks faced by the Catholic clergy was that of dealing with excessive fervor among some of the most intensely devout members of their flocks. This conundrum is the focus of *Inventing the Sacred,* an exploration of several cases of feigned sanctity processed by the Spanish Inquisition in the mid-seventeenth century. Cases of feigned sanctity were fairly numerous at this time, and normally involved women and men who claimed spiritual revelations and ecstasies, and often passed judgment on current affairs, prophesying in the name of God. Discerning the difference between a genuine saint who engaged with the sacred, such as Teresa of Avila, and an impostor who "invented" the sacred–as the inquisitors put it—was seldom easy, for the very process of discernment involved scrutinizing some of the most distinctive teachings of the Catholic Church, and especially those that distinguished it from Protestantism, such as the value of asceticism and prayer, the possibility of mystical encounters with the divine, the accessibility of the miraculous, and the permeability of the boundaries between the spiritual and the material, and the demonic and the divine. Andrew Keitt does a marvelous job of dissecting several such cases, and of explaining how every one of them perched the inquisitors on the edge of a slippery slope.

By the mid-seventeenth-century, the criteria for discerning who was "inventing" the sacred were well established. More often than not, they were found guilty, but it is well known that many who were later canonized as saints also passed through the same ordeal, including John of the Cross, Teresa of Avila, Ignatius Loyola, and Joseph of Cupertino. Maintaining certain standards was deemed necessary, not just as a question of authority or as a concern with charismatic claims outside of the church hierarchy, but also as a pastoral issue. Those accused of feigned sanctity were examined for signs of delusion, excessive pride,

mental illness, or demonic influence. They were also screened to prevent the spread of false teachings and social disorder. Questioning the authenticity of popular holy men, however, was sometimes the same as questioning belief itself.

Andrew Keitt has achieved a remarkable feat at various levels. First, he has plumbed the archival sources and the printed literature very thoroughly and judiciously. Second, he has engaged with all of the scholarship on a broad range of related subjects: Inquisition studies, mysticism, social disciplining, and gender studies, to name a few. His engagement with the scholarly literature is so thorough, in fact, that it turns the book into a very serviceable annotated bibliography. Third, he has made these cases come alive for the reader, not just by crafting an engaging narrative, but also by placing all the individuals and events within their proper context, and giving each of them as much flesh and bone as any microhistory is capable of giving. Finally, he has also brought a keen intellect to bear on questions of analysis and interpretation. Not satisfied with any reductionist thesis, Keitt takes various approaches into consideration, and refrains from privileging any of them. The result is a balanced and very convincing analysis of the larger questions that lurked behind this phenomenon, including that of how the boundaries of belief were drawn in a contentious age. What the reader ends up with is a study that pays equal attention to the negotiation of status, the relation between elites and subalterns, questions of gender, and even the social and political dimensions of metaphysical questions, such as where the line is to be drawn between the world of the senses and that of the spirit, and what difference it makes to draw it one way rather than another.

Keitt's final argument is sharp-edged and should give rise to further discussion. As he sees it, these cases of feigned sanctity are not a sideshow at all, but rather the main event, at street level. The relative obscurity of the cases matters little. In the end, they prove that questions of discerning the difference between genuine and false, or spiritual and material—what he calls "boundary issues"—were of immense concern for Catholics and at the heart of their religious life. Keitt also makes a daring leap beyond these Catholic cases, and proposes that boundary issues were also of immense concern for Protestants, and, that a complex set of dialectical relationships was engendered by these issues, pitting believers against one another, and giving rise to all sorts of skeptics. Keitt also argues that when all is said and done, Catholics and Protestants were closer to each other than it might seem and that Max Weber was wrong in arguing that Protestantism had "disenchanted" the world. Whether or not one can agree with this thesis is immaterial. Keitt has written an impressive book that gets at the heart of early modern Catholicism, and proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Catholic Reformation was immensely complex, and that the seventeenth century was "a period in which rationalism was employed as often to shore up belief in the miraculous as to challenge it" (p. 7). From now on, this book should become required reading for anyone seriously interested in early modern religious history.

Yale University CARLOS M. N. EIRE

Lutherforschung im 20. Jahrhundert: Rückblick—Bilanz—Ausblick. Edited by Rainer Vinke. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz: Abteilung für abendändische Religionsgeschichte, Beiheft 62.] (Mainz: Verlag Phillip von Zabern. 2004. Pp. x, 290. €34.80.)

One often hears the claim that more books have been written about Martin Luther than about any other figure in western history, Jesus Christ excepted. Whether that is true or not, surely a very great deal has been written about Luther. Anyone who has had the experience of trying to get his bearings in the vast and meandering secondary scholarly literature about the man will be grateful for books like this one. Moreover, while there are helpful works that introduce Luther scholarship in a general way, none of them brings together particular aspects of that scholarship in quite such a wide ranging and informative way as does the present volume.

The book consists of a dozen essays originally presented as papers at a conference in Mainz at the Institute for European History, and each of them is written by a prominent Luther scholar. These essays are of a very high caliber. Typically they offer a historical survey of significant areas of research, and they are marked by a keen awareness that scholarship in the last century generally took place within an increasingly ecumenical milieu. In the first essay, for example, Martin Brecht presents some of the challenges laid down by Catholic research on the young Luther in the early twentieth century by Heinrich Denifle, O.P., and Hartmann Grisar, S.J. He then reviews the responses to those challenges from Protestant scholars like Adolph Harnack, Reinhold Seeberg, Walther Köhler, and Gustav Kawerau. The following chapters take the story forward chronologically. Martin Ohst examines the work of Karl Holl and his students Emanuel Hirsch and Erich Vogelsang. Eberhard Busch presents the Luther research of theologians identified with dialectical theology. Thomas Kaufmann moves nearer the present with an examination of Ernst Bizer's work on Luther's "evangelical breakthrough," while Albrecht Beutel sets out Gerhard Ebeling's Luther research. Three essays then look at aspects of Luther's theology that have elicited intensive examination: Joachim Ringleben writes on Luther and the Word of God; Oswald Bayer sketches out research on Luther's use of philosophical thought forms; and Antti Raunio examines Luther's political ethic. Scott Hendrix then offers a chapter on American Luther research. The book's final three chapters are dedicated to ecumenical topics. Jos Vercruysse surveys Catholic Luther scholarship in the twentieth century. Rolf Decot then examines from a Catholic perspective the question of Luther's significance for ongoing ecumenical dialogue. Decot's essay is answered by a chapter contributed by Simo Peura, who examines the same question from the Protestant point of view. The volume concludes with a lengthy but somewhat eclectic and far-from-exhaustive bibliography.

Naturally, these essays do not say everything that might be said about twentieth- century Luther research. One could easily wish, for example, for a solid chapter on the development of the so-called "Finnish School" of Luther

research (a planned contribution from Tuomo Mannermaa had to be left out due to the author's illness), even if several of the books chapters are written by Finnish scholars and many others refer to prominent Finnish studies. Still, the volume is marked by a clear sense of progress in Luther research. Luther's medieval roots and his continuity with western Catholic tradition are now clearly recognized. If the fine contributions of Catholic scholars standing here alongside those of their Protestant counterparts are any indication, then Luther has already become what many have long hoped: a "common doctor" who speaks to those on all sides of our continuing ecumenical divides.

Marquette University MICKEY L. MATTOX

Protestants and the Cult of the Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517-1531. By Carol Piper Heming. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies Series.] (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 170. $48.95.)

The rejection of the cult of the saints was one of the distinguishing features of the Protestant Reformation; yet, to this day, relatively little attention has been paid to the subject. Although Catholic and Protestant polemicists were all too aware of the significance of the topic up until the nineteenth century, modern historians have tended to skirt the issue, or to consider it a superficial symptom of sorts, or a mere side-effect of greater social, economic, and political changes. In many ways, the modern historiography of the Reformation has followed closely the judgment of the Protestant Reformers themselves, who tended to look upon the cult of the saints as nothing more than superstition and an unsightly sign of the errors of Catholicism. However, as historians turn their attention increasingly to the way religion was lived in early modern times, and at the way in which symbols and rituals were inextricably woven into the social, economic, and political fabric of early modern communities, the once-neglected subject has begun to gain prominence.

Carol Piper Heming's *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints* is proof of this change in interest, not just because it happens to be the first broad survey in English of the subject, but also because, as a survey, it brings together much of what has been said about the topic in the past two decades, and engages with it. This book poses two questions. The first question takes up the bulk of the text: why did the early Protestant Reformers unanimously reject the cult of the saints? The answer to this question is largely a theological one, and not at all complex: First and foremost, the veneration of saints and their images and relics was rejected on biblical grounds, as contrary to the Christocentrism of the New Testament. The second question is one that involves social rather than intellectual history: did the cult of the saints disappear from Protestant communities? The author herself admits that this question has no simple answer, but does offer evidence that the veneration of the saints did not simply vanish overnight in German-speaking Protestant lands. Zwingli's Zurich, for instance,

retained many of the traditional holidays that had once honored the saints—as days off from work, not as feasts for the saints. Lutherans retained images of the Virgin Mary and the Apostles. Church court records and visitation transcripts also show that secret veneration of the saints continued to be a problem for Protestant pastors into the late sixteenth century. In the end, however, what remained of the cult of the saints was quite different, and perhaps summed up best by Luther: "real saints," he said, "must be good, stout sinners. . . . They are saints not because they are without sin or have become saintly through works . . . but . . . through the Lord Christ" (p. 49).

This excellent survey is more of a synthesis than a revisionist thesis, and it focuses most intensely on the early years of the Protestant Reformation, and on the theological questions raised in the texts of major Reformers, in public disputations, and in popular pamphlet literature. Its command of the printed texts and of the scholarship is excellent, making the book a wonderfully thorough introduction to the subject. The second question posed by the author concerning the endurance of the cult of the saints cannot be fully answered by such a survey, not just because of the sources tapped and the approach taken, but also because of the chronology. In order to address that question fully the study would have to stretch into the seventeenth century and delve into stacks and stacks of archival material. But this limitation does not really matter much: simply raising the question and teasing out some conclusions from partial evidence is a great step forward, and a road sign of sorts for future research, pointing in the right direction.

Three extremely useful appendices are also included: one on all of the relevant disputations, diets, and colloquies; one that lists all the pertinent sixteenth-century texts; and one that cites all of the biblical passages used by Protestants to attack the cult of the saints.

Yale University CARLOS M. N. EIRE

The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590-1615). By Eric Nelson. [Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700; Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, Volume 58.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company; a co-publication with the Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu. 2005. Pp xiv, 275. $94.95.)

The revision of generally accepted positions in the historiography of France during and after the period of the Wars of Religion has gained considerable momentum in recent years. Alongside the "spectacular" works of Natalie Davis and Denis Crouzet, we now have a considerable body of scholarship which attacks topics perhaps less vast than religious violence, but whose careful sifting of surviving evidence and challenge to established arguments make it no less valuable and welcome. It has been possible to throw new light on subjects as essential as Henri III's rule, the Catholic League (especially in the provinces),

the Guises, the conversion of Henri IV, and the return of political stability during the 1590's. Eric Nelson's book is all the more welcome in that it tackles an even more contentious topic, which has been almost immune to revision up to now—the role of the Jesuits during the Catholic League, their subversive political teachings, their condoning of regicide, their expulsion from and return to France under Henri IV, and the uproar which followed the king's assassination in 1610 by one of their former students. The "black legend" of the Jesuits as dangerous subversives has endured, picking up additional dimensions over the centuries and entering the common discourse of French politics, especially under the Third Republic. Efforts by the Jesuits' own historians did not really make much of an impact on historical judgments, leaving the field open to later historians who did not share the "French passions" of an earlier age. Nelson has benefited from the research of historians like A. Lynn Martin and Pierre Blet, both of whom brought scholarly detachment to their studies of the Jesuits before and after the reign of Henri IV. But Nelson's is the first fully researched and properly documented study of the problem of the Jesuits in France from the latter phases of the religious wars to the Estates General of 1615. Its subtitle is important, since this is not so much a study of the Jesuits themselves as of the evolution of the Society's relationship with the French crown—one that underwent dramatic and unforeseeable transformation in less than a generation. This is a study of the politics of exclusion, banishment, restoration, and return to royal favor in the face of often considerable opposition from within powerful and articulate segments of the French socio-political elite.

The first virtue of Nelson's approach is not to think of the *dramatis personae* in terms of preconceived "blocs." Martin had already shown how divided the French Jesuits themselves were as the religious wars developed, with Gallicans as prominent among them as ultramontanes, and that Jesuit political supporters of League were quite few. Likewise, their patrons and supporters were not of a single stripe, and they were to be found among magistrates of the parlements as much as among the aristocracy and the urban notables. But the Jesuits' position in France throughout the religious wars was legally and politically weak, and they did not yet enjoy the royal patronage that would be such a feature of their later history. Other religious orders had far cosier and longstanding relations with the crown, while the Jesuits' educational activities made enemies of the University of Paris from the outset, an enmity which was still alive and well into the 1590's and beyond. Yet it took exceptional circumstances for these weaknesses of the Jesuits' position to do them real damage. Until Chastel's attempt on Henri IV's life in 1594, the idea that the Jesuits were the "real" subversive force—because they were of Spanish and papal sympathies—within the Catholic League was confined to a small hardcore of enemies like Antoine Arnauld and Etienne Pasquier. The attempted regicide changed all that, at least temporarily, and Henri IV, who was keen to rally the Jesuits to his side after his conversion as a means of winning badly needed support in Rome, judged it better in 1594 to give the parlement of Paris a free hand in expelling them from its jurisdiction. The king's policy of reconciliation, forgiving, and for-

getting would have to wait for a more propitious moment. The recall of the Jesuits under the terms of a royal edict (Rouen, 1603) is the subject of an excellent and finely nuanced chapter by Nelson. Henri IV's readiness to part company on particular issues with the Gallican magistrates who advocated the rigor of the law against political enemies is well brought out in this account. So too are the Jesuits' own internal differences, and the possibility of "local" (i.e., French) Jesuits adopting positions which were strongly at variance with those of the papacy or their Roman superiors. Nelson's study confirms the thesis of Robert Bireley about the conduct of local Jesuits during the Thirty Years' War, and the virtual impossibility for the Roman superior-general to impose a general set of guidelines on Jesuit confessors to rulers at the time. Thus the terms of the edict of Rouen, which made the Jesuits' return to France conditional on concessions by them (all Jesuits in France to be French subjects, an oath of loyalty to the king, etc.), placed France's Jesuits in a legal-political position that was *sui generis* in comparison with other European states. Realists, like the king's future confessor, Pierre Coton, accepted it as the best deal on offer, one that would permit the Jesuits to return in force and engage in the work of Catholic reform; in Rome, opponents of such an exception spluttered and protested, but were powerless to oppose it once the papacy had accepted it. The realists' victory was complete when Pierre Coton was officially named the royal confessor in 1608, itself an act which showed how far Henri IV himself had "la suite dans les idées."

Nelson's account culminates with the shock of, and fallout from the king's murder in 1610. What seemed at first like something that the Jesuits could not survive at all did eventually die down, despite the enormous controversy that followed, and which once again saw the finger pointed at the Jesuits as the ideological begetters of regicides. By playing closer attention to what actually happened than to what was said and written against the Jesuits at this point, Nelson comes up with a more credible account of how the crisis was overcome. Once more, Coton and the local Jesuits plumped for making concessions and compromises in order to protect their position, even if it meant, once again, offending Rome. Despite the ideological heat engendered by the 1610 regicide, and the examination of the political writings of Mariana and other Jesuits by the Paris parlement, there was little support at this point for a campaign to render the Society responsible for the king's murder. It was the University of Paris rather than the parlement which was most hostile to the Jesuits at this juncture, since its fears over the Jesuits' educational ambitions had not been allayed by developments since 1603. Even Louis Servin, the most notorious anti-Jesuit magistrate, took care to criticize authors like Mariana without using his critique to build a case against France's Jesuits on it! Nelson concludes his analysis here by arguing that for all the discussion of regicide and the papal power to dispense subjects from their allegiance to their rulers, there was no real campaign to eject the Jesuits from France as in 1594. He closely examines the debates surrounding the Estates General of 1614 and finds relatively little evidence of interest in the Jesuits; insofar as there was

some interest, it concerned how the Jesuits should conduct themselves in the future rather than whether they should remain within France.

Nelson's main contribution to revising this key chapter in the Jesuits' history *tout court* lies, as already intimated, in his readiness to focus his attention upon what German historians would call *Handlungspielraum*, namely, the scope for continued negotiation and compromise in critical situations which on the surface seem to exclude it. Only once did hostility to the Jesuits reach such intensity that there was no such scope, and that was in 1594. At all other moments, solutions were found which in the long term bound the Jesuits so closely to the French monarchy that their survival in France depended on its protection. In both 1603 and 1610-12 that seemed a price worth paying, given the benefits it promised in the meantime. Insofar as Nelson's book has a broader theme, it is Henri IV's determination to gain—or regain—royal control over the French church. Success in pinning down the Jesuits with the Edict of Rouen was meant to show the way, to create a precedent which could be used, *mutatis mutandis*, in dealing with other elements of the French church. On the question of Catholic reform, Nelson has less to offer, partly because there was a limit to what even the Jesuits could do in the decade after 1603. However, this carefully constructed and well-written study will be indispensable to anyone wishing to understand a key development in relations between monarchy and religion in early Bourbon France.

University of Manchester JOSEPH BERGIN

La bure et le sceptre: La congrégation des Feuillants dans l'affirmation des États et des pouvoirs princiers (vers 1560-vers 1660). By Benoist Pierre. [Histoire Moderne—47.] (Paris: Publications de La Sorbonne. 2006. Pp. 590. €35,00 paperback.)

This book began as Benoist Pierre's *thèse d'état*, which means that it is a highly detailed work based on a vast number of manuscript sources. In this case the subject so thoroughly examined is an obscure religious order (defunct since 1790) known as the Feuillants, which was an austere branch of the Cistericians. It received its name from the Cistercian monastery of Notre-Dame de La Charité de Feuillant (from Latin for "leaf") near Toulouse.

As of 1563 discipline in the monastery had slipped badly, and the abbot had become a Protestant. When Charles IX named Jean de La Barrière, the scion of a local noble family, as commendatory abbot, no one had reason to expect better things for the monastery. When he returned from his studies at Paris in 1573, however, the young abbot was determined to reform his abbey. Most of its monks quickly departed for other Cistercian houses, and only four stayed on with him to implement an extraordinarily rigorous rule, which, for example, required that their diet consist of barley bread, greens, and porridge made of flour and water that they ate while kneeling. Despite such extreme asceti-

cism, the Feuillants attracted many eager postulants. They also attracted patronage from the high and mighty. Pierre shows how they caught the attention of Henry III as part of his effort to appease God's wrath against his realm by supporting the "penitential ideal." He built a monastery for them in Paris in 1587, the same year Sixtus V gave them one in Rome.

Once ensconced in Paris, the Feuillants split into supporters of the king and the Catholic League after the Leaguers drove Henry III out of Paris in May 1588. A royalist, La Barrière was also forced to flee, while Bernard de Montgaillard, known as Petit-Feuillant, became one of the most outspoken Leaguer preachers. The Leaguer Feuillants were part of what Pierre calls "the Monastic League," which was vehement in its defiance of both Henry III and Henry IV until the latter's victory in 1594. Petit-Feuillant was one of the Leaguers whom Henry IV exiled, but the Feuillants quickly overcame the embarrassment of their support for the League and became, as the author puts it, "a congregation under high protection." He enumerates the range of patrons and the size of their gifts to the order, which was composed of thirty male and two female houses by 1630; those numbers demonstrated the attraction of the ascetic ideal to the seventeenth-century French.

In the second half of his book, Pierre deals largely with the major issues affecting religious life in early seventeenth-century France and how the Feuillants responded to them. They advocated a moderate Gallicanism, accepted "catholicisme d'Etat" and the king's place as head of religion, opposed Jansenism, and mostly remained loyal to the monarchy during the Fronde, while they took little notice of the Huguenots. Their close ties to the French monarchy created tensions with the Italian Feuillants, and in 1630 two distinct congregations were sanctioned. After 1630, however, the French branch began to lose its solid footing. Donations from the grands and the order's influence on them declined, as did its membership, partly because a new rule of 1634 reduced the original rigor.

In his conclusion the author argues that the example of the Feuillants provides strong support for the concept of "confessionalisation" of the French religious orders. Most of the orders put themselves at the service of the absolute monarchy and manifested a royal religion in their cloisters. Pierre suggests that this left the Feuillants less capable of attracting zealous new members and doomed them to be permanently disbanded during the French Revolution.

This is a work that requires a great deal of the reader, but it gives keen insights into the workings of an order that for a time was one of the more popular and influential in seventeenth-century France. It also provides understanding into how French Catholicism of the sixteenth century, which produced only one saint, transformed the next century into the *Siècle des saints*.

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FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER

Local Politics in the French Wars of Religion: The Towns of Champagne, the Duc de Guise, and the Catholic League, 1560-95. By Mark W. Konnert. (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Co. 2006. Pp. ix, 300. $109.95.)

This book is an extension of the author's previous study of the town of Châlons-sur-Marne during the French Wars of Religion. In that work, published in 1997, Konnert focused on the political choices made by the urban elites in Châlons to try to understand how and why they ultimately chose in the 1590's not to side with the Catholic League Guise family, who had numerous holdings and strong ties in the region, unlike every other major town in Champagne. In the work under review here, Konnert offers a comparative study, comparing and contrasting the fortunes of Châlons with the two other largest towns of the region, Troyes and Reims, as well as several much smaller towns in the province. This might seem an odd choice, given that his own monograph on Châlons and the recent monograph on Troyes during the religious wars by Penny Roberts would seem to have already covered much of this ground. Nevertheless, despite some overlap with those two books, Konnert's comparative work still has something worthwhile to offer.

Konnert's argument is that the success and failure of the League in Champagne depended much less on the patronage network of the Guise family than on the local political choices made by the municipal elites in the region. He goes on to add that the Guises' neglect of urban elites "irreparably damaged their cause in urban Champagne . . . [and] played a large part in the failure of the Catholic League and of the Guises' ambitions in the towns of Champagne" (p. 265). The author is right to stress that politics were indeed localized and each town dealt with national issues such as the rise of the League in its own way. Indeed, the strength of the book lies in the archival research that has uncovered the local dynamics of political power as negotiated by the urban elites in the towns under discussion. It is very useful, for example, to know how and why three largely similar towns in the same region came to very different religious and political decisions when faced with the same choices and options.

The downside to this approach, however, is an overestimation of the importance of urban elites *vis à vis* the nobility. Is it in any sense true that "the noble factions and religious parties were *only* as strong as their base in local communities allowed them to be" (p. 4)? The italics are mine, as I question the word *only* in that sentence. Surely, the Guises' strong patronage ties among the local nobility in Champagne more than made up for their paucity of clients on city councils in Châlons, Troyes, and Reims. This is exactly the conclusion drawn by Laurent Bourquin in his study of the *noblesse seconde* in Champagne, as well as Stuart Carroll in his study of the Guise clientele in Normandy. Controlling fortifications, arms, and munitions, entities usually in the hands of local nobles, was equally as important as having the political support of urban notables. Thus, it seems odd to use terms such as "weakness" (p. 263) and "failure" (p. 265) to describe the Guises' patronage networks among

the urban elites in Champagne, especially as Konnert admits they made no real effort to create strong patronage networks in the towns. Where Konnert is more convincing, it seems to me, is in sketching out the local political negotiations between the towns and the local nobles in Champagne, many of whom were Guise clients. If the urban notables in Champagne were not quite as powerful as the author implies, they nevertheless played a significant part in the Wars of Religion.

George Mason University MACK P. HOLT

Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France. By Keith P. Luria. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xl, 357. $69.95.)

This new book by Keith P. Luria on religious coexistence and conflict in seventeenth-century Poitou is one of the most original and refreshing books to come out recently on confessional relations in early modern France. Using new approaches and non-traditional sources, he opens up new doors to confessional coexistence outside of traditional conflictual frameworks. From the very beginning of the book, Luria sets himself against the commonly held view that "religion breeds loyalties so deep and feelings of particularism so strong that enmity between faiths comes to seem inevitable and natural" (p. xiii). He attempts to reverse this paradigm, arguing that a close examination of societies that appear ridden by confessional conflict often shows that coexistence is not exceptional and that "people of competing faiths can and do get along in daily life" (p. xiv).

To test this hypothesis, Luria looks at Poitou from the 1598 acceptance of the Edict of Nantes to its revocation in 1685. Turning his back on the long historiography of Catholic and Protestant conflict, he follows in the footsteps of Bernard Dompnier, Gregory Hanlon, Robert Sauzet, and Elizabeth Labrousse.[4] But going even farther methodologically, *Sacred Boundaries* shifts its focus from examining opposed religious cultures to see how group identities were constructed and reconstructed. Using a structuralist sociological model, the book concentrates on how boundaries were created between the different religious groups, defining who they were and separating them from those they saw as different. He sees this boundary building as an "oppositional process" in which people "think themselves into differences" and as a result of proselytising, preaching, and internal church discipline, they set themselves off from "the others."

[4]Bernard Dompnier, *Venin de l'hérésie: images du protestantisme et combat catholique au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Le Centurion, 1985). Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993). Robert Sauzet, *Contre-réforme et réforme catholique en Bas-Languedoc: Le diocèse de Nîmes au XVIIe siècle* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1979). Elisabeth Labrousse, *'Une foi, une loi, un roi?': Essai sur la revocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1985).

Luria identifies three different types of boundaries that were constructed: first, a blurred religious boundary crossed over for intermarriages, for shared cemeteries, for assistance or participation in baptisms or marriages; second, a negotiated boundary demarking the confessions of the type that the Edict of Nantes envisaged with distinct special and operational divisions recognized and negotiated by members of both religious groups; third, a complete separation of the groups, often by force, with villages becoming exclusively Catholic or Protestant as the minority group was evicted or converted.

These three models are explained in detail in Luria's introduction, and they are at the base of his succeeding six chapters. The chapters do not follow a strict chronological order and each one explores a different theme. They look at community relations, the construction of ritual, the role of family histories, the discourses of missionary rhetoric, the gendered religious polemics, and conversion accounts. They all work to explain the fluidity of the boundaries that separated the two religious groups, at times showing the permeability of the boundaries, at other times showing the way a town, a group, or an institution slid from one form of boundary to another.

These chapters demonstrate the long and delicate negotiations over sharing institutions and carving out representative political and social spaces that were begun under the Edict of Nantes. The work of the local commissioners extended these negotiations down to the grass-roots level and provided the basis for what Luria sees as the second boundary. But the assassination of Henri IV and the accession of Louis XIII to the throne marked the beginning of the process of confrontation. Simultaneously, the state intervened more and more frequently to exacerbate religious divisions, and the Catholic Church launched its efforts to reconvert French Protestants. Using case studies of local communities and of particularly active individuals, Luria's chapters explain how these local groups played a part in this double attack upon "religious coexistence" (the heated theological debates between Catholic priests and Protestant ministers, the Capuchin missions in Poitou, forty-hours devotions, Catholic processions, judicial enquiries, the *dragonnades*). At the same time, he shows how they reacted to the efforts to separate forcibly the two religious groups, initiatives that led to the eventual conversion or eviction of the Huguenots (creating the conditions for the third boundary).

Despite the dynamic that led to the 1685 Revocation, Luria remains very attached to his idea that in daily life, the two confessional groups could and did "get along." Even after 1685, he does not see the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes as a "victory" for total separation (the third boundary). Rather, he suggests that the Revocation was a defeat for the long and difficult negotiations that had led to the creation of the second boundary. For him, the many examples of Catholics hiding their Protestant brethren from the *dragonnades*, helping them to escape the country, or of Protestants superficially abjuring, but continuing the clandestine practice of their religion show that elements of coexistence remained present even after the heavy-handed oppression of Louis XIV's troops.

This is a first-rate study of the question of changing forms of religious coexistence in a period that has often been seen as increasingly intolerant and arbitrary. Based upon careful and nuanced research, it uses sociological and anthropological models to reverse the hypotheses that have led to previous conclusions. In so doing, Keith Luria provides new interpretations of both the question of religious coexistence and of the events that shaped the province of Poitou in the seventeenth century.

Université de Moncton (Canada) DANIEL HICKEY

The Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century: Erasmus, Religion and Politics, Trade and Finance. By James D. Tracy. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, 808.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xii, 346. $124.95.)

One of the most prolific, versatile, and creative historians of the sixteenth-century Netherlands, and more generally of Renaissance and Reformation Europe, is undoubtedly James Tracy. Having begun his long career with a dissertation, and then a book, on *The Politics of Erasmus* (1978), he became interested in the history of the Habsburg Netherlands as the backdrop to the great humanist's thinking, which eventually resulted in a monograph on the political and religious history of the county of Holland before the Revolt, *Holland under Habsburg Rule* (1990). While working in the archives at The Hague, he became interested in Holland's public debt system, which apparently predated England's famous "Financial Revolution" of the 1690's by at least one century and a half. This resulted in a long article (republished in the volume under review) and another book, *A Financial Revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands* (1985). Professor Tracy's interest in financial matters was broadened in a study of *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War* (2002), which focuses on the ways the emperor paid for his wars in Europe and North Africa. As director of the University of Minnesota's Center for Early Modern History he also became involved with the history of long-distance trade, editing two volumes on the rise, and the political economy, of merchant empires in the early modern world (1990, 1991). In the meantime he continued to publish on Erasmus (*Erasmus of the Low Countries*, 1996), and produced a textbook on *Europe's Reformations 1450-1650* (1999). He is presently working on a project on "The Founding of the Dutch Republic," focusing on how the province of Holland largely on its own paid for the initial stages of the Revolt, thereby safeguarding its own vital interests at the expense of the peripheral Dutch provinces. In between, he dabbles with fields as diverse as the correspondence of Justus Lipsius (thus combining his interests in early Dutch Humanism and sixteenth-century Dutch politics), and relations between the Low Countries and the Ottoman Empire.

Unsurprisingly, James Tracy's research over many years has resulted in a great number of articles in various journals and volumes of conference papers.

Fourteen of these have been published in the present volume of essays. Its structure reflects the author's interests: there is a section on "Erasmus" (five essays), a section on "Religion and Politics in the Low Countries" (four essays), and a section on "Finance and Trade: Netherlands Perspectives" (five essays). Two essays have been published previously in *The Catholic Historical Review* ("Erasmus and the Arians" and "With and Without the Counter-Reformation"). Since many of these essays have been published in various journals and volumes not readily available, this volume will undoubtedly find a wide readership. All papers in this volume have retained their original pagination, as is customary in Ashgate's Variorum series. While this practice undoubtedly facilitates the retrieval of references, the bewildering variety of lay-outs and type-sets has resulted in a volume less handsome than the author deserves, for a price that may be called rather stiff.

University of Amsterdam HENK VAN NIEROP

Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England. By Peter Marshall. [St. Andrew's Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Co. 2006. Pp. x, 291. $114.95.)

Ever since Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago, 1980) appeared more than a quarter-century ago, historians and scholars of English literature have been engrossed by the subject of the formulation of identity in the early modern period. For the Reformation, in recent work by Patrick Collinson, Eamon Duffy, and Diarmaid MacCulloch, to name only a few, religious experience has been essential in the creation of identity: for the individual believer, as well as for the culture of a society. Mimesis, as it was taught by the Greeks and introduced by the Renaissance into the educational practices of the West, or the great Pauline ideal of edification, have been vital, and influential in their actions on hearts and institutions well beyond the religious inspiration in which they traced their origins.

Now the subject is the focus of another new and important collection of essays: *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* by Peter Marshall, who is among the most prolific of the present generation of younger historians. He is the author of two well-received monographs: *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), and *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002). Most of the eleven essays in *Religious Identities* have appeared elsewhere, but two chapters (as well as the introduction) are new: chapter 4 on the mysterious shooting of Robert Packington; and chapter 11 on Catholic exiles.

Among the achievements of Marshall's work is to explore what identity meant in the uncertain years after Henry VIII removed his realm from communion with the Roman Church, but before confessionalization provided the means to assess the failures and successes of the doctrinal upheavals, and to

categorize them by the examples offered by real lives. As religion was "fluid and indeterminate" during Henry's reign (p. 4), so were identities, Marshall argues, more often than has always been recognized heretofore. The identities of many of England's evangelicals were "forged rather than inherited" (p. 19). Readers of this journal may be intrigued by chapter 9, "Is the Pope a Catholic?" Could there have been "`Catholicism without the Pope,'" and was this what Henry's Church endeavored to be? "Was Henry then a Catholic," Marshall inquires, "and was Henricianism" a species of Catholicism? (p. 170). At the time, Edward Powell thought not. Writing in 1523 to repel the threats that Martin Luther posed, Powell maintained in *Propugnaculum summi sacerdotii euangelici, ac septenarii sacramentorum* (*STC* 20140) that Catholicism was inseparable from the papacy, and his adherence to his opinion led him to a martyr's death in 1540. But Marshall demonstrates, by exploring "the textual landscape" (p. 171) from the 1520's to the end of the 1550's, that the word "Catholic" was too valuable to go unclaimed on any side of the widening theological divides. Henry VIII's own opinions might be difficult to define with any certainty, but "Catholic" was both booty for building up the royal supremacy, as it was also an "unstable" identifier (p. 196) in the polemics of the day.

Marshall's thinking is likely to stimulate further work on this vital issue. *Religious Identities* is not exhaustive, not in the nature of the topics raised, nor in the range of its author's work, for Marshall has not chosen to reprint his entire harvest. He has written other pieces, like his study of the "Geographies of the Afterlife" in *The Place of the Dead* (which he co-edited with Bruce Gordon, Cambridge, 2000), which are not included here. Nevertheless, scholars and students working in this field will welcome the opportunity to have so many of his essays between a single set of covers.

Fordham University SUSAN WABUDA

Catholic Collecting, Catholic Reflection, 1538-1850, Objects as a Meassure of Reflection on a Catholic Past and the Construction of Recusant Identity in England and America. Catalogue of the exhibition edited by Virginia Chieffo Raguin. (Worcester, Massachusetts: College of the Holy Cross; distributed by the Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. x, 214. $35.00.)

This is the catalogue of a loan exhibition mostly of material from England and mostly dating from English recusant Catholics' troubled times between the Henrican schism and the gradual restoration of their civil rights from the later eighteenth century onwards. The majority of the objects exhibited come from the stupendous collections of the Jesuit foundation in the Catholic heartlands of northwest England, Stonyhurst College in Lancashire.

Stonyhurst is an extraordinary treasury, one of the most distinctive and extraordinary museums in England. Its collections contain medieval manu-

scripts and objects conserved by Recusant piety, but their overwhelming focus is Jesuit and internationalist, a baroque museum complemented by a superb anthropological collection encompassing the world. The Stonyhurst collection also contains Jesuit high art from the Spanish Netherlands, particularly a sequence of flower paintings by Seegers. Its highlight to many modern sensibilities is the set of vestments made by the recusant gentlewoman Helena Wyntour, a life's work and an act of devotion to the Society of Jesus and its saints and martyrs which has also a real claim to be considered the most significant work in the visual arts of any early-modern Englishwoman.

This catalogue illustrates altar plate, alabasters, textiles, and manuscripts mostly from the Stonyhurst collection, but drawing also on other museum collections in England and North America. The result is a fine and moving bringing-together of many objects and works of art which furnished the underground Catholicism of post-Reformation England. There is also a quantity of material on the specifically Catholic Gothic Revival in nineteenth-century church building and church furnishing. Certainly this particular assemblage of works of art has never been brought together before in so convenient a form for North American readers.

It must be said, however, that in many respects this catalogue represents a tragic missed opportunity. The work as a whole is confused and confusing: there are some essays of real scholarly value, particularly the contributions by A. I. Doyle, Janet Graffius, Robert Scully, S.J., and Rory O'Donnell. But these are almost overwhelmed by a welter of indifferent exposition which seems essentially aimed at an undergraduate audience with little or no knowledge of the matters under discussion. There is, however, a strong central thread to the collection although that very unifying thread seems puzzlingly anachronistic. The central focus on medieval survival and mediaeval revival is presented as uncontextualized as it might have been at the enthusiastic height of the nineteenth-century Catholic "second spring." While baroque works—Antwerp paintings from the Shireburn chapel, devotional prints, and objects from the Jesuit Colleges—are indeed present, the whole emphasis is medieval and medievalist. As such it cannot possibly represent the realities of that internationalist Counter-Reformation Catholicism within which the English Catholics perforce operated. (Scottish and Irish Catholics appear, for the purposes of this work, simply not to have existed.) The emphasis and omissions are inexplicable in the light of the burgeoning recent scholarship on Recusant Catholic culture and literature in Ireland, Britain, and Europe, a corpus of scholarly work of which this collection makes perversely infrequent use.

University of Aberdeen PETER DAVIDSON

The Battle for the Bible in England, 1557-1582. By Cameron A. MacKenzie. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Group. 2002. Pp. xi, 338. $69.95.)

"The Bible says so." That should end the argument, but truth and certainty are not that simple today nor, as Cameron A. MacKenzie shows, were they that simple during the English Reformation. His stated purpose is to examine early English Bibles to see "what we can learn about the religious and theological commitments of the communities that produced them" (p. 1). He argues that the Geneva Bible was essentially adopted and domesticated by the Anglican Church in order to temper the separatistic impulses of English Puritanism. Then he describes how the Rheims text was a Catholic attempt to turn the Protestant arguments against their creators without sacrificing what it meant to be Catholic in the sixteenth century.

By limiting his scope to the period between the publication of the Geneva Bible and production of the Rheims New Testament, he fills in details omitted by the broad outlines drawn by other authorities. There have been several significant works that have provided the big picture. David Daniell's *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (2005) and Alister McGrath's *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible* (2001) are but two recent, readable examples. By narrowing his inquiry, MacKenzie fills in the significant steps between William Tyndale's New Testament (1526) and the King James Bible (1611). MacKenzie has focused on the cultural, political, theological, and social forces that influenced the three major Bible translations (the Geneva Bible, the Bishops Bible, and the Rheims New Testament) of this twenty-five-year period.

The Geneva Bible was, of course, the voice of opposition not only to the Catholic politics of Mary Tudor but also against the "settlement" of her half-sister Elizabeth. He correctly shows the weakness of speaking of "the" Geneva Bible because it appeared in many editions in both Europe and in England. Each edition of the Geneva Bible had a distinctive preface, different introductions to the various sections, explanatory notes, marginal readings, liturgical calendars, and noted textual variants. Each set of editors was guided by religious, not to mention political, values that informed their presentations. Their understanding of the Bible's message and its perspicuity influenced not only their choice of words in translation, but also their choice of what was needed to make the message evident. MacKenzie points out that what first had been produced as a work of opposition to the English throne was, in the end, printed by the British establishment to consolidate Anglicanism and provide a united front against the threat—which was both real and exaggerated—of Catholics destabilizing the fragile Elizabethan settlement.

By employing arguments from philology, the church fathers, and textual criticism, the Rheims translators of the New Testament reversed the Catholic opposition to an English text. Their translation relied fundamentally upon the authority of the Catholic Church expressed, in this instance, by the decrees of the Council of Trent and showed that an English Bible could support orthodoxy as

well as heresy. Like its Protestant counterparts, the Rheims New Testament was partisan and polemical in its notes, chapter summaries, tables, and explanations. It was Latinate, even obscure; English was a deliberate choice rather than simply taking issue with Protestants regarding the clarity of the text.

MacKenzie's work is thorough with extensive explanatory endnotes, a solid bibliography, and a useful index. Just as his work is strongest when dealing with the religious and political issues of the Anglican Church, it is weakest in describing the ecclesiastical and theological changes in Roman Catholicism that allowed the Rheims project to become a reality.

Eastern Mennonite University DONALD DEAN SMEETON

Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription. By Gerard Kilroy. (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Co. 2005. Pp. xii, 262. $89.95, £45.00.)

Over the past decade Edmund Campion has assumed quasi-iconic status in Elizabethan studies. Executed for treason in December of 1581, Campion has benefited from cross-confessional interest in martyrs and martyrologies. Literary critics excavate his writings as they recover the long-lost voice of English Catholics. More important for Campion's international renown is his alleged association with William Shakespeare, an association that remains nothing more than fanciful conjecture despite repeated unsubstantiated insistence. One suspects that despite contemporary concern for coded language and historical criticism, confessional issues often lay not far beneath the surface. An Hilaire Bellocesque autumnal pastoral, nostalgic for by-gone days and melancholic for what might have been, permeates many of these works. Kilroy's monograph must be seen in this context: it may have evolved out of his reading Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992), Philip Caraman's edition of John Gerard's *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London, 1951), and Richard Wilson's "Shakespeare and the Jesuits" (*Times Literary Supplement* [December 19, 1997], 11-13), but the Campion that emerges is the traditional, martyred saint out of Robert Hugh Benson's *Come Rack, Come Rope* (London, 1912).

How many literary critics and historians, perhaps deterred by the difficult Latin, passed over Campion's so-called Virgilian epic? But the language may have been what attracted the author. Kilroy has not only transcribed for the first time *Sancta salutiferi nascentia semina verbi* [The Birth of the Sacred Seeds of the Salvation-bringing Word], but also has provided an English translation. This important theological poem, composed between 1566 and 1570, illuminates Campion's state of mind as he pondered the next step: should he remain in the Established Church and proceed to orders, or return to the Roman Church. He juxtaposes the permanence of the Roman Church with the transitoriness of the Roman Empire in his *apologia* for papal primacy: "the sure barque of Peter, never to sink, sailed bravely forward despite the tyrant;

sure it always was, unbroken by tempests or force of arms, and never to perish by the wiles of devils" (p. 193).

Campion dedicated the poem to Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague. This was not the first time that Campion had presented something to him: "you have shown to me personally, above all others, such a token of your splendour and glory in accepting my rough and loquacious little works of literature" (p. 177). Hitherto we had been unaware of any contact between the two and their relationship should be explored. Montague was one of the few Catholics who retained Queen Elizabeth's favor despite his religion. Was he in some way influential in the decision to send Campion on the mission?

Kilroy's reading of Campion's role on the English mission follows traditional hagiographical lines. Accordingly, Campion's resolve faltered only once, upon hearing of the collapse of negotiations for the Anjou match and of the landing of an Hispano-papal army in Ireland. Admittedly it is difficult to ascertain tone in the printed text, but his remark to Allen, "Do you think that my labours in England will countervail all this travail, as well as my absence from Bohemia, where, though I did not much, yet I was not idle nor unemployed, and that also against heretics?" suggests more than a "moment of hesitation" (p. 56). Unlike his more notorious colleague Robert Parsons, Campion had apparently turned his back on his homeland, never demonstrating any eagerness to return. He may even have dragged his feet about leaving Prague. In such a scenario, news of the attack may have reinforced earlier reluctance. Similarly the author refuses to take seriously the so-called confessions of Campion. Sir Thomas Tresham's manuscript accounts may help resolve doubts regarding their authenticity, but we cannot dismiss official versions as government propaganda and assume that Catholic manuscripts, written and preserved clandestinely, are more accurate and less rhetorical.

Although the monograph's title highlights Campion, arguably the subtitle is more important: *Memory and Transcription*. The Catholic community operated within strict laws and oppressive conditions. Earlier studies investigated secret printing presses. Only recently, however, have scholars concentrated on the "paperchase" (to use Professor Nancy Pollard Brown's term) of manuscripts. Kilroy follows in their footsteps. Through a comparison of watermarks and handwriting, he provides fascinating new insights into the manner in which Catholics preserved and shared their memories, the roles played by collectors such as Sir John Harrington, and the convergence of circles devoted to the transmission of recusant writings and the poems of Sir Philip Sidney. "Why doe I use my paper, ynke and pen, And call my wyttes to counsell what to say?" asked Henry Walpole in his poem on the execution of Campion. Kilroy does not neglect the "why," but his explication of "how" the products of paper, ink, and pen circulated is to be commended.

Jesuit Provincial Archives, London THOMAS M. MCCOOG, S.J.

James II: The Triumph and the Tragedy. By John Callow. [English Monarchs: Treasures from the National Archives.] (Kew, Surrey: The National Archives. 2005. Pp. xii, 116. £14.99, $22.95 paperback.)

This brief, lavishly illustrated, but un-annotated book is not intended to revolutionize our view of James II. Despite evident sympathy for his subject, and the insight gained from his two previous books on James's early military career and late years in exile, John Callow's verdict on Britain's last Catholic king is much the same rather depressing one current for the last three centuries: "Unable to brook dissent, or to heed timely advice, James's utter inflexibility of character and steely purpose turned all his many gifts and advantages to dust, effectively retarding the cause of full religious toleration by one hundred years. . . ," etc. (p. 1). Rather, this volume tells in brief the familiar story of the most frustrating of Stuart kings, while illustrating the collections of the National Archives, all for a general audience. Readers are encouraged to pursue their studies at the National Archives: full instructions are given for ordering reader's tickets and the like on page viii.

Though supplemented by a time-line, two pages of brief biographies and judicious suggestions for further reading, the brief span of the narrative itself does not leave much room for in-depth analysis. At times, Dr. Callow must skim over complex issues, like the causes of the British Civil Wars, the negotiations at the Restoration, or precisely how the Dutch fleet escaped James at Lowestoft. The 1677 marriage of James's daughter Mary to William of Orange, which James opposed, is mentioned only in passing, but the explanation of the Exclusion Crisis is well done. The author's insight that James's leadership suffered from never having experienced independent command in youth, and that he worked best in a subordinate position (to Marshal Turenne as a young man, to his brother as an older one) is valuable.

The documents are beautifully reproduced on pages separate from the main narrative. First, each is placed in context. These sections produce some of Dr. Callow's most enlightening observations (for example, pages 98-99 on James's religiosity). One page of each document is then reproduced in a beautiful color photograph. Finally the full text of the document is given. But the document selection is odd, perhaps because of the need to highlight the holdings of the National Archives. Missing are any political or religious pamphlets, official documents such as the Declaration of Indulgence, William's replies to James's letters, or excerpts from contemporary diaries or memoirs by Pepys, Evelyn, Reresby, Aylesbury, or, most surprisingly, James himself. Rather, the volume draws on the king's own letters in the State Papers. While this might appear to be the obvious course to take, it runs aground on two shoals: first, a king's eye view is anything but inclusive, and may not be the best guide to his own reign or even life. Worse, James II was among the least interesting or reflective letter writers of the early modern period: for example, in Letter 8, the execution of Algernon Sidney receives one sentence, as does a fox-hunt. Letters 10 and 11 are detailed but matter-of-fact accounts of Monmouth's

Rebellion. The king makes no attempt to come to terms with why so many of his subjects could not abide his rule. This does have the virtue of confirming the traditional view of James's character and why he lost his crown: he comes across as a rather plodding and unreflective man, unable to place himself in his opponents' shoes even for the purpose of defeating them.

In conclusion, this is very much a gift shop book. It is a pleasure to read and to own, not least because of its beautiful illustrations but also because its author knows his subject. It is not intended for scholars, but it might work in an undergraduate course. Dr. Callow has fulfilled his brief well, given his rather unpromising subject matter.

Loyola University of Chicago ROBERT BUCHOLZ

Gunpowder: The Players behind the Plot. By James Travers. (Richmond, Surrey, UK: National Archives. 2005. Pp. 192. $36.00.)

The accession of James I to the English throne in 1603 raised the hopes of several of the various religious factions within the realm. On one hand, English Puritans hoped that James would be the Moses ready to deliver them to a godly paradise. On the other, English Catholics also saw reason for hope. James was the son of the Catholic martyr, Mary, Queen of Scots, and had expressed support for religious toleration.

James, however, dashed the hopes of both groups by proclaiming his steadfast allegiance toward moderation and the compromise embodied in the Thirty-Nine Articles. No serious reform in either direction would take place. Catholics, with perhaps the highest expectations, were the most disappointed. Moreover, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Spain in 1604 removed the possibility that they could be rescued from the throes of heresy by foreign intervention.

Believing that they were in desperate straits, a small band of disappointed Catholics resolved to deliver a master stroke by which their faith could be restored. Like modern Mafiosos who knew that if they eliminated one of their enemies, they must eliminate them all, they concocted a plan to blow up the king and members of both Houses of Parliament at the opening of the session in 1605. As the session neared, however, the plotters began to have reservations, among them the realization that the explosion would also kill Catholic peers. They decided to warn them ahead of time, but, to their dismay, the peers informed the government instead. The plotters were easily rounded up and in most cases died horribly for their indiscretion.

James Travers' book is not a conventional history of the plot, although one can learn most of what is known about it from reading it. Rather, Travers book is an interesting and nicely executed narrative experiment, where he treats the event as a high drama with a prologue and three acts, and pays particular atten-

tion to the roles and personalities of the leading figures. Another attractive feature of the book is that Travers' incorporates analysis of original documents and art work into his text. While the result will not reveal much that is not already known, the book is well-conceived, smoothly written, handsomely produced, and of particular interest to persons who are not specialists in the period.

Marshall University WILLIAM PALMER

The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England. By Peter Lake with Michael Questier. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xxxiv, 731. $45.00.)

In his vivid title, Peter Lake refers to the denunciation of fashionable attire by the Dutch Puritan Ananias in Jonson's satiric comedy, *The Alchemist* (cf. 4.7.55). Lake's extensive survey of religious attitudes in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature is virtually two books in one. Lake scrutinizes sixty murder-pamphlets in Chapters 1-5. With Michael Questier, he examines Catholic martyrologies in Chapters 6-8. These chapters are flanked by two excellent historiographical essays: the Introduction, and Conclusions to Sections I and II. Lake peruses a total of twenty plays: less well-known domestic tragedies in Section I, and dramas by Shakespeare and Jonson in the last half of the book. Lake includes twenty-two woodcuts or engravings to illustrate murderers (sixteen in Section I), Catholic martyrs (four in Section II), and preachers (two in Section III).

Lake determinedly avoids the polarizations of A. G. Dickens (Reformation inspired by biblical translations and sermons) versus Christopher Haigh and Eamon Duffy (Reformation imposed by monarchs). He follows the nuanced scholarship of Patrick Collinson (godly Puritans: whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Congregational) and even draws Catholics from the backwater into the mainstream of Early Modern English history. Lake examines many of the pamphlets and plays studied by the feminist Frances Dolan and the cultural materialist Lena Cowen Orlin, but to their insights he adds the religious concerns of Tessa Watt and Alexandra Walsham.

Lake's analysis of the sixty murder-pamphlets is a challenge to follow because he treats his murderers like a pack of cards to be shuffled and dealt under successive headings. Lake describes "a chain of sins" (p. 47) leading to murder: drunkenness, gambling, theft, and adultery. Next he categorizes the murders according to the position of the victims: husbands, wives, children, masters, and clergy. Given his primary interest in the religious dimension of his material, Lake notes which murderers were moved to repentance by the promptings of their own conscience or by the preaching of the clergy, which ones spoke contritely in prison and on the scaffold, and which refused to admit their guilt. Pamphleteers usually claimed that murderers who were Catholic or Puritan had been led into crime by their religious beliefs. It is not easy to trace the murderers from one topic to another because some names

are not listed in the Index , e.g., the historical Mrs. Brewen (p. 66) and the fictional Thomas Merry (pp. 24-26). All pamphlets are listed in the index, but not all give the name of the murderer or the victim in their titles. A bibliography, if only of secondary sources, would have been helpful.

Lake's treatment of English Catholic martyrs and Renaissance drama is more immediately rewarding. Catholic readers will be pleased to learn how much pastoral activity Jesuits and secular priests were able to exercise from Elizabethan and Jacobean prisons. Lake finds Protestant preaching and scaffold speeches to be similar in form, though different in content, for both repentant murderers and persevering Catholics. As an historian of religion, Lake illuminates the themes of sin and repentance in tragedies based on murder-pamphlets as well as the lack of repentance in Hamlet's uncle and Macbeth. Lake connects the anti-Puritan satire in *The Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair* to the anti-Marprelate tracts. In Shakespeare's problem-play *Measure for Measure*, Lake suggests that Angelo is doctrinally Calvinist, first thinking himself one of the elect, then one of the reprobate after his abuse of power is unmasked.

Peter Lake is to be commended for highlighting analogous forms in the vast repertoire of murder-pamphlets, Catholic martyrologies, tragedies, and comedies. This gargantuan work will repay the effort required to digest and assimilate it.

The Catholic University of America ANNE M. O'DONNELL, S.N.D.

Religion and Reformation in the Tudor Diocese of Meath. By Brendan Scott. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. 174. $65.00.)

This short book forms part of an increasing body of local and regional studies which collectively are bringing about a transformation of our understanding of early modern Ireland. This developing preoccupation with the lesser political and administrative units of the island—its lordships, counties, and dioceses—is in large part a reflection of continuing dissatisfaction with the attempts of previous generations of scholars to provide an adequate account of the major historical developments of the period through wide-ranging and general lines of interpretation. As political and administrative historians failed to identify fundamental forces underlying the process of the Tudor conquest and its consequences across the country as a whole, so they turned to intense analysis of particular regions in order to uncover and assess specific factors hitherto obscured in the broad canvass of historical explanation. And similarly, as there is no agreed account as to why the Protestant Reformation failed and the Counter-Reformation succeeded, religious and cultural historians have begun to undertake intense studies of the primary units within which the great confessional struggle took place. Already important original work informed by these concerns has been completed for the archdiocese of Armagh, the archdiocese of Dublin, and the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin by

Henry Jeffries, Colm Lennon and James Murray, and Mary Anne Lyons respectively, and further research on other dioceses is well underway. And it is in this context that Brendan Scott's study of the diocese of Meath is best seen.

In his choice of topic Scott has been singularly fortunate. As part of the archdiocese of Armagh and as a county of the Pale, Meath has been relatively rich in surviving primary materials, and Scott has been able to exploit important work on the diocese already published by the nineteenth-century ecclesiastical historian Anthony Cogan, and by more recent scholars including John Brady, Gerard Rice, Helen Coburn Walsh, and Hubert Gallwey. What he offers himself is a not unsubstantial contribution to this corpus. An opening chapter provides a topographical and social survey of the diocese which will prove highly informative to those unfamiliar with the internal characteristics of the area. A second chapter develops an interpretative narrative of the course of the Reformation, and its decline from the 1530's to the 1590's.

Three analytical chapters follow. The first conducts a detailed examination of the economic and social status of the diocesan clergy. A second investigates the course of the dissolution of the diocese's religious orders and the distribution of monastic lands. A third supplies a social survey of the laity, reviewing the genealogical history of the leading noble and gentry families, and providing solid evidence of the drift toward recusancy which was such a marked feature of the later sixteenth century. Of these the first is the most successful and valuable. Combining a wide variety of difficult and hitherto underused sources, and applying a well-informed comparative perspective, Scott supplies convincing evidence both for the extremely perilous financial state of the diocese at the start of the Reformation and for its subsequent deterioration as the century advanced. The analysis is concluded by a case study of one egregiously offending clergyman which, while making due allowance for the exceptional features of the case, Scott uses to cast fascinating light on the conditions of the parish clergy as a whole. In the following two, however, the author is less imaginative. Though he carefully traces the early stages of the sale of monastic lands and throws some light on the subsequent fate of the disposed religious (most continued to draw on relatively generous pensions), he does not consider the subsequent course of the monastic estates on the land market. This is unfortunate as so much of the property was distributed not by outright grant but by leases, many of which were to fall due in the later sixteenth century at a time when competition between the old colonial community and New English adventurers for the profits of land and office was beginning to intensify. Insecurity over land title may have been a significant factor in alienating the local gentry from the royal government, which Scot does not consider in the following chapter; and in this regard he might have given time also to a consideration of the larger cultural implications which the Reformation entailed for the descendants of the original conquerors (the dominant ethnic group in Meath), whose very legitimacy was being undermined by the promise to absorb Gaelic Irish priests, practices, and observances in a common Church of Ireland.

In the absence of such deeper enquires it is not perhaps surprising that both in his narrative chapters and his conclusions Scott does not stray very far from the prevailing orthodoxy: that the success of the Counter-Reformation was due to the failure, weakness, and incapacity of those charged with the enforcement of the Reformation. This has always been plausible enough in so far as it goes. But it leaves unresolved crucial questions as to why such weakness and incompetence should have persisted so chronically amidst an increasingly effective political and military presence, and why it should have provoked such a forceful reaction. But while it may have not supplied answers to these problems, the evidence produced so copiously and clearly in this book makes a substantial contribution toward their better appreciation.

Trinity College, Dublin CIARAN BRADY

South Tipperary 1570-1841: Religion, Land and Rivalry. By David J. Butler (Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. 336. $65.00.)

David J. Butler's book *South Tipperary 1570-1841: Religion, Land and Rivalry* explores and analyzes the relationship between Protestants and Catholics in South Tipperary from the time of the Reformation to the achievement of Catholic Emancipation. It is an excellently researched book. Butler covers an extensive period in the history of South Tipperary (1570-1841), during which period the themes of religion, land, and rivalry were real and emotive issues in the county and in the country in general. Butler writes in a style that is engaging and accessible. It is evident from the outset that Butler has an empathy with his subject area, and both the vastness of his knowledge regarding this period and his attention to detail are evident in every chapter.

The book is divided into three judiciously entitled parts. Part 1: "Carving out Spaces of Dominion: Reformation, Re-conquest and Rebellion, 1570-1649"; Part 2: "Consolidating Territorial Control: Power, Identity and Difference, 1650-1730"; and Part 3: "Contesting Hegemony: Confrontation and Resistance 1731-1841," which give a flavor of the topics covered in this volume. A fine conclusion forms the final chapter. The appendices, bibliography, and index are worthy of this publication.

At the beginning of the book, Butler includes the following quote from R. Miliband: "hegemony is actually a process of struggle, a permanent striving, a ceaseless endeavour to maintain control over 'hearts and minds' of subordinate classes. The work of hegemony, so to speak, is never over." In the last line of his concluding chapter Butler states: "It may be seen in this study that on the one hand, even to the end, the ruling Protestant minority establishment never ceased to struggle to retain the hegemony to which it had grown accustomed and without which it could see no purpose for itself: on the other hand, the Roman Catholic majority continually strived for the religious, social and economic ascendancy it saw as its God-given right" (p. 268).

Throughout his book, Butler uses many examples to flesh out Miliband's thesis on hegemony. For example, one of the instruments used by the minority establishment in its pursuance of hegemony was tithes which Catholics were required to pay to the Established Church. Catholics viewed this tax as exorbitant and unfair. Commenting on tithes, Butler says: "These extractions were inflated by the machinery of collection, which constituted a corps of tithe-protectors and tithe-farmers who at a price administered the system on behalf of the clergy" (p. 220). The Whiteboys dealt with these middlemen and often did so in a violent manner. The Government of the day enacted the Whiteboy Act of 1765 to deal with the Whiteboy menace. It could be argued that Parliament colluded with the established minority in its hegemonic agenda. This was a period when Catholics lost their lands , did not have their rights vindicated in law, and felt their religion being belittled by a minority who believed it was their God-given right to govern as they saw fit.

Early on in his book, Butler states a sound rationale for his area of study: "The study of an Irish county, such as South Tipperary, opens up many interesting perspectives and aims to contribute to the literature by combining geographic concepts with archival work and interdisciplinary material" (p.17). This methodology subtends his whole approach to his field of study. Butler's work will be of interest to Tipperary people, to historians, to students of Irish history, to ecumenists, and to anyone interested in understanding the impact of religion, land, and rivalry between the late sixteenth and mid-nineteenth century in South Tipperary. Dr. Butler is to be congratulated on this fine piece of research which has established him as a *hēgemōn* in this area of expertise.

Carlow College
Carlow, Ireland

CONN Ó MAOLDHOMHNAIGH

Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini, 1645-1649. By Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp xiii, 324. £48.)

The mission of GianBattista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, to Ireland as papal nuncio in the later 1640's has long been recognized in scholarly circles as important in terms of its political and diplomatic effects. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin's study represents a major advance in its contextualizing of Rinuccini's Irish sojourn in the post-Tridentine European Catholic milieu. This approach affords him the opportunity to reassess the progress made by the Counter-Reformation in Ireland in the three decades between the establishment of a resident episcopacy in Ireland in 1618 and the nuncio's arrival in 1646, and also to examine the personal values and preconceptions that he brought to bear from the center to the periphery of the Catholic world of Europe.

One of the principal contributions of the author is his clear demonstration that the Catholic reforms initiated by Trent had been successfully imple-

mented in many of the dioceses ruled by Gaelic Irish bishops, in spite of difficulties such as their problematic jurisdiction within the Stuart kingdom of Ireland, the shortage of ecclesiastical resources due to the confiscation of diocesan and monastic property, and the internal rivalries within and between the regular and secular clergy. It is cogently argued here that Rinuccini found much to admire in the disciplinary rigor of the Gaelic bishops' regime and their reverential attitude to worship. The nuncio's own writings on the subject of the place of religion in the state and the proper conduct of bishops and clergy are very effectively adduced to explain both this reaction, and also the vehemence of his rejection of any diminution of the Roman Church's position during the political imbroglio at the heart of the peace negotiations between the Kilkenny confederates and Ormond, the lord lieutenant.

Rinuccini's ideal of the public, self-confident expression of Catholic belief and worship and his insistence on the full restoration of church property brought him into conflict with the Old English confederates who wished to come to terms with the royalist cause in England and Ireland as a means of ensuring toleration. Ó hAnnracháin's analysis of the nuncio's formation in the Roman and civil law elucidates his forensic examination of the history of the breakdown of relations between the Italian and the peace-making coterie within the confederation of Kilkenny. This explains, for example, his exasperation with the constitutional and common law milieu in which those whom he disparagingly called the "Ormondites [*Ormonisti*]" operated. Mutual distrust and incomprehension were crystallized in the parties' diametrically opposed views on the efficacy of private worship. Interestingly, the author posits a "Jansenist or seigniorial" version of Catholicism among the Old English elite, though this concept is not really elaborated upon here.

The title of the book, which seems odd if applied only to the period, 1645-1649, is fully justified as it brilliantly measures the Catholic renewal in Ireland against the benchmark of continental Tridentine reform. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin's extensive researches in a range of archives in many countries and in documents in many languages represent a scholarly *tour de force*. Using the prism of Rinuccini's Italian Catholic perspective, the author's comparison of the work of the Counter-Reformation missioners in the island with that of their counterparts in many other parts of Europe, brings the subject into the historiographical mainstream.

National University of Ireland, Maynooth COLM LENNON

Late Modern European

Imperial City. Rome, Romans and Napoleon, 1796-1815. By Susan Vandiver Nicassio. (Welwyn Garden City, UK: Ravenhall Books, Linden Publishing Limited. 2005. Pp. 255. $34.95.)

This book is evidently intended for a broad readership intrigued by the recreation of a picturesque and occasionally dramatic past. The author surveys the life of the inhabitants of Rome in the extraordinary decades when the Eternal City experienced traumatic events such as the short-lived Jacobin Republic of 1798, the restoration of papal government, the French hegemony in Italy, absorption into the French Empire in 1809, and the fall of Napoleon's reign in 1814-15. The book does not pretend to offer any particular analysis of these events; rather, they serve as the background for a skillful evocation of what life in Rome was like at that time. The look of the city, the character and social organization of its inhabitants, their daily and ordinary experiences, are recreated with the help of travelers' accounts, occasional vignettes of specific well-documented individuals, memoirs, and some visual sources. Though the striking developments of those years receive attention, the emphasis is on what the ordinary lives of ordinary Romans were like, and on how they survived the disruptions caused by the French.

A first chapter recounts the overall historical narrative of these decades. Then follow chapters on the city and its appearance, the society and mores of the Romans, the "joys" and "sorrows" of their lives (from marriages and popular entertainments to violence and dirt), the features and feasts of the Catholic ritual year, and the economy, education, and work. Two late chapters more closely track the deteriorating relationship between French occupiers and resisting Romans, which mirrored the increasingly bitter fight between Napoleon and the papacy. A final chapter surveys the restoration of papal government and ends the book with an overview of the fate of Napoleon's family, many of whom ended up in Rome.

The book is enjoyable to read, and its larger story and individual vignettes are often captivating. None of it adds up to much in the way of interpretation, although Professor Nicassio affects a tone of nostalgia for the happiness of old-regime life, which appears for instance in a constant—and eventually, to this reviewer, grating - sarcasm toward reform attempts: suffice it to say that the Jacobin Republic is almost always referred to as the "Ridiculous Republic," an epithet apparently used at the time, but obviously far from an unbiased one.

Even when writing an engaging book for a general audience, a professional author ought to be more careful with her facts and editing. The book is quite simply riddled with errors and typos. There are many instances in which little facts or details are repeated, sometimes in the same few pages (e.g., pp. 45-46); many, many of the numerous terms and expressions in Italian, French, or Latin are misspelled; often the same foreign names or words appear with different spellings

even in the same two or three lines (e.g., in the "cast of characters," p. 10, where the name of one of Napoleon's brothers-in-law is also misspelled, or on pp. 99-100), or events are dated to different years (such as the death of Napoleon's mother, pp. 226 and 232); and the bibliography, which includes a useful introductory essay, is filled with misspelled names of authors and mistaken titles, including one of the classics on the topic, David Silvagni's *La corte e la società romana* (a single footnote on p. 160 includes five typos in Italian names and titles). The book has no full index (only proper names); a few quotes have no references, and many of the pretty illustrations are not identified or credited.

Then, there are errors of fact: the dates of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (p. 17) and of the Treaty of Amiens (p. 27) are off by one year, and the imperial proclamation of Napoleon III is dated to 1850 instead of 1852 (p. 228). Winckelmann was not murdered in Rome (p. 144), but in Trieste, and Raphael (who died in 1520) did no work for Sixtus V (who ruled 1585-1590) (p. 35). It is perhaps picayune to point out such errors, which in themselves are of small import. But the overall sloppiness undermines even an engagingly written and conceived book like this. All audiences deserve more care and attention than this book grants them.

Georgetown University TOMMASO ASTARITA

Don Bosco, His Pope and His Bishop. The Trials of a Founder. By Arthur J. Lenti, S.D.B. [Centro studi Don Bosco: Studi Storici—15.] (Rome: LAS [Libreria Ateneo Salesiano]. 2006. Pp. 251. €15 paperback.)

Arthur J. Lenti teaches at the Institute of Salesian Spirituality in Berkeley, California. His impressively researched book, *Don Bosco, His Pope and His Bishop* is a study of Saint Giovanni Bosco (1815-1888), the founder of the Salesian Order and a key figure in Catholicism's approach to poverty and industrialization in the mid-nineteenth century. Don Bosco struggled to save impoverished boys from the streets, first in Turin, and launched his famous Oratory, which enjoyed the patronage of the King of Piedmont. He also enjoyed good relations with Turin's archbishop Luigi Fransoni, whose death in 1862 left the see vacant until Lorenzo Gastaldi replaced him in 1871. Don Bosco was also a good friend of Gastaldi and had nominated him first for the see of Saluzzo and then that of Turin. A Rosminian progressive, Gastaldi, however, distanced himself from Don Bosco, and each ultimately considered the other as an enemy. Lenti's work examines the nature of the struggle between the two antagonists. The story of the bad blood between the two occupies the bulk of the text. Much of it was a turf battle. That some young men, for example, preferred to enter the Salesian houses over life in the diocese led Gastaldi to charge that Don Bosco was stealing his seminarians. Clearly inflated egos on both sides worsened the situation, and in December of 1874 Gastaldi "issued a decree abrogating all favors, faculties and privileges granted to the Salesians by him and by his predecessors" (p. 163). While Pius IX was

alive Don Bosco had an ally in Rome, and the pontiff, in turn, relied on him for advice from Piedmont, the crucial engine of Italian unification. Lenti notes, however, that Bosco lost his advantage when Leo XIII came to the throne of St. Peter in 1878. The new pope courted the archbishop, and Gastaldi "finally prevailed," a victory confirmed in a forced *Concordia* which ordered Don Bosco to apologize in writing.

Lenti devotes his volume to Church administration rather than to the better-known story of Don Bosco's efforts regarding the social and spiritual demands of the nineteenth-century poor, the work that led to his recognition as a saint. Each of the three chapters are reprints of articles first published in *The Journal of Salesian Studies.* Taken together, however, they tell a coherent tale. Some minor typographical errors dot the text; an awkward transition to "Section Two" of Part One may cause some confusion; Gastaldi is referred to as Lawrence and as Lorenzo in various parts of the book; and the work suffers from the lack of an index. Lenti's study, on the other hand, is laudably even-handed and refrains from tarring Gastaldi. Some of the most appealing passages of the book, in fact, treat him humanely and even with admiration. Almost a century and a half later, however, the squabbles often appear petty and arcane. The book, nevertheless, provides valuable insight into the occasionally sordid nuts and bolts of church politics. Perhaps Lenti's treatment of the controversy between Don Bosco and Lorenzo Gastaldi will lead some readers, active in their own parish politics, to ask themselves, "How much has really changed?"

The University of Scranton ROY DOMENICO

Fear and Trembling. By Søren Kierkegaard. Edited by C. Stephen Evans and Sylvia Walsh. Translated by Sylvia Walsh. [Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxxviii, 115. $55.00 clothbound; $16.99 paperback.)

Kierkegaard's *Frygt og Bæven*, the author's meditation on the Genesis 22 narrative, has now been translated into English six times. Several years after the work's original publication, Kierkegaard proposed that, being widely read and translated into foreign languages, the text would become something of a modern classic. Hindsight fully establishes the merit of this forecast. In addition to being far and away the most translated of Kierkegaard's texts, *Fear and Trembling* continues to be the text through which a disproportionate number of readers are introduced to Kierkegaard, as well the text about which a disproportionate amount of scholarly literature has been and continues to be written. *Fear and Trembling* is also the first of Kierkegaard's works to merit inclusion in the series of Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy.

Structurally, this latest edition of *Fear and Trembling* compares favorably with previous editions. The editor's introduction—although it, like those of

previous editions, bears the unmistakable mark of its author in a number of places—is really the first to do justice to the manifold of openings that precede the advent of the three *Problemata* (problems regarding the teleological suspension of the ethical, the absolute duty to God, and the ethical defensibility of Abraham's silence, respectively). Calling attention to the peculiar problems attested already in the subtitle of the work, the name of the pseudonymous author, the motto, the preface, the attunement, the tribute to Abraham, and the preliminary expectoration, Evans succeeds in bringing the reader much closer to the point at which a reading of *Fear and Trembling* may verily be said to begin. Additionally—and while the supplied chronology and suggestions for further reading are merely adequate—the running footnotes and appended index are quite simply superb, and manage to facilitate the entire range of readings to which earlier editions had been variously catered.

As to the translation itself, the translator would presumably call the reader's attention to the work's subtitle, according to which the text is a "dialectical lyric." Such a qualification borders on the oxymoronic and subsequently appeals to two divergent sensibilities on the part of any would-be translator: the technical and the poetic. Add to this the advent of the ostensive problem of (Abraham's) "translatability" in the text itself and one has all the makings of a translator's nightmare. Accordingly, one may as well amend Kierkegaard's forecast to say not only that *Fear and Trembling* will be translated into, e.g., English (by Payne, 1939), but that it will be translated again (by Lowrie, 1941), and again (by Lowrie, 1954), and again (by Hong and Hong, 1983), and again (by Hannay, 1985), and then, now, again. Admittedly borne upon the successes and failures of these precedent endeavors, as well as the wealth of subsequent commentary and the newly designed Danish edition, the translation supplied by Walsh is arguably the best yet—so long as this qualification is not taken to imply the ideal of the eventual "impeccable" translation daringly anticipated by Lowrie on the occasion of his significantly revised second translation. Indeed, although progressing at a markedly and appropriately slower pace than the commentary thereupon, it would seem that the translation of *Frygt og Bæven* is a comparably interminable endeavor. Suffice it to say, however, that the reader who thinks to wait for the next "better" edition and translation of this remarkable text will almost certainly be waiting for quite some time.

South Texas College CHRISTOPHER NELSON

The War Against Catholicism. Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany. By Michael B. Gross. [Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 354. $70.00 hardback; $25.95 paperback.)

Did sexual anxiety cause the *Kulturkampf*? So one might conclude after reading Michael B. Gross's provocative study of the anti-Catholic imagination in nineteenth-century Germany. German liberals coded the Church as female.

When a women's movement in the late 1860's produced "dramatic pressures for change" (p. 239), liberals responded with a virulent anti-Catholic campaign. Within a decade they had succeeded in expelling the religious orders, depriving parish clergy of their role in schools, giving the state control over the education and appointment of pastors, and jailing bishops and banishing priests who refused to comply.

The picture invites skepticism. Could three new vocational associations, with "assiduously" unpolitical agendas and a modest, overwhelmingly non-Catholic membership (the latter unmentioned by Gross), really trigger such liberal panic as to precipitate an earthquake in church-state relations? If the political, social, and sexual order were so deeply unsettled by this "resurgence of the women's movement," would not conservatives—and Catholics—have been even more alarmed? If sexism was "typical of the liberal middle class" (p. 186), were the upper and lower classes more enlightened? Yet it was middle-class liberals whose imaginations were "tortured" (p. 206) by fantasies of Catholicism.

Gross argues that the incessant invocation of their own masculinity and repeated representation of the Church as female served to defend German liberals' monopoly on public space against the invasion of women. One could also argue the reverse: antagonistic masculine/feminine tropes aimed at barricading the public space against the Church. Was woman the target and religious invective the weapon, or was Catholicism the target and misogynist invective the weapon? Different passages of *The War Against Catholicism* suggest different answers.

But such queries are beside the point. The New Cultural History has never set its sites on anything so positivistic as causation, on distinguishing dependent from independent variables. It seeks, rather, to unravel tangled skeins of meaning. In this task Gross excels. In exploring what the Catholicism *meant* to liberals, Gross is at his most innovative and most persuasive. When he argues that "at the center of liberal anti-Catholicism was ... not merely religious intolerance but a more fundamental sexism" (p. 203), that the *Kulturkampf* reflected a "more fundamental contest between men and women" (p. 205), one might question his judgment as to which element is really "more fundamental," but not his nose for new and interesting historical evidence. Gross has grounded his case for the gendering of anti-Catholicism on a much fuller empirical base than I (having also searched for such connections, mostly in vain) would ever have thought possible. His resourceful investigation of images, recurring metaphors, and verbal tics lays bare the filiations of liberal identity in ideas of independence, rationality, and masculinity, demonstrating powerful connections (although perhaps not causal ones) between liberal anti-Catholicism and what academics call "misogyny." Language that likened piety to nymphomania and offered prophecies of metaphoric castration if the Church remained unchecked betrays, Gross tellingly observes, a "deep-seated fury" (p. 239). Surely this was (forgive the misogynist term) hysteria.

The phobic dimension of liberal identity is Gross's most memorable contribution, as convincing as it is astonishing; but it by no means exhausts the riches of this stimulating book. Guarding against reductionism in accounting for the *Kulturkampf*, Gross pays his dues to "hard" empirical social and political history, shedding light on the legislative fallout of the anti-Catholic campaign as well as on the sources of Catholicism's conspicuous vitality. A particularly fine chapter explores the movement to invigorate Catholic piety through missions, arguing in passing that Catholic missionary successes spurred a competitive Protestant revival. His evidence is anecdotal and fragmentary, but if confirmed by further research his suggestion would significantly revise our picture of German Protestantism in decline. Unpersuasive, however, is Gross's explanation for Catholic success: having "*pounded* audiences with the threat of infernal damnation, hellfire, and brimstone, the missions were instruments of psychological and *public terror, traumatizing* their audiences and *driving them back* into the church" (p. 25; emphasis mine). Melodrama has always been popular and never more than in the nineteenth century. There is no impartial evidence, however, of its "traumatizing" its consumers, any more than horror movies do today—despite the dark forebodings of critics. The notion that the nineteenth century's richly articulated Catholic piety was the product of trauma hardly accords with the explosion of vocations, which (thought liberals) "exceeded the requirements" of the population (p. 131). For two decades after 1850, more than two convents, on average, were founded in Prussia *every month*. Is it reasonable to attribute these remarkable commitments to terror?

If some of Gross's interpretations outrun plausibility, others exaggerate his differences from predecessors like Jonathan Sperber, Helmut Walser Smith, Ronald J. Ross, David Blackbourn, and myself (all generously cited). On such matters, for example, as the duration of the missionary campaign, the explanation and timing of the *Kulturkampf*, whether or not anti-Catholic legislation was a betrayal of liberal principles, the differences are a matter of emphasis.

After having given us a powerful description of febrile anti-Catholicism through the early 1870's, Gross unaccountably sees it declining at the century's turn. Had he looked at the kinds of evidence that he exploits so brilliantly for earlier decades, he might have concluded otherwise. In a 1903 *Simplicissimus* for example, little Michel, the elfin symbol of Germany, is pictured steering his fragile rowboat of state between the multi-headed Scylla of socialism and the monstrous mouth of Charybis, whose biretta reveals this leviathan as Catholicism. In 1909, a sinister Jesuit, a plague of rats swarming around his heels, offers a visual argument against the Center Party's motion to repeal the society's expulsion. Compared to such nightmares, those roly-poly monks quaffing beer in monastic cellars that Gross reproduces from *Gartenlaube* seem innocuous. Regardless, however, of one's demurs here and there, Gross's study is a notable addition to the history of anti-Catholicism and a methodological landmark. The "New Cultural History," whose apostles have

promised so much, has at last found a subject worthy of its program and a historian with the imagination and skill to deliver on it.

The University of California, Berkeley MARGARET LAVINIA ANDERSON

Volksfrömmigkeit und Katholisches Milieu: Marienerscheinungen in Heede 1937-1940 im Spannungsfeld von Volksfrömmigkeit, nationalsozialistischem Regime und kirchlicher Hierarchie. By Maria Anna Zumholz. [Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte und Historische Landesforschung, Band 12.] (Cloppenburg: Verlag und Druckerei Runge. 2004. Pp. 746.)

In this interesting study, a slightly revised dissertation, Maria Anna Zumholz analyzes a series of Marian apparitions which occurred in Heede, a small village in the remote northwestern German Emsland region. She uses her analysis to offer a nuanced picture of the interplay between popular piety, Catholic milieu, ecclesiastical authority, and National Socialist repression.

In a 200-page introduction, Zumholz provides a detailed history of the Emsland and its predominantly Catholic population. The Emsland changed hands repeatedly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, always between states with Protestant rulers. Repression of their faith, combined with government neglect of this poor rural region, led the Emsländer to form a high level of suspicion of any state authority.

Zumholz argues that this population was particularly prone to beliefs in supernatural occurrences and in special gifts of certain individuals. The author also provides a thorough review of Marian apparitions in Germany and elsewhere in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She points out that, in contrast to circumstances in other countries, no Marian apparition in Germany received ecclesiastical approbation. Zumholz believes that German bishops were not only "Germanically thorough" and strict in their review of these events, but they also feared the condescension of the Protestant majority, which considered Marian devotion in general and apparitions in particular to be proof of Catholic backwardness. In this context, Zumholz points to David Blackbourn's study of the supposed apparitions at Marpingen, events which German bishops remembered only all too well.

The Marian apparition in Heede occurred over the course of three years in a village cemetery. Four adolescent girls claimed to have seen the Mother of God appearing between two trees. They continued seeing the image, although not on a regular basis. The girls claimed to have spoken with the image, whose presence nobody else, even those present, could perceive. While the local priest soon supported the young women in their claims, the Bishop of Osnabrück as well as state authorities of the Third Reich were alarmed by the claims and even collaborated in banning pilgrimages to the cemetery. The bishop's decrees and the draconian measures taken by the Gestapo and the

Sicherheitsdienst (the intelligence branch of the SS), however, failed to stop people, even those traveling considerable distances, from coming to Heede.

Zumholz uses these events to engage current debates about the formation and strength of both popular piety and the Catholic milieu. She argues convincingly that, at least in the Emsland, the milieu was deeply rooted in the community and that it had originated among the laity. She thus rejects the arguments of Olaf Blaschke and others who argue that the church hierarchy created the milieu as an instrument of social control or even a way of resisting modernity. Similarly, Zumholz shows that while the Church encouraged Marian devotions specifically and expressions of popular piety generally, this particular expression grew in defiance of the bishop's explicit instructions. Thus, popular piety, too, was not something engineered from above. Zumholz shows how the laity were and are quite powerful in insisting on forms of devotion acceptable to them and how this challenged and challenges bishops to find compromises between their own authority and the demands of the laity.

Zumholz also shows that the laity's adherence to the milieu strengthened during times of crisis, such as during the repression of the National Socialist regime and the trauma of World War II. She has marshaled a large body of evidence to demonstrate the failure of the National Socialist regime to penetrate the Catholic milieu. Quite the contrary, the milieu appears to have strengthened under pressure from the outside. Zumholz believes resistance to external pressures to be one of the most important contributors to milieu formation, more important than socioeconomic change—largely absent in the Emsland—, modernization, or hierarchical instrumentalization.

There are only few substantive criticisms to raise against this work. Zumholz is too generous in her treatment of Wilhelm Berning, Bishop of Osnabrück during the Third Reich. While she attributes his accommodation of the regime to his desire to maintain adequate levels of pastoral care in his diocese, other bishops cared for their flocks without instructing their clergy to use the Hitler greeting and without instructing one of their aides to maintain regular informal meetings with the local Gestapo representative to resolve issues of common concern. Also, this volume would have benefited from additional editing before publication. For example, most readers who engage this work will not require a sixty-page description of the anti-Catholic views of National Socialists such as Hitler, Himmler, and Heydrich or of the organizational structure of the Gestapo and the *Sicherheitsdienst*. Finally, 200 pages of introductory material, even if it sets the scene carefully, are more than enough.

These criticisms, however, should not detract from the value of this work. More than the study of a particular Marian apparition, this is an excellent, detailed, and well-differentiated analysis of the way in which laity, an inimical regime, and church hierarchy interacted in mid-twentieth century Germany. Too often, the history of Catholicism during the Third Reich is the story of

extremes of resistance and collaboration. This study shows Catholics who were used to being a neglected if not oppressed minority doing what they had always done: rejecting the outsiders and maintaining their faith.

Rivier College MARTIN MENKE

Consciences épiscopales en exil (1789-1814): À travers la correspondance de Mgr de La Fare, évêque de Nancy. By Bernard de Brye. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2004. Pp. 517. €59.00 paperback.)

Anne-Louis-Henri de La Fare was a pre-eminent leader of the Catholic Church in France during the Restoration. Aside from becoming Archbishop of Sens in 1817 and a Cardinal in 1823, he served as an assistant to Talleyrand when the latter led his government's administration of *cultes*. Monseigneur La Fare never would have amassed such ecclesiastical cache, however, had it not been for his earlier intransigence toward the Revolution, Napoleon, and the religious legislation enacted by both. Becoming the bishop of Nancy while the Old Regime was in its last throes, La Fare went into exile shortly after passage of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. He remained outside of France until 1814, refusing to recognize the Napoleonic Concordat and not submitting his episcopal resignation before 1816. It is this earlier part of La Fare's pastoral career that is the subject of Bernard de Brye's book.

Much of Brye's study reads like a conventional biography. Like many high prelates of his time, La Fare was groomed from an early age to become a prominent clergyman. Before becoming the bishop of Nancy, La Fare proved himself as a *syndic* of the clergy in the diocese of Dijon, a member of the Estates of Bourgogne, and a participant in the General Assembly of the Clergy in 1782. Shortly after becoming bishop in 1788, La Fare was one of the relatively few (forty-five) bishops sent to the Estates General to represent the clergy. He quickly aligned with the far right in the Constituent Assembly and vehemently opposed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which when passed led to his resignation from the assembly in July 1790 and his subsequent exile six months later.

Monseigneur La Fare first found refuge in Trier, but remained there for less than a year. By November 1791 La Fare was in Vienna, where he spent the balance of his exile. Aside from keeping tabs on his diocese, which was no easy task, he also directed efforts whereby expatriated French priests were sent into Hungary to minister and evangelize. La Fare also assisted other exiled bishops who lacked proper passports and came to the material aid of the exiled clergy from his diocese. This study is at its best when Brye describes La Fare's attempts to administer his diocese from afar; one finds subtle depictions of relationships that La Fare forged with the vicars general of his diocese, who clandestinely acted on his behalf in Lorraine. Also significant here is Brye's explanations for why La Fare not only rejected the latter clerical oaths during the Directory period but also the Concordat of 1801 throughout the Napoleonic regime.

As welcome as this book is, especially since it provides valuable glimpses of the refractory Church both in France and beyond it and is generally well researched, one is hard pressed to see how Brye's work differs from the outdated polemical historiography of the Catholic Church during the French Revolution that casts the refractory clergy as right and the constitutional clergy wrong. What does Brye say about the Constitutional Church in and around Nancy? Hardly anything. To cite one example, the Constitutional bishop of the Meurthe, Luc-François Lalande, is mentioned only once in the book, in an obscure footnote, no less (p. 250). That Brye obviously considers the Constitutional Church illegitimate is beside the point; the greater issue here is his obfuscation of the institution's relevance by omitting it from the narrative. Scholars yearning for a comprehensive view of the Catholic Church in France during the Revolution deserve better, even in a book about a counterrevolutionary cleric.

Western Illinois University EDWARD J. WOELL

Henri-Dominique Lacordaire's Re-Establishment of the Dominican Order in Nineteenth-Century France. By Peter M. Batts. [Roman Catholic Studies, Volume 21.] (Lewistown, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 129. $99.95.)

Among the understudied (and thus under-appreciated) figures of nineteenth-century French Catholicism (which is itself also understudied) stands Henri-Dominique Lacordaire, who channeled his considerable talents and faith into the successful postrevolutionary restoration of the Order of Preachers in France.

The author, Peter Batts, suggests that Lacordaire's Dominican vocation provides a case study of the role that religious "Romanticism" in a variety of forms, played not just in the postrevolutionary restoration of this venerable order, but also of the wider influence of French Catholic Romantic thought on the restoration/establishment of other orders and congregations in France and on the evolution of nineteenth-century Catholicism.

Batts greatest strength lies in his description of the nature and role of this Catholic religious Romanticism as it emerged in France and captured the hearts, minds, and imaginations of a generation of young men and women like Lacordaire.

The author also clearly identifies the fault-line that emerged within the restored Dominican order between the positive, ultramontanist vision represented by Lacordaire, which sought an authentic adaptation and accommodation of the Dominican charism to evangelize effectively a startling new world order, and a rigid, more traditionalist ultramontanist vision, represented by Alexandre Janel (the restorationist Master General), who felt that an uncompromising resistance to change in any form was the most effective means for restoring the primitive evangelistic spirit and thus effectiveness of the Order of Preachers.

In the end, however, this study reads more like a prospectus for a needed modern critical biography of Lacodaire and his life and times. The present study is also limited by its exclusive use of secondary and published primary source materials, and no apparent independent archival research. A more thorough job of editing may have also led to a helpful annotation of the text by the judicious use of explanatory footnotes.

Among the study's contextual flaws is an inadequate presentation of the very nuanced relationship between the Church and an increasingly anticlerical State from the 1801 concordat through the various regime changes of the century. Also absent is a serious consideration of the battle in France in this era between a temporarily revitalized Gallicanism and an ultimately ascendant ultramontanism.

More importantly, absent from this study is any real discussion of pre- and post-revolutionary Dominican history in France and elsewhere that would enable the reader to understand the context of the Dominican restoration and particulary the state of the order that led to the extraordinary intervention of Pius IX into the governance of the Order of Preachers.

Finally, the author presents the outline of a worthwhile argument that an understanding of Lacordaire's theology of religious life might today yield fruitful insights for Dominican life and ministry, as well as the Church's response to the challenges of the postmodern world.

DePaul University EDWARD R. UDOVIC, C.M.

Saint Thérèse of Lisieux: Her Family, Her God, Her Message. By Bernard Bro. Translated by Anne Englund Nash. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press. 2003. Pp. 253. $15.95 paperback.)

St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus is an important saint. Bernard Bro, O.P., is one of her most important interpreters. In *Saint Thérèse of Lisieux: Her Family, Her God, Her Message*, he takes up and expands on many of the themes of his popular 1974 book *The Little Way*. Bro incorporates insights of scholars with whom he had collaborated as editor at Editions du Cerf in the preparation of the centenary edition of the works of the saint and of studies of her doctrine. These include Conrad de Meester, O.C.D., and Guy Gaucher, O.C.D., later auxiliary bishop of Lisieux, and Emmanuel Renault, O.C.D. Most significantly, he draws on his intimate knowledge of the saint's writing and his contact with the living tradition of the Carmel of Lisieux to present the *meaning* of Thérèse's life and doctrine. And with the help of literary quotations, he does so for a world in which men and women are increasingly isolated and alienated. Bro writes both as a man of letters and as pastor who understands the basic issues of human life.

Bro notes that many who write about Thérèse approach her by placing her in opposition to someone else or by analyzing her in the light of psychology, semantics, or structuralism. In contrast to such a "reductive" hermeneutic, he proposes a hermeneutic that "builds up" by striving for an "authentic connaturality and sympathy with the reality being studied" (p. 248). Consequently, his interest is in revealing the dynamic of the life of St. Thérèse from within, from what actually motivated her and gave meaning to her life. We are not surprised to learn that he discusses love, confidence or surrender, mercy, zeal for souls, hope, suffering, and silence, for they are key concepts in her life and writings. Bro eruditely explores the meaning of these questions for the world. Then, by presenting them as St. Thérèse experienced them, he reveals the profound fidelity of her life and doctrine to the saving work of Christ. As a consequence, he is well able to establish her theological originality and (as a kind of running bass note) to suggest that she deserves her title of doctor of the Church.

Bro ably shows that Thérèse's experiences of loss and of her own helplessness led her to understand that God loves us first and loves us without condition. As a consequence, her task in life was to return that love by living in truth and choosing whatever God in his mercy might send, even if it meant choosing without obvious success. Thérèse emerges as a teacher of hope.

Bro's insights make this an important work. But it is a flawed work. Its organization is sometimes confusing. Chapter titles correspond poorly with contents. Bro provides no biographical sketch or chronology; instead he presumes a detailed familiarity with the saint's life and with primary sources. He omits some important source references. His indulgent use of literary citations sometimes obscures his exposition. Minor historical inaccuracies intrude. The intrinsic flaws are compounded by a translation that is sometimes too faithful to the French for ease of reading in English. Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, this book deserves a place in the library of every student and preacher of St. Thérèse.

Washington Theological Union DAVID J. CENTNER, O.C.D.

The Cathedral 'Open and Free': Dean Bennett of Chester. By Alex Bruce. [Liverpool Historical Studies, no. 16.] (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2000. Pp. xiv, 286. $19.95 paperback.)

Alex Bruce has produced a detailed study of the role of Frank Selwyn Macauly Bennett in adjusting the character of Anglican cathedrals to the changed circumstances of post-World War I England. Bennett served as dean of the cathedral in Chester, England from 1920 to 1937, wrote numerous short works on the place of the cathedral in the life of the church, and served on a Church of England Commission that made recommendations about cathedrals, collegiate churches, and chapters (1924-1927). Bruce demonstrated that soon

after assuming office at Chester, Bennett turned Chester Cathedral into a model for cathedrals elsewhere in England.

Bruce, a retired headmaster and local historian, detailed a series of specific changes introduced by Bennett at Chester Cathedral. Bennett extended the hours in which the cathedral was open; increased the rota worships services to include daily celebrations of the Eucharist, Matins, Evensong, and Compline; eliminated entrance fees, arranged to have clergy available around the clock for counseling; and oversaw changes to the physical plant that included installation of electricity, the creation of a "great Hall" in which community events could be held, and the designation of a parlor in which canons could relax and smoke their pipes.

Bruce had a good command of the details of the story that he has related. He traced Bennett's family origins and his early history in two parishes in Chester (Portwood and Christ Church) and one in the diocese of St. Asaph in Wales (Hawarden). Bruce patiently explained the sometimes-perplexing contingencies of the Anglican Church. He noted, for example, the difference between cathedrals of ancient foundation and those of modern foundation; explained the complicated debate around the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Wales, investigated the origin of the entrance fees that Bennett so opposed (perhaps an outgrowth of tips given to the vergers and sextons who conducted tours) and the claims that others preceded Bennett in their elimination (true only in qualified ways—i.e. for limited periods of time or for limited portions of the church building); and speculated on the behind-the-scenes developments by which Bennett received his various appointments. The book can be a gold mine of information for those seeking to understand the workings of the early twentieth-century Church of England.

Bruce had much less to say about the relationship of developments in the Church England to those in churches of other denominations or to those in churches other parts of the Anglican Communion. He did, however, provide some interesting hints. He explained, for example, that there was no evidence that the re-established Roman Catholic cathedrals of nineteenth-century England charged admission. He also noted that Bennett traveled to the United States in 1926 to share his vision of the role of a cathedral with American Episcopalians. Others will have to follow up on such leads in telling the broader story of the modernization of the cathedral. An editor's note at the beginning of the book explained that Alex Bruce died while the book was in press.

Virginia Theological Seminary ROBERT W. PRICHARD

The Bible War in Ireland: the "Second Reformation" and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800-1840. By Irene Whelan. [History of Ireland and the Irish Diaspora.] (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 347. $60.00.)

This is a significant book that breaks new ground in its description, analysis, and contextualization of Protestant and Catholic hatred (not too strong a word for it) for each other in the early decades of the nineteenth century in Ireland. It makes a valuable contribution to an understanding of the origins of what was to become the endemic sectarianization of Irish society. And it offers an important perspective on the phenomenon of anti-Catholicism in Britain and the United States in the later nineteenth century. The book's main theses are based on a very extensive study of the main documentary archives—notable use being made in particular of the Methodist Missionary Society papers—and also of the published religious ephemera produced by the contending parties. This book will be essential reading for anyone interested in the emergence of an Irish Catholic identity in the nineteenth century and in Protestant-Catholic relations in that period not only in Ireland but in the Anglophone world.

Dr. Whelan examines the emergence in Ireland in the last decade of the eighteenth century of a strong Protestant evangelical movement which took as its objective the conversion of the priest-dominated Irish Catholics. This was a task that had been talked about and even acted upon fitfully since the late sixteenth century, but the results had been, to say the least, disappointing. By 1790 Ireland was infinitely more "Catholic" than she had been two hundred years earlier. This stark fact was a standing reproof to the Protestant Ascendancy that had governed Ireland since the seventeenth century, but until the late eighteenth century there had been for some time a weary, and indeed wary, acceptance that it might not be possible or indeed advisable, to do anything about it. In the 1790's, however, the shattering experience of polarized community relations and religious mayhem culminating in the 1798 rebellion—widely depicted as a sectarian civil war—forced a re-think. One lesson from the rebellion was that Protestantism could never be safe while the mass of the people remained in thrall to their priests, and hence a strong evangelical movement embracing not just Methodists but also key personnel in the Church of Ireland was got under way. This was to culminate in the 1822 declaration of the absolute necessity for a "Second Reformation" by the newly installed Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, William Magee. The Catholic Church, experiencing a resurgence in the early nineteenth century, and under the redoubtable leadership of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin fought back against what it saw as a declaration of war. It was no coincidence that this confessional conflict in the 1820's overlapped with the campaign for Catholic Emancipation led by Daniel O'Connell. Each drew upon the other, each sharpened the bitterness with which the debates and the elections were conducted, and when the contest ebbed religion and politics were inextrica-

bly linked for the forseeable future. The "Bible War" may have peaked in the 1830's, as Dr. Whelan argues, but it continued *diminuendo* for many decades and arguably formed the crucible of modern Irish Catholic identity. By the 1830's to be Irish was to Catholic and, in Ireland, to be Catholic was to be Irish, a synchronicity which had not been the case in the mid-eighteenth century, but which was to persist by and large to the present day.

University College Dublin THOMAS BARTLETT

American

Beyond Toleration: The Religious Origins of American Pluralism. By Chris Beneke. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 305.)

In this, Professor Beneke's first book, Americans of the colonial and early republic eras come to embrace diversity in religion as a means of transforming their discrete societies into a unified republic rooted in majority rule. In describing this progression, the author consistently recognizes the importance of belief to early Americans. Homogeneity of religious belief, values, and practices within localities or regions served as the basis of community in colonial America. Diversity threatened not only American communitarianism, but also the possibility of united colonies. Therefore, the growth of toleration was a significant development, and served as the basis upon which to establish a new and larger community during the Revolutionary era.

Beneke's text is exceptionally well written, exhaustively researched, and modestly argued. It begins with a concise, yet rich depiction of the religious absolutism present in Colonial America. Intolerance was rooted in an absolute belief in one truth and in the acceptance of God's directive to spread that truth. Colonies were formed as enclaves of like believers protected by civic and church laws. "Within such a context, dissent was more than wrong. It was seditious" (p. 22). However, as the seventeenth century passed, Americans found that an increasingly diverse population compelled changes in behavior and attitudes. Toleration, as "an instrument of prudent statecraft," was reinforced by a "radical political ideology known as liberalism that asserted 'liberty of conscience' as an individual right" (p. 32). Later in the eighteenth century Americans came to "the radical conviction that true liberty of conscience could only be experienced through public discussion" (p. 43). The growth of printed materials disseminating dissenting views, "irreverence for authority and disdain for formal distinctions" explain the rapid rise of tolerant perspectives prior to the Revolution (p. 51). Beneke sees the Great Awakening as fostering the growth of ecumenism by challenging traditional religious authorities and accepting all expressions of genuine faith rooted in Christian concepts as ultimately different forms of the same truth. The ecumenism movement came to full significance in the years after the Revolution when it served as the basis for Robert Bellah's "civil religion"—a new theological understanding that

united disparate Americans in shared values accepting individual rights, Judeo-Christian morals, and a belief in democracy as the means to secure both.

Beneke conceives of the progression from doctrinal exclusiveness to religious toleration to full liberty of conscience as a series of events that occurred within a Christian America. In the process he tends to minimize secular movements and Enlightenment ideas outside of Christian thought. He notes the growth of "Deism," "Universalism," "infidelity," and "religious indifference" in the early republic, but views contemporary accounts expressing alarm as overstatements. America, he assures his readers, was still a Christian nation, albeit one accepting an ecumenism as its civil religion. "To some critics, it was impossible to distinguish between wholesale indifferences to religion and the polite ecumenism that prevailed among elites" (p. 172). Beneke wants his readers not to make the same mistake.

Beneke clearly writes as one who accepts Christian precepts and the authority of a church and at times this perspective results in judgmental language that this reviewer is uncomfortable reading in a scholarly work. For example, he finds many of the Founders came "perilously close to deism" in exercising their liberties of conscience (p. 166). Near the end of the book he strangely intermingles issues of church governance and civil governance, refusing to recognize the one as a private concern and other as a public responsibility. Perhaps more importantly, Beneke could be more forceful in articulating and developing his thesis throughout his text. Lengthy descriptive passages would have benefited from more analysis and interpretation. Yet, these matters do not significantly impair this work as a significant academic contribution to the growing historiography on the meanings of religious freedom and church-state separation in the founding era.

University of Richmond MARK DOUGLAS MCGARVIE

The Catholic Experience in America. By Joseph A. Varacalli. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 2006. pp. xxii, 314.)

Part of a larger series "The American Religious Experience," the present volume is designed as a text book for senior high school students, presumably in Catholic high schools. The first half of the volume is about the past history of Catholicism in America. Professor Varacalli, of Nassau Community College, covers the basic facts and controversies of the past. His narrative is unexceptionable, though it does tend to celebrate the Catholicism of the decades after the end of World War II as an apogee.

In more recent history, however, the book displays a traditionalist approach to Catholicism and a more conservative political stance—disapproving of what the author calls the "Kennedy-Cuomo" political orientation. True to the vision of his mentor Monsignor George A. Kelly, Varacalli laments the impact of

the Second Vatican Council on the religious behavior of American Catholics and advocates as desirable the return to stricter Catholicism of the pre-councilior days. He expresses the hope that Pope Benedict will restore discipline to the Church in this country. The book, therefore, will be very useful in those high schools which wish to emphasize the deterioration of Catholicism in the United States and the lack of political courage of Catholic politicians. High schools with a different orientation will probably find it offensive. Thus he mentions the statement *Dignitatis Humanae (On Religious Freedom)* only to caution on the risks of interpretation which will weaken the uniqueness of Catholicism. His young readers are not told that this statement was written in part by the American Father John Courtney Murray S.J. and is considered the major contribution of the American bishops at the Council, a reversal of the teaching that error has no rights (Murray, as the reader of this review doubtless knows, argued that erring people do have rights). It would be better if the book, if it were to say anything about the Council, would present a more nuanced perspective, especially on this all-important document. Students should understand at least that Professor Varacalli's "orthodox" ideology is not the only useful model for considering contemporary Catholicism.

The University of Chicago ANDREW GREELEY
The University of Arizona

Habits of Compassion: Irish Catholic Nuns and the Origins of New York's Welfare System, 1830-1920. By Maureen Fitzgerald. [Women in American History.] (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. x, 299. $50.00 clothbound; $25.00 paperback.)

With this ambitious and provocative study, Maureen Fitzgerald contributes substantively to the burgeoning field of scholarship acknowledging the seminal roles women religious have played historically in the formation of American culture and society. Focusing primarily on the work of the Sisters of Mercy, the Sisters of Charity, and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd in nineteenth-century New York City, Fitzgerald situates her sophisticated chronicle of the evolution of city welfare policy within a complex nexus of both inter- and intra- gender, religious, class, and ethnic interactions, tensions, and stereotypes. Fitzgerald posits a struggle for cultural hegemony in the emerging welfare state, initially manifest in the opposing positions which Protestant, native-born, elite women and Irish Catholic nuns adopted respectively. Protestant women eschewed outdoor relief or direct subsidies to the poor and advocated removing poor immigrant children from their natural parents and placing them out permanently in American Protestant families, both to preclude the perpetuation of a permanent dependent class and to ensure the inculcation of proper American republican values in immigrant progeny. The sisters preferred to preserve the immigrant family's integrity and parental involvement—and, not incidentally, Irish Catholic culture—by institutionalizing the children temporarily and returning them to their parents as circumstances warranted. As her narra-

tive unfolds, Fitzgerald deftly incorporates other variables—including the increasing intervention of male bureaucrats, politicians, and the Roman Catholic male hierarchy in welfare initiatives over time; new assaults on non-Protestant cultural traditions as new political alliances based on class coalesce and supersede traditional alliances based on religious and ethnic loyalties; the proliferation of public and private agencies to regulate welfare institutions; and the triumph of "scientific charity" which prizes education, professionalism, and investigation over normative standards of charity and justice. Fitzgerald's analysis of the impact of historic conditions in Ireland on the nascent Irish American community consciousness and her perceptive discussion of both Protestant and Irish Catholic conceptualizations of female sexuality, appropriate gender roles, and model female behavior particularly distinguish themselves.

However, some aspects of this engaging study prove problematic. Fitzgerald's reference to sisters' "ability to make vows of obedience to other women, not to men" (p. 39) and repeated assertions that "most [convents] were not subject to the bishops in the dioceses in which they worked" (p. 38), and "women religious were now to have a place in the hierarchy below bishops" (p. 47) exaggerate an autonomy from episcopal authority that the sisters themselves would neither have asserted nor presumed. Indeed, the Rule of 1812 of the Sisters of Charity in Emmitsburg, Maryland, explicitly stipulated the following under Article III, On Obedience: "The Sisters of Charity shall pay honor and obedience to their institute, to the most Reverend Archbishops and Bishops in whose respective dioceses they may be established. They shall obey also the Superior General of their society and those whom **he** [emphasis added] may delegate to direct or visit them, to the Mother, and in her absence to her Assistant Sister. . . ." Fizgerald's several references to "the convent [as] a preferable means to articulate religious and political commitment" (p. 11), to nuns' "reluctance to claim that power as such, especially in public and to the larger community. . . ," and "their unwillingness to spar publicly with Catholic men or Protestant native-borns. . ." (p. 42) distort the very nature of the nineteenth-century disengagement of women religious from worldly contestations of power, public roles, and public voices. Nevertheless, this important study succeeds not only in telling the stories of women religious, but also in ". . . fundamentally critiquing and rethinking the premises of an American women's history that has rendered their work invisible or inconsequential" (p. 3).

University of Georgia DIANE BATTS MORROW

The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview. By Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 828. $70.00 clothbound; $29.00 paperback.)

One of the most persistent myths about the Old South is that it had no "mind"—that white southerners, as a "conscious minority" besieged by criti-

cism over slavery and living amid their "troublesome property," acted out of passion, fear, anger, and even fury rather than studied philosophies. The myth gained currency because few people outside the South, then and now, took seriously the southerners' proslavery apologies as having any intellectual rigor or moral worth. Whatever "mind" the master class did have supposedly was incapable of thinking beyond defending slavery and one's "honor." In such a world, intellectual pursuits were suspect at best, dangerous at most. Forty years ago Clement Eaton presented the arguments of various southern planters, clergy, writers, and other intellectuals to suggest the Old South had a mind, limited though it was, and more recently scholars such as Drew Gilpin Faust, Jon Wakelyn, and Robert Brugger, among others, in a series of biographical studies and Michael O'Brien in two thick volumes on southern thought discovered an intellectual ferment in the Old South that challenged the myth of the Old South as an intellectual desert. Now, with the publication of their much-awaited *magnum opus,* Eugene Genovese and the late Elizabeth Fox-Genovese have settled the matter. In *The Mind of the Master Class*, they bring together a lifetime of inquiry to discover the ways in which elite white southerners "reflected on the world they lived in and on the bearing of history and Christian faith on their lives as masters in a slaveholding society" (p. 1). In doing so, they reveal a vibrant and sophisticated southern intellectual life, albeit one that fixated on demonstrating and affirming that the South's slave society, rooted in a corporate patriarchal structure and rural independence, promised the most stable Christian social order known to humankind.

The Genoveses have read all manner of public and private musings of hundreds of southern planters, clergy, novelists, and others engaged in a century of investigation and debate on the nature of social order and obligation, faith, and political economy in and for a slave society. By the Genoveses' reckoning, these earnest southern intellectuals were well versed in Scripture, theology, moral philosophy, classical and medieval history, Enlightenment ideas, the transatlantic revolutionary movements of 1789-1848, cultures across the world, and much more. They read deeply and widely partly out of intellectual curiosity but mostly out of fear. Their intellectual stance was in the end defensive, for they recognized their ways were out of tune with the march of political democracy, theological liberalism, and market capitalism that threatened their world. They read and wrote to "justify themselves to themselves" (p. 382) and to reclaim moral authority in a nation they worried was fast sinking into corruption and apostasy because of abolitionism and all that it represented. The master class confronted modernity. They found appealing, for example, the seeming stability of medieval society, grounded in hierarchy, and some among them even conceded that the Catholic Church had provided a civilizing force in history. To be sure, the elite southerners were also conflicted, for they "pronounced themselves simultaneously progressive and conservative" (p. 225), and they could never be sure of the extent to which their ideas and interests were shared by those below them. They admired the ancients but acknowledged that history moved in cycles so that decadence and decline

were almost inevitable. They never resolved their "fondness for individual freedom descended from the Greeks and transformed by Christian doctrine and their approval of a socially cohesive medieval corporatism designed to minimize class antagonisms" (p. 668). Ideas about free will contested with those of Calvinist preordination, all the while evangelicalism swirled about them. Protecting slavery might demand the creation of a strong nation-state, which contradicted their reliance on states' rights, a fatal tension, I might add, that persisted into the experiment of the Confederacy. And, as the Genoveses conclude, southern thought demanded that to fulfill its own destiny the South must create "something genuinely new under the sun: a modern slaveholding republic. . . . The building of a Confederate nation required that the slaveholding society . . . break the historical cycle of glory, decadence, and collapse" (p. 712)—in a word, that it defy history. That act of faith proved impossible to achieve.

No short review can relate the complexities and reach of the Genoveses' arguments or even hint at their prodigious scholarship (their seventy-three-page bibliographical essay relating southern references to peoples, beliefs, events, and ideas from the ancients to their own time is a trove). If the book sometimes drags with too much detail, the Genoveses never lose their way. If the Genoveses' own personal return to and turn to Catholicism tilts them toward an admiration for a conservative social order and sometimes an almost polemical depiction of abolitionism, bourgeois individualism, and market capitalism as of a piece, they leave no doubt that slavery was wrong. And if they claim too much for the hegemony of the mind of the master class, they show that hereafter southern thinking must be taken seriously.

Saint Joseph's University RANDALL M. MILLER

Moral Reconstruction: Christian Lobbyists and the Federal Legislation of Morality, 1865-1920. By Gaines M. Foster. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 318. $49.95 clothbound; $21.95 paperback.)

Foster's deeply researched and clearly argued book details the relationship between a small number of Protestant Christian lobbyists and the Federal Congress. While readers will learn much about the organizations associated with the Christian lobbyists, this, ultimately, is a book about the "reconstruction of the American state" (p. 7). The Christian lobby, which traced it roots back to the Civil War and was most active from the mid-1890's to 1920, pressed Congress for laws which would "expand the moral powers of the federal government and to establish the religious authority of the state" (p. 1). As a whole the lobbyists (like the multitudes that they represented) saw morality mostly in terms of personal virtue and thus they sought laws which would "control drinking, obscenity, polygamy, divorce, Sabbath observance, gambling, smoking, prizefighting, prostitution, and sex with underage girls" (p. 3). Many of the lobbyists, but not all of them, also sought the adoption of the so-called "Christian Amendment" which would have changed the language of the pre-

amble of the constitution to include explicit recognition that the government derived its power from God.

In seeking these goals, the lobbyists sought to overturn what Foster calls the antebellum moral policy, which left "the regulation of morals to the states and the promotion of morality among its citizens primarily to the churches" (p. 10). In the period leading up to the Civil War, Democrats, especially Southern Democrats worried about the crusade against slavery, emerged as the organized political force against any expansion of the federal government's role in regulating morality. Thus, when the Christian lobby first emerged, its allies in the Congress were Republicans who came into the party out of the reform tradition. But after Reconstruction and the establishment of white supremacy in the South, the Christian lobbyists formed working partnerships with Southern Democrats. With their new allies, the lobbyists (and the groups they represented), pushed through Congress effective federal policies against polygamy, laws banning obscenity and prizefight films from interstate commerce and the mails, and laws that would restrict prostitution, sex with underage girls, and divorce. Most significantly, they were crucial in the creation of the prohibition of alcohol constitutional amendment.

While the lobbyists did expand the power of the federal government, the Congress never fully gave them what they wanted. Much of the antebellum moral polity remained intact. Congress never accepted the idea of a federal police power over morality; rather it merely patched together a functional police power from existing delegated federal powers. Congress mostly left it to the states to deal with the regulating of morality. Also, "Congress refused altogether to establish the religious authority of the federal government" (p. 229). Indeed, Congress repeatedly refused to embrace the Christian Amendment and refused to enact nation-wide Sunday closing laws. Moreover, the Christian lobbyists won their victories not by converting Congress to their point of view, but by the mobilizing of political pressure; they expanded the powers of the federal government, but that government "despite their efforts, remained essentially secular" (p. 231).

State University of New York at Albany RICHARD F. HAMM

The Slovak Catholic Sokol Story: Recalling a Century of Fraternal Progress. Compiled and edited by Daniel F. Tanzone. (Passaic, New Jersey: Slovak Catholic Sokol. 2006. Pp. 181.)

In the late nineteenth century the Sokol movement arose among several ethnic minorities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Focusing on gymnastics and athletics in the Olympic model and utilizing the falcon (sokol) as a symbol, the movement sought to promote physical strength, moral integrity, and national consciousness in youth, preparing them to play a constructive role in society. As various Slavic peoples emigrated to the United States, the Sokol movement came with them. Catholic Slovaks, frustrated by the failure of the movement to

incorporate, or even acknowledge, a religious component in its programs, organized the Slovak Roman and Greek Catholic Gymnastic Union Sokol in Passaic, New Jersey on July 4, 1905. The group shortened its named to Slovak Catholic Sokol in 1933.

This book, issued to commemorate the centennial of the Slovak Catholic Sokol, is an effective chronicle and celebration of an ethnic fraternal group's century of existence. Lavishly illustrated with more than 300 photographs, the volume faithfully reports, year by year, on the group's meetings, activities, dividends, contributions, prominent personalities, and connections to the wider Slovak world in America and Europe. *The Slovak Catholic Sokol Story* is less satisfying as a history. For example, there is little indication of the size or makeup of the organization. Membership is reported "at an all-time high of 51,684" in 1959 (p. 70). Thirty pages later, in 1987, it is reported that, "membership had fallen below 50,000 for the first time in its history" (p. 103). And that is the last mention of membership. We are given no idea whether the group is a vibrant survivor or a declining remnant of the age of American fraternalism. Likewise, there is little or no effort to place the group within the wider context of Slovak-American culture, fraternalism, Catholic youth ministry, or athletics. In too many cases, the reader has to rely on the photographs for a sense of where the group is today.

The Slovak Catholic Sokol Story will be of some interest to those concerned with the story of American ethnic fraternal groups, and, in particular, in the relationship of those groups with the newly-freed motherlands after the fall of Communism.

Seton Hall University RAYMOND J. KUPKE

The Fourth R: Conflicts over Religion in America's Public Schools. By Joan DelFattore. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 342. $29.95.)

The Fourth R is a significant contribution to the ongoing discourse and debate regarding religion and the public schools. In this important work, Joan DelFattore traces the often bitter history of disputes over religion in the public schools. Her writing style is entertaining and accessible, but this does not take away from the scholarly depth and breadth of the book. DelFattore points out that both sides in the culture wars, and specifically in the current debate over religion in the public schools, have tended to oversimplify the relevant issues and facts. Moreover, each side tends to demonize the other. This has led to a skewing in the public consciousness of the issues involved in cases involving religion in the public schools and to a tendency for members of the public to see issues through a specific lens. Thus for many people issues regarding religion in the public schools are connected to a broader social agenda, and as a result the factual and contextual differences between different issues are glossed over or ignored.

The debate over religious expression in the public schools is a debate about law and constitutional norms, but it is also a debate about history, society, power, cultural trends, and theology. DelFattore navigates this complex area adeptly, including a somewhat detailed discussion of the role anti-Catholicism played in the debate. The role of anti-Catholicism in debates over religion in the schools can be traced back to the pan-Protestant common schools in the early nineteenth century and the response of the predominantly Protestant culture to Catholic immigration. Of course, the Protestant-Catholic dynamic is simply one of a number of overlapping social dynamics involved in the broader debate that DelFattore writes about. I will focus mostly on this aspect of the book because of its relevance to this journal and because Delfattore's (as well as other authors') discussion of the role of anti-Catholicism in the church/state debate raises interesting questions about the current state of Supreme Court jurisprudence in this area.

A number of Supreme Court Justices have touted the role of original intent and the "traditions" of our nation in interpreting the religion clauses. This focus on tradition has commanded a majority or plurality of the Court in a number of decisions, most recently in Van Orden v. Perry, 545 U.S. 677 (2005) (Plurality) (upholding the display of a Ten Commandments monument on the Texas state capitol grounds). In his dissenting opinion in a sister case, McCreary County v. ACLU of Kentucky, 545 U.S. 844 (2005) (holding Ten Commandments display in county courthouses unconstitutional), Justice Scalia goes so far as to suggest that the traditions of our nation and the intent of the framers' would allow the government to favor monotheistic religious symbols. As DelFattore and a number of other authors have pointed out, one of the nation's strongest religious traditions in the public school context is, unfortunately, anti-Catholicism. In fact, given the "religious traditions" so happily touted by Justice Scalia, it is highly unlikely he would have been able to sit on any federal court, let alone the Supreme Court.

As "our traditions" and public schools developed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries anti-Catholicism grew in strength. Nativists used it to their political and social benefit, and the public schools were often the center of these debates. This is to say nothing of the role played by anti-Mormonism, anti-Semitism, and the like in our nation's "religious traditions." By documenting these concerns as part of the broader history of church/state debates in the public schools, Delfattore not only tells a compelling story, but indirectly calls attention to the problems with the use of "tradition" and originalism in religion clause jurisprudence. It seems that some Supreme Court Justices have fallen prey to the oversimplifications DelFattore documents in the broader culture wars. The "traditions" of hostility did not end in most of the nation until quite recently, and they are still alive and well in parts of the country.

DelFattore masterfully connects the dynamic between nativists and Catholic immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the current debate between the "religious right" and the supposedly "liberal" estab-

lishment. Relatedly, the book implies that those who seek to include majoritarian religious exercises in the public schools are more likely than their opponents to ignore facts and oversimplify issues regardless of the impact on religious outsiders, at least when it comes to drawing broad cultural conclusions from issues surrounding religion in the public schools. DelFattore poignantly explains that this may not be the result of discriminatory motives. Rather it may reflect an authoritarian ideal of the nation's religious and cultural heritage or what it means to be an American.

Still, there is hope for building bridges across the cultural divide. *The Fourth R* focuses on the potential of concepts like "Equal Access," which demands that when school buildings and functions are opened to a variety of viewpoints religious viewpoints cannot be excluded, to reduce some of the tension in this area. It might have been useful for the author to address more clearly the fact that equal access arguments only work in public or limited public forums and thus are of little help in contexts where the school is in control of the relevant forum, but this is a complex legal issue at the intersection of free speech and the religion clauses. Given this, DelFattore is to be commended for the clarity that she lends to the issue even if the legal analysis could have been more detailed in places.

It was a wonderful treat to read a work of scholarship that puts pretension to the side and tells a great story (a story that is meticulously documented). Quite frankly, this is one of the best books on religion in the public schools to be published in recent years. Given DelFattore's wonderful style and excellent research I look forward to reading more of her work in the future.

Michigan State University College of Law FRANK S. RAVITCH

To See Great Wonders: A History of Xavier University, 1831-2006. By Roger A. Fortin. (Published by the University of Scranton Press. Distributed by the University of Chicao Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 520. $40.00.)

Roger Fortin leaves no stone unturned in his extremely well documented account of the history of Xavier University in Cincinnati. The institution began as the Athenaeum, a boarding and day college founded by Bishop Edward Fenwick in 1831 on Sycamore Street in Cincinnati In 1840 Bishop Purcell offered it to the Jesuits, who took it over and renamed it St. Xavier.

It was one of several hundred such small, religious colleges that were founded in the period prior to the Civil War. The mortality rate of these small colleges was high, and Xavier barely survived during the pre-Civil War period. When the Civil War broke out in April 1861, total enrollment was 133 students. Having weathered the crisis of a near collapse and the stress of the Civil War, it began to make its mark on the community. Its alumni could soon be found in the various professions, in the business community, and in the ranks of the clergy.

Fortin covers the major milestones in the next century. The most important was its move in 1919 to the suburb of Avondale, where it had acquired 26,747 sylvan acres. The added buildings climaxed in the year 2000 with the opening of the Cintas Center. It provides spacious rooms for academic convocations and civic functions and includes a handsome arena for its remarkably successful basketball teams.

Jesuit flexibility is manifest in its continual adaptations to emerging social trends. In fact, thanks to the changes mandated by the Second Vatican Council, it had to adapt to a whole new model of authority in place of the authoritarian and clerical one. The changes accelerated as it became coeducational, and lay men and women generally assumed greater control of Catholic institutions including Xavier. At the same time Xavier has continued its efforts to encourage the students "to find God in all things" as it provides a host of opportunities for spiritual growth, including Masses on campus, retreats, and the ministry of two resident chaplains.

The decade (1991 to 2000) of the presidency of James Hoff, S.J. has been described as "phenomenal" as Xavier attained national recognition for scholastic and athletic excellence. The North Central Association's report in 1999 noted the "substantial quality improvements in virtually every facet." The successor he groomed, Michael Graham, S.J., has been able to build on Hoff's achievement. By the fall of 2004, *U.S. News & World Report* ranked Xavier number 2 among the best of 142 master's-level colleges and universities in the Midwest. And in 2006 it ranked its MBA program 24th nationally. The enrollment at the same time increased from 6,253 to 6,665.

A noteworthy aspect of this period was the University's increasing effort to foster Ignatian identity by encouraging students to become leaders in building a more just and humane world. Its peace and justice programs, located in the Dorothy Day House, emphasized social action, encouraged critical thinking, and a vision of hopeful new structures. The students lobbied against capital punishment, brought communion to elderly nursing home patients, and tutored at elementary schools. They also addressed peace and justice issues, especially in Latin America.

Xavier celebrated its 175th anniversary in 2006. The third largest private university in Ohio could take pride in its remarkable history and its secure reputation as one of Cincinnati's oldest and most distinguished institutions.

Church of the Assumption
Cincinnati, Ohio

THOMAS BOKENKOTTER

The History of Creighton University, 1878-2003. By Dennis N. Mihelich. [Presidential Series.] (Bronx, New York: Fordham University Press, and Omaha, Nebraska: Creighton University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 528. $40.00 clothbound; $25.00 paperback.)

Dennis Mihelich's conscientiousness in recording Creighton University's 125-year history is truly impressive. He has mined the local sources (house diaries, board minutes, student publications, etc.) in great detail and presented his findings comprehensively. What this means for an institution like Creighton, with its collection of professional schools and specialized programs, can best be illustrated by reviewing the contents of the final chapter, "Extending the American Dream, 1992-2003." Like the other chapters, it begins with a brief summary of the period covered. After this come discussions of: financial issues and enrollment (3 pages); changes in the physical plant (4 pages); religious issues (1 page); curriculum (3 pages); business school (2 pages); nursing program (1 page); graduate school (1 page); law school (2 pages); dental school (1 page); pharmacy and health professions (2 pages); medical school (5 pages); student life and athletics (5 pages); presidential succession 1999-2000 and issues confronting the new president (4 pages); and, finally, a capsule summary of Creighton's history (1 page).

As the foregoing will perhaps suggest, the book is not intended for casual browsers. Nor is Mihelich's devotion to detail always justified. Why, for example, should the reader be burdened with the information that Creighton's "first phone number was 330," but became "DO(uglas)-2873" when a new system was installed in 1921? Yet the book has real value as a record of change in the history of Catholic higher education, especially in the area of professional education.

Mihelich presents the story in three parts of four chapters each. Part One, "Americanization," covers Creighton's foundation in 1878 and evolution from a more or less typical nineteenth-century Jesuit college into a complex institution with recognizably modern features. What makes this phase of the university's development unique among Catholic institutions of higher education is the role of the Creighton family as benefactors. The total value of their largesse probably came to around thirty million dollars in today's money—which, not unnaturally, gave rise to what Mihelich calls the "wealthy Creighton" myth that hampered later fund-raising efforts. Yet it also permitted the high school and arts college to operate tuition-free until the early 1920's.

Part Two, "Marking Time," covers the years from the end of World War I to 1950. Mihelich's theme here is "unfulfilled aspirations," the principal one being Creighton's failure to achieve "structural assimilation" into the Omaha community. Yet the university's modernization continued as graduate work developed, especially in summer school, and the enrollment of women in professional schools made Creighton coeducational long before that condition was officially tolerated by Jesuit authorities.

The last four chapters, grouped under the heading "The American Dream Accomplished," bring the story up to the present. The fifties were boom years for higher education and Creighton was fortunate in the leadership of Carl Reinert, S.J., who established positive connections with Omaha's civic leaders, led successful fund drives, and renovated the campus. The chapters dealing with the confrontational sixties and the decades since are of particular value because the historical literature is sparse for this epoch in the development of Catholic higher education. As is true throughout, narrative momentum is smothered in detail and in the range of topics covered, but Mihelich provides a wealth of information on these years.

The text is accompanied by some seventy photographs, but one can only wonder why a positively funereal night-time shot of the administration building was chosen for the cover.

University of Notre Dame (Emeritus) PHILIP GLEASON

American Students Organize: Founding the National Student Association after World War II. An Anthology and Source Book. Edited by Eugene G. Schwartz. (Westport, Connecticut: American Council on Education/Praeger Publishers. 2006. Pp. xxxii, 1212. $135.00.)

Eugene G. Schwartz's *American Students Organize*, an "anthology and source book" on the founding and first years of the National Student Association (NSA), 1947-1952, is far more than a compilation of documents, timelines, and rosters tracing the history of an organization. Through memoirs, journal articles, and reports written by the students, the book offers the historian insight into the women and men who founded the NSA. Long before the lunch-counter sit-ins and anti-Vietnam demonstrations of 1960's, these men and women fought for civil rights for African Americans and became involved in international affairs.

Too often histories of American higher education focus predominantly on the institutions and their administrators, presenting the students as only peripherally significant. Due to the dearth of materials regarding students, their absence from history is understandable. Schwartz's book begins filling this lacuna by enabling eighty-five students to tell their stories through memoirs, recovered student newspaper essays, and doctoral dissertation excerpts. Together with timelines, documents, rosters, and reproductions of student newspapers, Schwartz paints a fuller picture of the NSA than one would expect is possible. He accomplishes this, in part, through the multi-layered organization of his anthology.

Schwartz has divided the book into four parts, plus a prologue and epilogue, which are further divided into subsections. The prologue examines antecedent student organizations before and during World War II, that paved the way for the NSA. Parts 1-3 chronologically recount the founding of the NSA

and its international and domestic activities. Part 4 illustrates the diversity within the NSA by looking at the impact of the returning veterans, the different Catholic and Protestant student organizations, and varied political movements on the campuses. Part 5 explores the different geographical regions of the NSA's intercollegiate network. Part 6, the Epilogue tells the story of the NSA in the years after 1952. Finally, the "Appendix" and "Reference," contain key NSA documents including rosters of member universities and colleges and lists of directories, archives, and libraries that would be of interest to the researcher. Throughout each part, subsections titled, "Album," "Mentor," and "Background," respectively offer reproductions of student newspaper articles, biographies of influential adults, and personal reflections on events and articles shaping the students' views and attitudes.

Among the materials found in "Background" is the Jesuit theologian John Courtney Murray's article, "Operation University," which urged Catholic students to become involved in international student organizations. Schwartz included this essay because both Catholic and non-Catholic students discussed the role Murray's essay played in galvanizing them to take action. Consequently, Catholic students' part in the NSA is integrated through the book and not treated separately. What becomes evident in *American Students* is the fact that the history of the NSA holds particular significance for the historian of American Catholicism because of the role it played in enabling Catholic student involvement in international politics. One point that the historian of American Catholicism should note is that, as expected, Schwartz's treatment of the Catholic student organizations is not comprehensive and on some minor points is not accurate. However, it offers a strong point from which to begin one's research.

American Students is not and does not claim to be a formal history of the NSA; however, for the historian of higher education, Schwartz has offered a valuable resource for gaining insight into the students of this generation and the events and adults influencing them. Most importantly, he has demonstrated the importance of incorporating student voices into the history of higher education and lighted the way for finding sources that contain their voices.

Santa Clara University HELEN M. CIERNICK

Latin American

Diálogos espirituales. Manuscritos Femeninos Hispanoamericanos, Siglos XVI-XIX. Edited by Asunción Lavrin and Rosalva Loreto L. (Puebla, México: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades de la Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla and Universidad de las Américas, Puebla. 2006. Pp. 501. Mexican Pesos 125 paperback.)

Asunción Lavrin and Rosalva Loreto L. are two of the most respected scholars of colonial Spanish American nuns and *beatas* (lay religious women). In

2002 they co-edited a collection of largely unpublished texts (*Monjas y beatas. La escritura femenina en la espiritualidad barroca Novohispana, siglos XVII y XVIII)* in which well-known scholars presented background essays and transcriptions of archival materials for five women religious, dividing the collection into autobiography, spiritual diaries, and letters. The present book is similar, but much more extensive. It covers four centuries, and the nuns and *beatas* principally featured come not only from Mexico, but also from Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, and the Dominican Republic. The editors have divided the texts into three parts: (1) Autobiography; (2) Biography and *vidas espirituales* (spiritual biographies); (3) Letters (*Epistolarios*), and Literature (poetry and two short dramatic pieces). I am not sure why these last two genres are grouped together, as the Letters section has a clearer identity and cohesion than the one in Literature (where it is also not evident who made the selections and wrote the introductions). In the transcriptions original spelling has been modernized, and punctuation inserted.

As in the previous collection, contextualizing essays precede the transcribed primary sources, and I appreciated the change in font between them. The scholars who have contributed to this collection are recognized specialists whose international scope is impressive: Nancy van Deusen, Nora Jaffary, and Nela Río from Canada; Asunción Lavrin, Fernando Iturburu, and Elia Armacanqui-Tipacti from the United States; Rosalva Loreto L. from Mexico; Alicia Fraschina from Argentina; Ellen Gunnarsdottir from Iceland; Concepción Zayas from Spain, and the research team of Alejandra Araya Espinoza, Ximena Azúa Ríos, Lucía Invernizzi Santa Cruz, and Raissa Kordic Riquelme from Chile. A list of the contributors with brief bio-bibliographical information would have been helpful, as some academic affiliations are listed, but others are not. The authors are scrupulous in documenting their sources, and several highlight the difficulty of transcribing archival materials which were either in disarray, undated, incomplete, or in lamentable condition. Most authors transcribed their original texts, but not always, and since this is heroic work, I wish the names of outside transcribers had been more prominently featured.

The introduction, by Lavrin and Loreto, is solid and informative, clarifying the differences between the three parts into which they have divided the texts, and justifying this division. The main essays cover eight nuns and three *beatas*. As the latter were not subject to enclosure, *beatas* could interact with the outside world, but for that reason were also more subject to scrutiny by the Inquisition. It would have been good to define the status of a *beata* in the introduction, as not all readers might be familiar with this. I also noticed a number of typographical errors throughout the book, especially—but not only—in bibliographical entries.

Having picked mostly technical nits thus far, let me now say unequivocally that this is a fine collection, whose essays offer fascinating insights into the transcriptions. I liked the section on Letters best, especially the contributions from Chile and Argentina, focusing as they do on women whose highly

esteemed Jesuit confessors were expelled in 1767, leaving them more than bereft. Letters between confessors and nuns often dealt with issues of personal faith which could lead to perilously intimate relationships and thus were carefully watched by ecclesiastical authorities. The Chilean scholars note that an abbess could confiscate such correspondence at any time from a nun's cell, for as the letters were created outside the confessional, they were not considered private. (p. 271) Alicia Fraschina tells of the *beata* María Antonia de San José who, after the 1767 expulsion, travelled the country establishing and maintaining (with the explicit permission of the Pope) centers which continued Jesuit spiritual exercises. She must have been an extraordinary woman; her writing is confident, businesslike, direct, and well-organized. It was amazing.

This collection will be appreciated by all scholars of colonial Spanish American literature and history. Editors and contributors alike should be congratulated on a monumental job well done.

University of Massachusetts/Amherst NINA M. SCOTT

Local Religion in Colonial Mexico. Edited by Martin Austin Nesvig. [Diálogos.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2006. Pp. xxvii, 289. $24.95 paperback.)

This collection of essays seeks to fill a void in the historiography of the Catholic Church in Mexico in a manner similar to what William Christian did for Spain in his landmark book, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). While Christian used a singular database, the *relaciones geográficas* of the 1570's, to produce a tightly structured monograph, this collection of essays take a broader view, although each author focuses on specific details of the larger theme. Consequently, each of the ten authors represented here looks at some discrete aspect of local religion within the 300-year colonial history of Mexico. Nesvig outlines his goals as seeking to show that the Church in Mexico is not the monolithic institution of the popular myth nor that history need follow the path of northern Europe and the United States in embracing an increasingly secular state. In effect, the antidote is to show that religion, like politics, is local. Although the Catholic Church might be universal in title, it has many different manifestations in the popular culture.

In the first essay of the ten, Carlos M. N. Eire explores the concept of popular religion in the Hispanic world. In the second essay Antonio Rubial Garcia explores the use of saints in colonial New Spain. At the same time that the missionary friars attempted to suppress the pre-Columbian religions, they were also importing to New Spain the existing cult of saints from Europe. Eventually even local saints entered the panoply, thus de-demonizing the region and incorporating it into the salvation history of Europe. Martin Nesvig tackles the issue of the purpose behind the creation of Holy Cross College (Colegio de Santa Cruz) at Tlatelolco. The school was an outgrowth of human-

ist thinking that never reached its full potential, and even the literature on the topic remained largely hidden to the present day. William Taylor looks at the fascinating figure of Francisco de la Rosa Figueroa, a Franciscan who served in both Mexico City and the nearby Nativitas Tepetlatcingo. Rosa's efforts to promote a local image of the Virgin as miraculous failed because the local hierarchy was no longer interested in supporting popular piety, but rather looked at larger institutional devotions. David Tavárez studies local riots in Oaxaca that had religious overtones and evidence of idolatry, demonstrating the role of popular religion in developing group identity. Edward Osowski analyzes native alms-collecting for religious images that had its roots, he posits, in pre-Columbian tradition. Moreover, this practice also carried with it certain gender distinctions granting some women a higher degree of autonomy. The decline of confraternities in eighteenth-century Mexico City is central to Brian Larkin's essay. As the ecclesiastical officials sought to rein in the extra- or para-liturgical activities of the societies, they also lessened the attraction of the institution for the members. Nicole von Germeten offers a slightly contrary view as she traces the role of confraternities in the lives of men of African descent in New Spain. She sees the sodality as an important mechanism in the integration of Afro-Mexican men into the larger society. Along a similar vein, Javier Villa-Flores narrates how black slaves in a Coyoacan *obraje* sought to use the Inquisition and church courts as unlikely venues for protection. By engaging in blasphemy they sought to bring the light of the tribunals on the unbearable cruelty of the sweat shop. Lastly, William Christian looks at just how catholic the Catholic Church was, bringing into highlight, again, the dichotomy between local religion within the Church and the role of the Church universal.

These essays are well written, engaging, and insightful. They range over many different topics, but all relate to the central issue of local religion. This book can successfully be used in any number of courses dealing with colonial Latin American history.

SUNY-Potsdam JOHN F. SCHWALLER

Dangerous Speech: A Social History of Blasphemy in Colonial Mexico. By Javier Villa-Flores. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 242. $50.00 clothbound; $24.95 paperback.)

How can blasphemy enlighten us? In effect, societies reveal much about their values and mores by the way that their members swear and blaspheme. This excellent study examines colonial Mexico using what was then considered a crime—blasphemy—under the aegis of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Blasphemy was apparently one of the most commonly reported crimes to the Holy Office—representing about seventy percent of all the existing proceedings. It is strange that scholars of colonial Mexico and particularly those within inquisition studies have not written about blasphemy at any

length since it was a crime which greatly preoccupied and disturbed colonial peoples. Instead, historians have concentrated on what seems to us more exotic—witchcraft, magic, or pacts with the devil—but which were not of such great concern at the time. This is an important and insightful book. It helps us understand how the renunciation of God or the Virgin could coexist with what was a profoundly religious and devout society. The juxtaposition of profound religiosity and this rather casual insult to devotion that blasphemy represented is very difficult to fathom but, nevertheless, Javier Villa-Flores does an excellent job in its elucidation. This study helps bring another degree of complexity and sophistication to our understanding of religiosity in New Spain. Until now, most studies of religion have either tried to decode the kinds of combinations and mixings that arise out of either indigenous or African religions with Catholicism, or they have examined the beliefs and practices of Spanish Christians. Villa-Flores looks at several groups within colonial society and shows how religion or its rejection was lived on a daily basis.

Blasphemy was a crime that was practiced by all social groups. Villa-Flores looks at many social and work categories: men and women (of Spanish and other racial derivation), sailors, muleteers, soldiers, and African slaves. The topic transcends the boundaries of these social and racial groups and allows for a better global understanding of religious practice within colonial Mexican society. The book also addresses heterosexual masculinity, which is not a topic frequently examined in most studies in the colonial period (which often only examine masculinity through homosexuality). Thus the book helps us to begin to develop a more complete picture of what it meant to be a man in New Spain both homosexual and heterosexual.

This book will be of great interest for specialists ranging from those who study speech and swearing, inquisition studies, religious studies, African diaspora studies, and, in general, specialists of colonial Latin America. Each of these discrete groups will find this study a valuable addition to their fields and will include his insights in their interpretative frameworks. It also answers the important questions of why so many Afro-Mexicans turned up in the Inquisition records. Diaspora specialists will be fascinated by Villa-Flores' account of how slaves used blasphemy to halt particularly harsh and cruel beatings. Apart from the specialist audiences who will appreciate Javier's work as part of this school of history, it is written in a style that is not overblown or so heavily dependent on abstruse theory such that it will appeal to a more general audience.

Carleton University SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA

Exploring Colonial Oaxaca: The Art and Architecture. By Richard D. Perry; color photography by Felipe Faleón. (Santa Barbara, California: Espadaña Press. 2006. Pp. 222. $25.00 paperback).

Richard Perry has written another readable, portable, and affordable travel guide to the religious art and architecture of colonial Mexico. An erudite pho-

tographer and graphic artist, Perry, together with his wife Rosalind, spends long hours off the beaten track driving to towns and hamlets in search of colonial gems. In Oaxaca, those gems are the sculptured façades, gilded altarpieces, wooden statuary, and oil or mural paintings that adorn the parish churches and the evangelization centers from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.
Oaxaca is an architecturally rich region of Mexico, bordered on the north by the states of Puebla and Veracruz, Guerrero on the west, and Chiapas on the east. The fact that the region was economically undeveloped in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries helped in preserving its Renaissance and Baroque splendor that fell out of fashion in other areas. Oaxaca is also earthquake country, and many monuments lay in ruins until recent times; some still do and retain their pristine, if sad, grandeur.

The evangelization of the indigenous civilizations, the Mixtecs and Zapotecs, was the work of the Dominican friars who brought not only their own friar-architects but also their own artistic and iconographic interests. As propagators of the rosary, for example, they have left us Rosary Chapels in several cities that are truly "wonders of the world" in their stucco, gilt, and polychromatic splendor. The artistic contributions of the Franciscans, Augustinians, and Jesuits are also represented here, although in a minor key.

Perry has a keen eye for detail, especially in stone carving. He photographs his chosen sites and later creates accurate black-and-white renderings that allow him to highlight what he wants his readers to notice. His line drawings permit very readable images that photos, subject to the light and shadow at a given time of the day, would not. In this book Perry has supplemented his illustrations with a block of sixty-nine color photos by Felipe Falcón. This is a welcome improvement over his earlier books *Mexico Fortress Monasteries*, *Maya Missions*, and *Blue Lakes and Silver Cities* because it permits us to see the fantastic colors about which Perry speaks so enthusiastically. Unfortunately, he fails to make any reference to the color plates in his text and leaves it up to the reader to discover the correspondences. This could easily be corrected in future editions.

The guide is meant to be carried and consulted on the spot. It is divided into three chapters that feature the churches and a few noteworthy civic buildings in the capital city of Oaxaca, in the central Valley of Oaxaca and nearly mountains, and in the Mixteca Alta region that borders Puebla to the north. Schematic maps accompany each section making it easy for the traveler to locate the next point of interest. Perry gives us the town or place name and then translates its meaning into English; this information is often helpful in appreciating why the friars chose the particular locale for their evangelization center. In the larger churches, Perry adds a plan of the important Baroque altarpieces with their iconographic subjects. Oaxaca is also rich in Baroque pipe organs; the author describes their elaborate cases and informs us which are in playing condition. A helpful glossary, index, and bibliography accompany the text.

Exploring Colonial Oaxaca is no guide for the intellectually light traveler with suggestions about four-star hotels, exotic dining, or tourist boutiques. This substantive paperback is the work a well-read specialist who admires and loves his subject. It is historically accurate but accessible for all readers. It is also a delightfully politically-incorrect testament to the great achievements of Catholic visual culture and successful missiology in the Early Modern era.

Yale University Divinity School, New Haven JAIME LARA

Nahuatl Theater, Volume 2: *Our Lady of Guadalupe*. Edited by Barry D. Sell, Louise M. Burkhart, and Stafford Poole. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 229. $49.95.)

Each year, on the eve of the celebration on December 12 that is dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe, there begins the ritual of the appearance of television series, films (new or old), theater productions, books, and many periodical articles concerning the miracle of the presence of the Virgin Mary in Tepeyac, to the north of Mexico City. In accordance with social conditions, economics, and political demands in the country, it is possible to detect the inclusion in this material of changes to some situations, or the pre-Hispanic, colonial, or modern people participating in the part of the account that is the best known and most often repeated. This is the *Nican mopohua* (*It is told in an orderly way*), a text in the Náhuatl language that was published for the first time in 1649. It has become the axis and paradigm for our knowledge of the tradition. And so it seems that this custom of using the Guadalupan apparitions as a foundation and beginning for other narrations, primarily those with a tendency to admonish and promote the exemplary life, has its beginning in previous centuries, as the work reviewed here proves.

In this second volume on the Náhuatl theater (the first, entitled *Náhuatl Theater. Death and Life in Colonial Nahua Mexico*, was edited in 2004 by Barry D. Sell and Louise M. Burkhart, with the assistance of Gregory Spira), the editors undertake the laborious task of reconstructing and translating into English various Guadalupan texts in the Náhuatl language: a *Coloquio* (*Dialogue on the Apparition of the Virgin Saint Mary of Guadalupe)* and a comedy with the title *Portento mexicano* (*The Wonder of Mexico*), as well as a song, a sermon, and a prayer. The translations, to which Lisa Sousa also contributed, are accompanied by two critical essays written by Stafford Poole and Louise M. Burkhart. These clarify various aspects of the contents, particularly the social relationships that the works reflect.

Thanks to the experience that they have acquired in critical translations of colonial Náhuatl texts, the editors bring us a highly useful work, a contribution to various areas of knowledge concerning the indigenous Mexican of the past and especially Guadalupan studies, which traditionally have been based on a limited number of sources from the indigenous and Hispanic traditions. With

the exception of the work of the Mexican scholar Fernando Horcasitas Pimentel (1925-1980), colonial Náhuatl theater has not been treated in a systematic manner, given that it was considered to be a minor category and in a deteriorated language that made its translation more difficult. Now, and after the reading of this work on the particular topic of the presence of the Virgin Maria in Tepeyac, we realize the important subjects that can be inferred: the presentation formats, the indigenous assimilation of elements of Catholic dogma, the didactic and moral character, and above all, the representation of relationships involving type and class. Additionally there is the inexplicable presence of certain elements of humor and vulgarity.

Now other works on these materials remain to be done, such as the identification and study of the "novelties" that are added to the "nucleus" of the Guadalupan tradition. It is probable that the reasons for their inclusion have their origins in the necessity to reinforce the message of the catechism and make it accessible to indigenous Náhuatl speakers during the late colonial phase. Here the effort to make the Guadalupan tradition known is apparent, as is its utilization as a medium that instills examples of Christian conduct. This is reinforced with narrations and personalities not mentioned in other Guadalupan sources. Among these are the father of Juan Diego, the older brother of Juan Bernardino, the old father of Maria Lucia, the wife of Juan Diego, and an indigenous charlatan doctor. Also participating are servants with extravagant names like Cacahuatzin and Totopochtli. We await other works on Náhuatl theater from these editors, since, as Stafford Poole affirms (p. 28), "Far from being curiosities, they are valuable, historical, social, and religious documents."

Centro de Estudios Históricos XAVIER NOGUEZ
El Colegio Mexiquense, A.C.
(Translated into English by Merideth Paxton, *Zinacantepec, Estado de México*)

Australian

A Dynamic of Hope: Institutes of Women Religious in Australia. By Mary Rosa MacGinley. Second edition. (Darlinghurst, New South Wales: Crossing Press for the Australian Catholic University National Research Centre for the Study of Women's History, Theology and Spirituality. 2002. Pp. viii, 439. Paperback.)

The arrival of the Sisters of Charity in Sydney in 1838 at the invitation of the bishop of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, the Benedictine John Bede Polding, began what would become a major influence on the development of a strong Catholic culture in Australia. Dr. Rosa MacGinley does not, however, begin *A Dynamic of Hope: Institutes of Women Religious in Australia* with this arrival. Instead she provides a brief, but excellent, account of the evolution of institutes of religious women from early monastic times through to the formation of congregations established to meet the changes overtaking

Christianity in post-Reformation times. She pays specific attention to those which extended the boundaries imposed by the Council of Trent so they could educate young women in the Faith and provide for the needs of the poor and dispossessed in a rapidly changing Europe.

As the majority of the religious institutes who came to Australia were either Irish foundations or continental institutes with substantial interests in Ireland, it is not surprising that Dr. MacGinley devotes considerable space to institutes and their founders like Nano Nagle, who established the Sisters of the Presentation in Cork, and had to overcome many hurdles in order to carry out the work to which they had committed themselves. They paved the way for others like the Sisters of Charity founded by Mary Aikenhead and Catherine Macauley's Sisters of Mercy, who were able to go out among the poor of Dublin and bring them comfort and education. Their experiences there made them ideally suited to the work they would do in Australia.

Most of Dr. MacGinley's book is devoted to the religious women who nursed the sick, took care of the poor, and taught in Catholic schools in Australia particularly following the passing of the 1872 Education Act in Victoria, which saw the introduction of a free, compulsory, and secular state system of education from which Catholic children were excluded by the hierarchy of the Church in Australia. As similar systems of education were introduced into to each of the colonies, the provision of Catholic education weighed heavily on the dioceses which had to find funds to build schools and pay teachers. Convents were built to accommodate any members of religious institutes who could be invited to take charge of teaching Catholic children, and novitiates sprang up to accommodate locally born girls who wished to follow the religious life.

While the story Dr. MacGinley tells is one of dedication and achievement, she does not shirk from the negativities. In an age when women had a very subservient role in the community, clashes between these strong- willed and determined religious women and the bishops and priests who sought to dictate to them were frequent. Bitter struggles such as that endured by the Sisters of Mercy led by Ursula Frayne in Western Australia, and Mary McKillop, the Australian founder of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, are all told.

An enormous amount of research has gone into the writing of *A Dynamic of Hope: Institutes of Women Religious in Australia.* It is well documented and contains a number of tables listing the institutes and the communities they established around Australia. A detailed map is also provided. Dr. MacGinley is to be congratulated for this second edition of her work.

Ballarat Mechanics Institute JILL BLEE

Asian

Monumenta Sinica, Volume I *(1546-1562).* Edited by John W. Witek, S.J., and †Joseph S. Sebes, S.J. [Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, Volume 153; Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu, Volume LXVI.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu. 2002. Pp. 498.)

It is very good news for all historians of China as well as for specialists in mission history that the first volume in the long awaited *Monumenta Sinica* series has at last appeared. We have had several volumes of the *Monumenta Historica Japoniae* and even more *Documenta Indica,* but for a variety of reasons partly explained in the prefaces by the late Joseph Sebes and his colleague and successor, John Witek, the China project was long delayed.

The delay has had some benefits. This first volume, covering 1546 to 1562, has been able to take advantage of both the Indian and the Japanese series. Also the Latin apparatus of the earlier volumes has now yielded to English, making the documents more accessible. At the same time the meticulous standards of editing and scholarship of the *Monumenta Historica* series has been maintained.

It may then appear churlish to criticize some of the editorial decisions, but I think it has to be done. Firstly, the decision not to publish English translations makes the work inaccessible to the majority of China specialists. The English-language summaries at the beginning of documents in Latin, old Portuguese, and so forth are accurate, but just summaries and no substitute for the full text in English. One can understand the "exigencies of publication" that led to this decision, but that leads to a second puzzle.

Almost all the documents in this volume have already been published either in other volumes in the *Monumenta* series or in other standard works. Here the paragraphs relevant to China have been excerpted. Might they not have been simply listed in a table, allowing space for texts and translations of previously unpublished documents? Francis Xavier's letters have been translated in Costelloe's excellent edition. Let us hope that these too, and those of Matteo Ricci long available in the originals in good critical editions, will attract translators.

The period covered is the beginning of what has been a dark age in China mission history, that between Xavier and Ricci. Some twenty-five attempts were made to enter China by what Joseph Sebes calls "the precursors of Ricci," yet one still finds claims that the Jesuits gave up on China for forty years or so. These documents show that the vision was never lost, and plans continued to be made and frustrated during this time.

It is good to see a Chinese glossary and references to Chinese sources which one hopes will continue through the series. The notes are very well

done and more than adequate for the general reader. But I see no reason to doubt that Documents 44 and 46 (both November 1555) were written from Macao as their authors claim. "Amaquão" most certainly existed as a fishing port before the Portuguese formally occupied it in 1557 and the Portuguese used any available anchorage. Similarly Nunes Barreto's letter of November 27, 1555 (Doc. 47) uses the same formula "from the port of China," as in Doc. 46, four days earlier. In 1558 (doc. 58) Barreto says he wrote in December 1555 from Lampachão, but that is the next month and not far away. One can only hope that *Monumenta Sinica 2* is not far off, and will bring us to the successful entry to China of Ruggieri and Ricci.

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Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion. By Eric Reinders. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 266. $49.95.)

Since J. K. Fairbanks' *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (1974) a body of intercultural literature has emerged which uses missionary sources to illuminate Chinese culture and Western attitudes toward it. Eric Reinders' *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies*, owing much to the historical Sino-Christian studies of Dan Bays, Ryan Dunch, Norman Girardot, Jessie Lutz, Jacques Gernet, and Kathleen Lodwick, provides a fresh multidisciplinary addition to this important body of material. Here is an informed study of the sometimes amusing, sometimes tragic, imaginative construal by (primarily) Protestant Victorian missionaries of Chinese religion, language, culture, dress, diet, smell—and, most illuminatingly for Reinders, bowing (the *kowtow*), that most ambiguous and contested act of social and spiritual obeisance. Reinders' work will intrigue the generalist and inform the specialist. References to missionaries like Morrison, Gützlaff, Hudson Taylor, and Wells Williams, rub shoulders with insights from Robert Fortune and Evariste Huc, Herbert Spencer and Roland Barthes, Frank Dikötter and Mark Harrison, Pearl Buck, and even Charlie Chan. Indeed, analyses ancient and modern pour from every page with an almost baroque effusiveness.

Reinders is in the Religion Department at Emory University and reflects a broad intercultural and ethnographic awareness of the dynamics of religion and theology as instruments of self-understanding and self-differentiation. He quotes Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations* on the first page, "Meaning is a physiognomy": this shapes both the character and content of his treatment of the "bodyful" terms of the missionary encounter with Chinese culture, in which the (initial) unintelligibility of Chinese language, inscrutability of millions of undifferentiated Chinese faces, and uncivilized habits of a Chinese lifestyle, both appalled and attracted those who felt called by God to bring the Protestant Christian gospel to China. Hence, Chinese religious habits (*habitus*)

become, in Reinders' review of missionary literature (especially private memoirs, letters, travelogues, and missionary periodicals such as the *Church Missionary Gleaner* and *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China* [1877 and 1890]), mirrors on Western prejudice and preference, as much as *per se* meaningless, heterodox rituals akin to that most disturbing phenomenon, Catholicism. For culture and conflict both came with the missionaries. As Reinders observes: "Protestant writers repeatedly asserted the resemblance of Chinese religious practice to 'the holy mummeries of the Romish Church'" (p. 105).

But missionary—let alone English—culture, language, spirituality, and motivation, are as inscrutable and fascinating as the China Reinders reports. This English reader wonders if American missionaries generally (let alone their German, Dutch, and Swiss counterparts) experienced the "bodifulness" of China differently or, crucially, less critically. My sense is, no. Crucially, too, English missionary discourse was widely read and well understood in Britain as enculturated colonial writing, as alien today as fiery Calvinist sermons or the Catholic Inquisition and to be read, therefore, as carefully: Reinders' reading risks imitating its authors' textual literalism and cultural elitism. Where, too, is more generous recognition that many missionaries loved and served China and the Chinese, understood China as well, if not better than, most (what of Morrison or Legge's remarkable work, for example?), and embraced China as lifelong residents (not short-term aliens) and faithful ambassadors? Seen in this light, initial reactions to the bodily forms of Chinese culture (which are essential to Reinders' study) are just that, initial reactions, which, we may surely assume, many subsequently regretted.

Centre for the Study of Christianity in China, Oxford CHRISTOPHER HANCOCK

Santa Sede e Manciukuò (1932-1945), con appendice di documenti. By Giovanni Coco. [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche: Atti e Documenti, no. 23.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2006. Pp. xxxvi, 470. €45,00.)

In recent years, the history of Manchukuo, the puppet state in Northeast China established by Japan and under its control between 1932 and 1945, has attracted increasing scholarly interest. Two studies, Rana Mitter's *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance and Collaboration in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) and Prasenjit Duara's *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), in particular, have shown the importance of the Manchukuo's nation-building experiment not only to understand Japanese colonialism and militarism, but, even more prominently, Chinese nationalism.

Giovanni Coco's *Santa Sede e Manciukuò* ("The Holy See and Manchukuo"), while potentially useful to historians interested in East Asian nationalism and modernity, focuses on a specific issue in diplomatic history, the

vexata quaestio of the Holy See's presumed recognition of Manchukuo. To this day, Chinese authorities customarily mention this matter as an offense against the Chinese nation. Given the tension that has characterized Sino-Vatican relations since 1949, a clarification of this puzzle has implication far beyond historical circles.

The book, enriched by historical photographs, is divided into two parts: an historical introduction in eleven short chapters (pp. 1-179), and a documentary appendix (pp. 181-468), including 168 documents in Italian, French, Latin, and English from the Vatican Archives and other ecclesiastical archives. The introduction details the complex diplomatic ballet that involved the Catholic Church on the one hand, and the Manchukuo, Japanese, and Chinese governments on the other. Within the Church, a fragmented front made up of several actors (the Congregation "De Propaganda Fide," the Vatican Secretariat of State, the Pope, the Vicars Apostolic in Manchuria, and the Apostolic Delegates in China and Japan) tried to defend the Catholic missions and their educational institutions in the region, without offering state recognition for Manchukuo. This was a dangerous game that could offend the Japanese and bring about repercussions on Catholics in Japan and Manchuria. For that reason, the pro-Japanese Apostolic Delegate Paolo Marella in Tokyo always pushed for recognition as the best solution. Moreover, Auguste Gaspais, MEP, a local Vicar Apostolic saddled against his will with the unofficial role of "Representative of the Holy See" in Manchukuo, maintained an ambiguous and deferential attitude to authorities, ably exploited by the Japanese government for propagandistic ends. In spite of a papal reception for a Manchukuo delegation in 1938, however, the Secretariat of State and two Popes (Pius XI and Pius XII) always remained noncommittal. Suspicious of Japanese militarism in general, the Church authorities were also dissuaded from establishing diplomatic relations by the Apostolic Delegates in China, Celso Costantini and Mario Zanin. These prelates reported to Rome the outrage shown not only by the Chinese government but also by Chinese Catholics and the general population for what many believed to be the Church's betrayal of China in a moment of national crisis.

The value of this book lies in its documentary appendix. While the introduction is useful, it is too preoccupied with diplomatic minutiae not always germane to the story, and offers contextual information on the history of Manchukuo based on textbook knowledge, rather than on up-to-date and in-depth studies like those cited above. The copious footnotes are rich in transcripts of primary sources, but are also replete with unnecessary information on well-known figures, making the apparatus so long as to exceed in length the text of the chapters. Finally, the entire volume is marred by typographical errors and inconsistencies in the romanization of the Chinese terms and names, problems that could have been solved through qualified editorial help. Reference in the historical narrative to the numbering of documents in the appendix is vague, forcing the reader to search through the pages for the appropriate source.

In spite of these limitations, by painstakingly gathering a number of original sources never published before, Coco not only puts to rest the myth of a Vatican diplomatic recognition of Manchukuo, but also offers a fascinating look at the Church's perception of East Asian politics and nationalism. Moreover, the book and its documents may also prove useful in understanding the roles of religion, education, and nationalism in wartime Manchukuo, China, and Japan.

Boston University EUGENIO MENEGON

The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea: An Examination of Popular and Governmental Responses to Catholic Missions in the Late Chosôn Dynasty. By Jai-Keun Choi. [Rev. Ham Suk-Hyun Studies in Asian Christianity, No. 2.] (Norwalk, California: The Hermit Kingom Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 423. $75.00.)

Although there are several other scholarly works which examine the history of the first century of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea (the late eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth), this work uniquely places specific emphasis on the conflict of values between the Neo-Confucian establishment of late Chosôn Korea who held filial piety as a core value, and Roman Catholic Christians who strove to avoid the practice of idolatry. Based on the author's Harvard doctoral dissertation, the book principally uses Korean primary sources, including state documents, rather than Western sources (i.e., Roman Catholic documentary material produced in the late nineteenth century for the beatification of the early Korean martyrs) as has been the case heretofore. The story which the author describes is well known in its general outlines, but no other author has discussed the conflict of values in the detail which is provided here, nor have Korean sources been so extensively used before in an English-language work. Without question, this book is the one book which any scholar not conversant with the Korean language should turn to for detailed, primary information about the early Church—how early converts dealt with the question of the conflict of values, how they faced martyrdom. The extensive information given about the early converts is complemented by a further wealth of detailed material, including substantial quotations, giving the views of Korean government officials and Confucian scholars about the early Catholics and their teachings. These extended quotations vividly show the abhorrence with which Christianity was held because it was perceived to contravene the core Confucian value of filial piety, and thus undermined the moral pillars of society. An important contribution made by the author is the full discussion of the close family ties and interconnected social relations which bound together the first generations of Catholics. No other author writing in English has provided the level of genealogical analysis as has Dr. Choi. Complementing this written information in the text is a unique series of genealogical tables illustrating the family ties between the various converts. The chapters of the book follow the accepted periodization of the

first century of Korean Catholicism, but the work ends with a comparison of the great persecutions of 1801 and 1866. Given that much of early Catholic history in Korea is a history of persecution, the analysis of the differences between these two persecutions is an important contribution of the book.

Unfortunately, this valuable book suffers from several defects. Generally the level of proofreading is poor, with a particular lack of editorial correction of sentences and phrasing which are not natural English. This fault makes it difficult at times to catch the author's exact meaning. The valuable genealogical tables are reproduced in a poor font, are much too small to read with ease, and are not printed in a dark ink. Curiously, the appendix is simply a repetition of a portion of a chapter in the book. Why was this not caught editorially? It is also curious that there is no index to this book even though there is a good glossary with Chinese characters which could have formed the basis of an index.

For all its defects, this book is an important contribution to understanding the first phase of Christianity in Korea, and is valuable to scholars wanting to make comparisons with the Catholic Church in other Asian nations.

University of Sheffield JAMES H. GRAYSON

BRIEF NOTICES

Kim, Onyoo Elizabeth. *Law and Criminality in the Middle Ages: Academic Essays.* [Hermit Kingdom Studies in History and Religion, 3.] (Highland Park, New Jersey: The Hermit Kingdom Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 221.)

The author of this short book, an adjunct professor at Handong University Law School in Korea, has divided her work into five independent sections (I-V), dedicated respectively to the law on (I) "War and Its Justification" (pp. 1-48), (II) "Understanding Intent" in Gratian and St. Augustine (pp. 49-75), (III) "The Case of Baptism" in canon law and theology (pp. 77-128), (IV) "The Order of the Templars and Their Criminalization in the 14th Century" (pp. 129-164), and (V) "The History of Penance" in canon law (pp. 165-221). The actual scope of the five treatments is much narrower than the titles suggest. Section I compares passages on just war in Gratian's *Decretum* and the *Summa aurea* of Hostiensis; Section II again starts from *Decretum*, C. 23, and relates a single quote to Augustine's discussion of free will versus divine providence; Section III looks at Gratian, *Decretum* De cons. D. 4 c. 1-156, and Peter Lombard's *Sentences* 4.2-6, for different aspects of baptismal doctrine; Section IV examines inquisitorial documentation from Philip the Fair's trial against the Templars, identifying and defining blasphemy as the principal criminal charge; and Section V concentrates on early medieval penitential doctrine in the compilations of Theodore (ca. 680) and Halitgar of Cambrai (830). Kim's method is primarily philological rather than historical, as she consistently privileges the close reading and paraphrase of original texts, assuming that their meaning is immediately accessible to modern students, without significant aid coming from contemporary (decretist or theological) commentary or from modern secondary literature, which is cited very spottily and always carries 1997 as the latest publication date, the year she ended her graduate career with a JD from the University of California at Berkeley. WOLFGANG MUELLER (*Fordham University*)

Father Gabriel of St. Mary Magdeleine, O.C.D. *From the Sacred Heart to the Trinity: The Spiritual Itinerary of St. Teresa of Margaret (Redi) of the Sacred Heart, O.C.D.* Translated by Sebastian V. Ramge, O.C.D. (Washington, D.C.: Institute of Carmelite Studies. 2006. Pp. 92. $11.95.)

While Carmelites rank Saint Teresa of Margaret (1737-1770) along with Teresa of Jesus, John of the Cross, and Thérèse of the Child Jesus, her story is nearly obscure in the world of today's popular saints. Her complete biography, *God is Love: Saint Teresa Margaret, Her Life*, was published by the Institute of Carmelite Studies in 2003. The story of Saint Teresa Margaret's life is based

upon the testimonies of her Carmelite spiritual directors. This new companion study, *From the Sacred Heart to the Trinity: The Spiritual Itinerary of St. Teresa of Margaret (Redi) of the Sacred Heart, O.D.C.*, by Father Gabriel of St. Mary Magdelene moves beyond her biography to trace her steps following the Carmelite way. Father Gabriel, an astute Carmelite spiritual theologian, grounds his work on the eye witness accounts of her directors during her formative years, decrees used for the process of her beatification in 1839.

Sister Teresa of Margaret Redi was born in Italy in the eighteenth century and canonized in 1934. Father Gabriel divides his treatment of Teresa of Margaret's journey into the ascetical and mystical aspects. The first phase in her ascetical journey began when she read a life of Saint Margaret Mary and assimilated Margaret Mary's devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Teresa of Margaret's intense spiritual journey was marked by the transforming grace she received upon hearing the words "God is Love" during the choral recitation of Terce. From this moment forward she felt herself loved by God and that she loved God in a divine manner. She describes herself being consumed by God, a mystical sense bringing earthly suffering and pain.

Father Gabriel's chronicle is peppered with terminology taken directly from Teresa Margaret's spiritual autobiographical accounts. While this gives his work integrity, her archaic expressions may distance readers from identifying with her spiritual experience. Using finite language to describe and convey supernatural experience remains a challenge in any age. Father Gabriel's admiration and respect for his subject has given modern spiritual seekers a glimpse into the story of a soul that transcends historical boundaries. INGRID J. PETERSON, O.S.F. (*Minong, Wisconsin*)

Krason, Stephen M. (Ed.). *Catholic Makers of America: Biographical Sketches of Catholic Statesmen and Political Thinkers in America's First Century, 1776-1876*. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America. 2006. Pp. vi, 260. $29.95 paperback.)

In 1966, J. Herman Schauinger published *Profiles in Action: American Catholics in Public Life*, one of the first historical attempts to outline the role of Catholics in politics. That book is long since out of print. *Catholic Makers*, relying to some extent on Schauinger's work, is a collection of nine essays on prominent American Catholics (Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitzsimons, Thomas Sim Lee, William Gaston, Roger Brooke Taney, Orestes A. Brownson, Peter Hardeman Burnett, and James Campbell) involved in various ways in American political life and thought from 1776 to 1876. The essays, written by historians and political scientists, are intended to provide general introductions to the political contributions these men made to American life. The essays, with the exception of the one by Donald J. D'Elia on Thomas Fitzsimons, are not documented. Each essay, however, is followed by a short bibliography for those interested in further reading or research.

What I find lacking in the book is an historical interpretation and analysis of American Catholic involvement in politics. The essays are isolated case studies with little reflection on the overall impact of Catholics on politics in the first century. What is also disappointing is a failure to examine whether these men were Catholics who happened to be in politics, or politicians who happened to be Catholics. It is not clear in most of the essays precisely what was the relationship between their Catholicism and their political views or positions.

The primary purpose of the book is to inform readers about people who have been forgotten or are not mentioned much in histories of American life, and in this the book is successful. The book also has a helpful index. PATRICK W. CAREY (*Marquette University*)

Meynard, Thierry. S.J. *Following the Footsteps of the Jesuits in Beijing: A Guide to Sites of Jesuit Work and Influence in Beijing.* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2006. Pp. vi, 120. $14.95 paperback.)

This short book presents the sites related to Jesuit activity in the Chinese capital from the seventeenth until the twentieth centuries. It is organized as a tourist guide, with entries arranged by proximity for coherent day trips. For the traveler unfamiliar with Chinese, the book includes practical information such as street addresses in both Chinese characters and pinyin Romanization and websites for a few of the attractions (although most of these only in Chinese). From a practical standpoint, Meynard's guide is a useful companion for the tourist seeking to conjure up the ghosts of Beijing Jesuits past—the author even includes spiritual meditations about the encounter between China and (European) Christianity aimed at giving deeper meaning to the places described. Alas, for most of the sites, the tourist would have to be a formidable conjurer since war, time, and neglect have dealt fatal blows to vestiges of the Jesuit presence in Beijing. Relics from before 1800 accessible to tourists are few: dislocated tombstones in the garden of the Communist Party School, astronomical instruments at the Imperial Observatory, and the ruins of the Jesuit-designed Yuanmingyuan Palace. The post-Suppression Jesuits fared only slightly better: the Peking Man (Zhoukoudian) excavations where Pierre Teilhard de Chardin worked are considered a national treasure. The churches and other monuments listed by Meynard are surely evocative of a Catholic presence in the Chinese capital, but contain little of historical significance beyond the ground that they occupy. Other sites, such as the National Library of China and the National Archives, which house valuable historic books and documents are accessible to credentialed scholars, not tourists. For the historian seeking more detail without hagiographic overtones, the richly illustrated study of the city's first Jesuit cemetery is indispensable (Edward Malatesta, S.J., and Gao Zhiyu, eds., *Departed Yet Present: Zhalan, The Oldest Christian Cemetery In Beijing* (Macau / San Francisco: Instituto Cultural de Macau and Ricci Institute, 1995). LIAM M. BROCKEY (*Princeton University*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Report on the American Catholic Historical Association's Spring Meeting of 2007

The spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association took place on the campus of Marquette University, March 29-31, 2007. This event, a celebration of the 125th birthday of the University, was sponsored by the Departments of History and Theology. Generous support also came from Archbishop Timothy M. Dolan of Milwaukee, a long-time association member. The steering committee consisted of Steven Avella (Marquette), Wanda Zemler-Cizewski (Marquette), Patrick Carey (Marquette), Edward Schmitt (University of Wisconsin-Parkside), Laura Gellott (University of Wisconsin-Parkside), and Neal Pease (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.)

Our call for papers used not only the traditional mailing to the membership, but also invitations issued through list-servs and other non-traditional contacts via the internet. In fact, much of the arranging and organizing of the sessions was done via e-mail. At some point the Association should consider compiling a list of e-addresses for general mailings and other communications.

We received a bumper crop of proposals for whole sessions and individual papers, and at one marathon session the steering committee hammered out the outline of the program. In all, thirty-two sessions were held over those days—most of them in the capacious conference rooms of the Raynor Library. The participants were too numerous to name individually, but virtually every field and region of Catholic history was represented in the sessions. The scholarly exchanges were, by all reports, quite lively. The sessions had a very strong showing of young scholars, some of whom had their first opportunity to deliver a paper. The interchanges and address-sharing went on through all the conference breaks and social events. By all reports, many felt that the conference had been a great experience.

Other highlights of the conference included a wonderful opening reception at the historic Pabst Mansion (for many years the official residence of the Archbishops of Milwaukee and today a splendid museum) hosted by the Archdiocese of Milwaukee and Archbishop Timothy Dolan. Another reception in the Prucha Room of the University Archives was sponsored before the banquet by the Urban Institute of Marquette.

Archbishop Dolan offered a brief opening prayer and welcome at the banquet. The banquet speaker was Professor Thomas Jablonsky of the Marquette

History Department, who spoke about his recently published history of Marquette and accentuated the significance of the University in American Catholic higher education. The Reverend Joseph Chinnici, O.F.M., this year's president, spoke briefly, announcing his plans for filling the vacancies in the executive office of the ACHA. Rev. Msgr. Robert Trisco spoke as well, urging other Catholic institutions to host future spring meetings. Next year, St. Mary's College at Notre Dame, Indiana will be sponsoring the conference.

One noteworthy event at the conference was the graduate student "networking" session organized by Dr. Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., and Father Chinnici. At lunch on Saturday, graduate students gathered in one of the conference rooms and shared their research interests and ideas. This was a lively and well-received session—and the seedbed of future members of the Association.

The events of the conference were brought to a close on Saturday afternoon, and the remaining participants were welcomed to the University's Holy Family Chapel for a Palm Sunday Vigil Mass celebrated by the Very Reverend Curt Frederick, Vicar for Clergy of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee.

The steering committee and Marquette University wish to thank all who sponsored the conference and especially Archbishop Timothy Dolan, who was able to be with us for the formal pre-banquet reception and the banquet itself. It especially thanks the many participants whose excellent papers and presentations were the heart and soul of the whole event.

Marquette University STEVEN AVELLA

Vatican Apostolic Library and Secret Archives

In an article of *L'Osservatore Romano* of June 13, 2007 Bishop Raffaele Farina, S.D.B., prefect of the library, responded to criticisms regarding the closing of the library. He noted that the library building, constructed according to the 1587 design of Domenico Fontana, needed to be renovated due to weakening concrete. The projected three-year closure was less than the seven years needed to restore the similar Library of St. Ambrose in Milan. Beginning in April of 2008 scholars will be able to consult an on-line catalogue, contact library officials by e-mail, and obtain photographic reproductions and digital images of manuscripts and prints. Many of the manuscripts and ancient manuscripts are already available through photographic reproductions sold by the library, while the Vatican Film Library at St. Louis University in Missouri has 37,000 microfilms at the disposal of scholars. The renovations will involve a reorganization of the library's collections, and the installation of air-conditioning and elevators.

On June 25, 2007 Pope Benedict XVI appointed Bishop Raffaelle Farina to the office of archivist and librarian of the Holy Roman Church and elevated

him to the rank of titular archbishop. He also appointed Monsignor Cesare Pasini, the vice-prefect of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, as prefect of the Vatican Apostolic Library. On that same day the pope visited the library and archives and addressed their staffs. He wished his library to be "a welcoming home of learning, culture, and humanity which opens its doors to scholars from all over the world without distinction of origins, race, or culture. The job of those of you who work here every day is to safeguard the synthesis between culture and faith that emerges from the precious documents and treasures you hold." He noted the polemics that arose following the publication of certain research and praised "the disinterested and impartial service provided by the Vatican Secret Archives," that "steer clear of sterile and often weak partisan historical viewpoints and give researchers, without hindrance and prejudice, the documents in its possession, catalogued with seriousness and competency." He urged the staff "always to consider your work as a real mission to be undertaken passionately and patiently, with courtesy and a spirit of faith. Let it be your concern always to offer a welcoming image of the Apostolic See, aware that the evangelical message also passes through your own coherent Christian witness."

Conferences

On October 2, 2007 the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum held its annual meeting, this time in the Bonifatiussaal of the Priesterseminar in Fulda, Germany. After a discussion of the financial difficulties facing the society, Dr. Berthold Jäger presented a paper entitled "Zwischen Reformation und Gegenreformation: Das Stift Fulda in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts." For further information, please contact Prof. Dr. Peter Walter at Corpus.Catholicorum@theol.uni-freiburg.de.

On October 4-6, 2007 the Hofstra Cultural Center and the Department of Religion of Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York, sponsored a conference entitled "The Politics of Religion-Making." Among the papers presented were "Ethno-Religious Identity among Modern Syriac Christians" by Adam Becker,"Forcing Religion: John Locke and Tolerance" by Elizabeth Pritchard, and "British Christianity and the Religious Imagination: Politics of Religious Formation in Nineteenth-Century India" by Mitch Numark. For further information, please contact hofculctr@hofstra.edu or visit www.hofstra.edu/culture.

On October 12-13, 2007 the Thirty-Fourth Annual Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies was held at Saint Louis University in St. Louis, Missouri. Among the papers presented were "The Macclesfield Psalter" by Stella Panayotova, "The Stylistic Content of the Luttrell Psalter" by Michael Michael, "The Taymouth Hours" by Kathryn Ann Smith, "Who: Men of Interest. The Visitation Explored" by Judith Golden, "Where: Talking Spaces. Hierarchy in the Porter Hours (Morgan M. 105)" by Libby Escobedo Karlinger, "Why: The

Emphasis on Judas' Notoriety Pictured in a Thirteenth-Century Psalter-Hours" by Adelaide Bennett, "Winchester, Canterbury, and Sigena: The Problem of the Last Copy of the Utrecht Psalter" by Nigel Morgan, "The Conradin Bible and Other Projects: Making Books at Naples between Hohenstaufen and Angevin" by Rebecca Corrie, "Some Papyrological Perspectives on Early Christianity" by David Martinez, "The Bull, the Column, the Scepter, and the Crown: Hieroglyphs of Nobility in the Missal of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna" by Brian A. Curran, and "The Farnese Hours and Roman Breviary Reform" by Elena Calvillo. For further information, please contact Barbara Channell at channellbj @slu.edu or visit http://www.slu.edu/libraries/vfl/events.htm.

On October 11-12, 2007 the Smokler Center for Jewish Life of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, held the 3rd Lavy Colloquium entitled "Judaism and Christian Art." Among the papers presented were "Frau Venus, the Eucharist, and the Jews of Landshut" by Achim Timmermann and "Lord's Supper and Passover Sacrilege: Shared Images and the Confrontation of Rituals in the Northern Renaissance Altarpiece" by Mitchell Merback. For further information, please contact jewish.studies@jhu.edu or visit http://web.jhu.edu/jewishstudies.

On October 18-20, 2007 L'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française held its 60^{e} Congrès at the Collège Militaire Royale du Canada in Kingston, Ontario. For further information, call (514) 271-6369 or visit http://www.rmc.ca/academic/history/new_f.htm.

On July 3-6, 2008 Liverpool Hope University in the United Kingdom will sponsor an interdisciplinary conference entitled "Tyndale, More, and Their Circles: Persecution and Martyrdom under the Tudors." Scholars interested in the religious history and literature of the Tudor period from Anne Askew to Edmond Campion and wishing to present a twenty-five-minute paper should send their name, institutional affiliation, title of the paper, and a 300-500 word abstract to the Reverend Matthew Baynham at baynham@hope.ac.uk or to Dr. John Flood at john.flood@balliol.ox.ac.uk.

Latin-Language Competition Award

Before February 1, 2008 anyone interested in entering the Forty-Ninth Capitoline Competition in Latin prose and poetry should submit three typewritten copies of his or her work to the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani—Ufficio Latino—Piazza dei Cavalieri di Malta, 2—00153 Rome, Italy. Only one entry may be submitted and it may not have been published previously nor have received an earlier award nor have appeared in a vernacular language. The prose entry of an adult scholar may not exceed 1,500 words; that of an adolescent 1,000 words; a poem must be less than fifty verses. Please address all inquiries to Dr. Mario Mazza at the above address.

Beatifications

On September 15, 2007 in the Antares Center in Le Mans, France, the beatification rites for the Servant of God Basile-Antoine Marie Moreau, C.S.C. (1799-1873), founder of the men and women's congregations of Holy Cross, were performed. For further information, please visit www.holycrosscongregation.org, www.marianites.org, www.cscsisters.org, or www.sistersofholycross.org.

On September 16, 2007 at the Marian Shrine of Lichen-Wloclawek in Poland the Servant of God Stanislaus of Jesus Mary (also known as Jana Papczynski) was beatified.

On September 16, 2007 in the cathedral of Bordeaux, France, the Servant of God Marie Celine of the Presentation (also known as Jeanne-Germaine Castang) was beatified.

On September 30, 2007 in the church of St. James and St. Agnes in Nysa-Opole in Poland the Servant of God Maria Merckert was beatified.

Correction: when reporting the cause of the Venerable Margherita Occhiena (1788-1856) in the January issue (*ante* XCIII, no. 1, page 229) it was erroneously stated that she raised her youthful brother-in-law and took care of his mother-in-law. In fact, she raised her step-son Antonio and took care of her deceased husband Franceso Bosco's mother. The editor is grateful to Father Michael Mendl, S.D.B., for pointing out the errors.

Publications

La Société d'histoire religieuse de la France and le Centre d'histoire «Espaces et Cultures» (Université Blaise Pascal) sponsored a colloquium on September 15-17, 2005, on the theme "Les associations de prêtres en France du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine." The papers presented on those days have now been published in the issue of the *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* for January-June, 2007 (Volume 93, Number 230), under four section headings: (I) "Les motifs d'association": Giancarlo Rocca, "Le associazioni sacerdotali. Per una tipologia delle associazioni italiane dal Medioevo a oggi" (pp. 7-24); Joseph Avril, "Une association obligée: l'archiprêtre ou doyenné" (pp. 25-40); Marc Venard, "Entre obligation et sociabilité: les conférences ecclésiastiques" (pp. 41-50); Philippe Boutry, "Les conférences ecclésiastiques au XX^{e} siècle" (pp. 51-70); Christian Sorrel, "Le prêtre et le congrès (1870-1940): un rendez-vous manqué?" (pp. 71-88); (2) "Idéaux, modèles et frontières": Jacques Pycke, "Chanoines et prêtres séculiers dans le cadre de la paroisse primitive de Tournai à l'époque médiévale. Une harmonie difficile" (pp. 91-105); Jean-Michel Matz, "Chapelains et communautés de chapelains dans le diocèse d'Angers (XIV^{e}-XV^{e} siècles)" (pp. 107-125); Yves Krumenacker, "La question des vœux dans les congrégations de prêtres au XVII^{e} siècle" (pp. 127-138); Stéphane-

Marie Morgain, "La prêtrise selon Pierre de Bérulle. «Un état et une vie d'unité par intériorité et de société par extériorité» (Œuvre de piété 288)" (pp. 139-152); André Lanfrey, "AAS et petites sociétés. Les associations de clercs des séminaires sulpiciens de 1770 et 1860" (pp. 153-173); Albert Jacquemin, "L'*Opus sacerdotale*. Naissance, développement, apport et héritage d'une société sacerdotale en France au XX^e siècle (1964-1974)" (pp. 175-189); (3) "Le mode de vie interne": Christian Dury, "Fraternités de chapitres et chapitres de prêtres. L'exemple du diocèse de Liège au Moyen Âge" (pp. 193-211); Ludovic Viallet, "Les communautés de prêtres des cathédrales et collégiales dans les villes de la fin du Moyen Âge: modèle canonial, réseaux sociaux et identité urbaine" (pp. 213-227); Gaëlle Tarbochez, "Les communautés de prêtres séculiers en France à la fin du Moyen Âge" (pp. 229-248); Frédéric Meyer, "La bourse des pauvres prêtres du diocèse de Genève-Annecy au XVIII^e siècle" (pp. 249-266); Ségolène de Dainville-Barbiche, "Les communautés paroissiales de Paris au XVIII^e siècle: sociétés de prêtres ou auberges ecclésiastiques?" (pp. 267-280); Louis Duval-Arnould, "La communauté de prêtres de Saint-Louis-des-Français à Rome" (pp. 281-305); (4) "Les formes de ministère": Jean-Loup Lemaitre, "Les obituaires des communautés de prêtres, du Moyen Âge au concile de Trente" (pp. 309-321); Anne Bonzon, "Fonctions et fonctionnement des communautés de curés dans les villes épiscopales de la province ecclésiastique de Reims au temps de la Réforme catholique" (pp. 323-341); Stéphane Gomis, "Les «enfants-prêtres» à l'époque de la Réforme catholique: des clercs en quête d'identité?" (pp. 343-355); Daniel Moulinet, "Associations sacerdotales aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles. Le cas du diocèse de Moulins" (pp. 357-373), and Bernard Dompnier, "Entre sociabilité et société, l'espace de l'association. En guise de conclusions" (pp. 375-383).

Four of the papers read at the meeting of the Internationale Gesellschaft für Konziliengeschichtsforschung that was held in Bamberg on April 17-21, 2006, have been published in the second number of the *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* for 2005 [*sic*] (Volume 37), as follows: Walter Brandmüller, "Konzil-Synode im Briefcorpus Gregors des Großen" (pp. 377-398); Alberto Ferreiro, "The Iberian Church and the Papacy from the Fourth to the Seventh Century: A Historiographical Reflection" (pp. 399-410); Uwe Michael Lang, "John Philoponus and the Fifth Ecumenical Council: A Study and Translation of the Letter to Justinian" (pp. 411-436); and Hans Georg Thümmel, "Die Konstantinopler Konzilien des 9. Jahrhunderts: Eine Übersicht" (pp. 437-458).

The second part of the papers that were presented at a seminar in medieval history held at the Faculté d'histoire et géographie of the Université catholique de Lille on the theme "La charité dans les pays du Nord à la fin du Moyen Âge" has appeared in the issue of *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* for April-June, 2007 (Volume 64), in four articles: Hélène Boilly and Marina Lieben, "La table du Saint-Esprit en l'église Saint-Pierre de Douai" (pp. 5-17); Sylvie Blondel, "La charité municipale à Douai à la fin du Moyen Âge" (pp. 19-41); Bertrand Haquette, "*Pour*

Dieu et en especial aumosne: La charité en pays d'Aire à la fin du Moyen Âge" (pp. 43-62); and Isabelle Clauzel-Delannoy, "Les 'pauvres members de Dieu' du comté de Boulogne (XII^{e}-XVI^{e} s.)" (pp. 63-85). The first part of the papers was published in the issue for March, 2005 (Volume 62) and listed in the *Catholic Historical Review,* 91 (July, 2005), 567-568.

To commemorate the 450th anniversary of the death of St. Ignatius Loyola and the 500th of the births of St. Francis Xavier and Blessed Peter Faber, the Faculty of Theology of the Pontifical University Comillas held the III Jornadas de Teología on October 23 and 24, 2006. Most of the papers presented on those days are now published in the issue of *Estudios Eclesiásticos* for June, 2007 (Volume 82), as follows: Javier Burrieza Sánchez, "Los días de la Compañía de Jesús: un retrato histórico de sus orígenes" (pp. 201-234); José García de Castro, "Pedro Fabro (1506-1546). Inspirador y constructor de la primera Compañía de Jesús" (pp. 235-276); Santiago Madrigal Terrazas, "Pedro Fabro ante la reforma protestante" (pp. 277-307); Rogelio García Mateo, "Loyola y el luteranismo. ¿Contrarreformista o reformista?" (pp. 309-338); Pedro Miguel Lamet, "Perfil humano y gesta apostólica de Francisco Javier" (pp. 339-358); Francisco Javier Gómez Díez, "Unidad y variedad en la mission jesuítica del siglo XVI: del Japón a las fronteras de la monarquía hispánica" (pp. 359-387); Íñigo Arranz Roa, "Las Indias de aquí: misiones interiores en Castilla, siglos XVI-XVII" (pp. 389-409); and Josep M. Rambla Blanch, "Pedro Arrupe, ¿Segundo fundador de la Compañía de Jesús?" (pp. 411-421).

A colloquium on Cardinal Jules-Géraud Saliège, Archbishop of Toulouse, was held in that city on November 3 and 4, 2006, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his death. The *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* in its issue for January-March, 2007 (Volume CVIII), has published the papers read at that symposium, to wit, Michel Dagras, "Monseigneur Saliège, figure emblématique d'un réseau de résistants toulousains" (pp. 7-8); Paul Poupard, "Le Cardinal Saliège" (pp. 9-24); Yves-Marie Hilaire, "Monseigneur Saliège face au(x) nationalisme(s)" (pp. 25-36); Pierre Laborie, "Sur le retentissement de la lettre pastorale de Monseigneur Saliège" (pp.37-50); Patrick Cabanel, "Saliège, 23 août 1942: l'évêque comme prophète" (pp. 51-70); Germain Sicard, "Monseigneur Saliège et la France" (pp. 71-82); Jean-Louis Clément, "Monseigneur Saliège et la reconnaissance du GPRF, 25 août 1944–28 février 1945" (pp. 83-102); Félicien Machelart, "Monseigneur Saliège et l'Assemblée des cardinaux et archevêques de France" (pp. 103-110); Jean-Claude Meyer, "Les collaborateurs de Monseigneur Saliège: Monseigneur Louis de Courrèges d'Ustou, les abbés Louis Gèze, Marius Garail. . ." (pp. 111-126); Marie Thérèse Duffau, "Monseigneur Saliège, Chancelier de l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse" (pp. 127-146); Sylvie Bernay, "Un réseau catholique de sauvetage? L'exemple du diocèse de Toulouse" (pp. 147-160); Bartolomé Bennassar, "Jules-Géraud Cardinal Saliège et l'esprit de la Résistance" (pp. 161-168); Jean-François Galinier-Parrerola," "La spiritualité du Cardinal Saliège" (PP. 169-182); Robert Cabié, "Monseigneur Saliège et l'Action catholique" (pp. 183-192); Gérard Reynal, "La gouvernance

de Mgr Saliège sur le diocèse de Toulouse" (pp. 193-208); François Wernert, "Le Mouvement Liturgique en France à l'époque de l'épiscopat de Monseigneur Saliège, archevêque de Toulouse, de 1929 à 1956" (pp. 209-222); Hervé Gaignard, "Le renouveau de la liturgie dans le diocèse de Toulouse, de 1929 à 1956" (pp. 223-234); Pierre Escudé, "Étincelle ou silence': l'anti-rhétorique des *Menus Propos*" (pp. 235-254); and Jean Rocacher, "Repères biographiques" (pp. 255-256).

The Episcopal Church, as successor to the Church of England in the United States, commemorates this year the four hundredth anniversary of its establishment at Jamestown. The Virginia Historical Soociety has collaborated with the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia to produce a museum exhibition, "The Episcopal Church in Virginia, 1607-2007" (July 14, 2007 - January 13, 2008) and a special issue of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* Volume 115, Number 2, which contains a history of the diocese across the four centuries by Edward L. Bond and Joan R. Gundersen (pp. 165-344).

The *U.S. Catholic Historian* has devoted its issue for spring, 2007 (Volume 25, Number 2) to six brief essays in honor of David J. O'Brien under the heading "Reform and Renewal," viz., Alice Gallin, O.S.U., "Called to Action: The Historian as Participant" (pp. 1-12); Jay P. Dolan, "The Irish Parish" (pp. 13-24); Rodger Van Allen, "Select Moments from the Career and Contributions of David J. O'Brien" (pp. 25-35); Philip Gleason, "The First Century of Jesuit Higher Education in America" (pp. 37-52); James P. McCartin, "The Sacred Heart of Jesus, Thérèse of Lisieux and the Transformation of U.S. Catholic Piety, 1865-1940" (pp. 53-67); Paula Kane, "Renewal and Transformation: The Historian as How-to Guide" (pp. 69-78); Joseph A. McCartin, "The Other Americanism: David J. O'Brien's Catholic Engagement with U.S. History" (pp. 79-92); and Tricia Pyne, "Looking at History through the Eyes of Faith: David J. O'Brien and the U.S. Catholic Community" (pp. 93-100).

The Passionate Heritage Newsletter 14, no. 1 (Winter, 2007) contains two articles by Father Robert Carbonneau, C.P., on fund-raising in America: "Early Passionist Fund-Raising," pp. 1-3, 7, and "Passionist Fund-Raising: *The Sign* and the Missions," pp. 4, 6.

Personals

Professors Catherine Albanese of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and Caroline Walker Bynum of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, were named co-winners of the 2007 Award for Excellence in Religion: Historical Studies by the American Academy of Religon for their respective books: *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (Yale University Press, 2006) and *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

Father Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., of the Catholic University of America, on July 15, 2007 was named the twentieth recipient of the Franciscan Institute Medal at a ceremony at St. Bonaventure University for his outstanding contributions to Franciscan Studies, having authored nine books and numerous articles on the topic, especially on Francis and Clare.

Father Robert Carbonneau, C.P., director of the Passionist Historical Archives, will be teaching from September 2007 to July 2008 American history, language, culture, and literature at the Sichuan International Studies University in Chongqing, China.

Dr. Frank de la Teja became President of the Texas State Historical Association in March and was appointed by Governor Rick Perry as Texas State Historian (2007-09) with an induction ceremony in Austin on May 29.

Dr. Elizabeth Makowski received the distinguished book award from the History of Women Religious Conference on June 26 at its meeting at the University of Notre Dame for her book *"A Pernicious Sort of Women": Quasi-Religious Women and Canon Lawyers in the Later Middle Ages* (The Catholic University of America Press, 2005).

Professor J. Dean O'Donnell of the Virginia Tech University in Blacksburg was awarded the title of "associate professor emeritus" by the Board of Vistors on August 27 in recognition of his exemplary service to the university and of his scholarly research and publications on French diplomatic and ecclesiastical history.

Father George H. Tavard, A.A., distinguished theologian, historian, ecumenist, and member of the Association since 1958, died suddenly in Paris on August 13, 2007. A memorial service for him was held in the Chapel of the Holy Spirit of Assumption College in Worcester, Massachusetts on September 16.

Obituary

Giuseppe Alberigo (1926-2007) passed away in Bologna on June 15 at the age of 81. He was one of the great masters of church history—the discipline he taught in the University of Bologna for thirty years after his teacher training in the University of Modena and in the University of Florence—on the international scene as well as in the Italian milieu, where the state of religious studies was particularly poor in the early fifties. In this situation the young Alberigo (he took his degree in law at the Catholic University of Milan just after World War II) met Giuseppe Dossetti (1913-1996). The former vice-secretary of the Christian Democratic Party was on the eve of radical change and was looking for new fellows to start a new life: Dossetti thought that his political project was useless and weak in a situation which was "catastrophic" for the world as well as "critical" for the Church. Therefore, he suggested to a group of young

and untrained scholars a move to Bologna (because Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro was archbishop there) in order to start a research community of prayer and study devoted to the historical exploration of the forgotten issue of church reform, which in the last years of Pius XII seemed very far away. Alberigo and his wife Angelina were among the enthusiastic founders of the "Centro documentazione," where intellectual and spiritual rigor went together. There he started his historical training with the two scholars that Dossetti saw as the most useful for his research on the Council of Trent, and in this way he became acquainted with Hubert Jedin (1900-1980), whose history of the Council of Trent was considered "proscribed merchandise" ("venduta sottobanco") in the Catholic bookshops in Rome, and then with Delio Cantimori (1904-1966), then professor in Florence, whose *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* is a masterpiece of a truly historical approach to truly theological issues.

These three—Dossetti, Jedin, Cantimori—are the masters who developed Alberigo's method: their influence is vivid in his major books (devoted to the participation of the Italian bishops at the Council of Trent in 1959, the doctrine of collegial power of the bishops in the universal Church in 1964, the cardinalate in 1969, and the ecclesiology of conciliarism in 1981). However, his approach evolved from these studies and became more and more specifically his own: he was convinced that Christianity was historically understandable only for those who acknowledge its historical nature, its doctrinal structures, and its institutional process. Under these premises church history became not only a way to practice a pure and poor erudition, but also an active part of the process of Church reform, which always needs to explore a Tradition (with an uppercase T, as Congar wrote) in order to criticize and reform the sacred traditions (with a lowercase t) that originated in the clash between Church and modernity.

This approach remained the marker of the Bologna Institute, where he remained a true leader after the distinction between the monastic community and the research community in the late fifties. And there, in "Via San Vitale 114," Vatican II arrived like an undreamed dream, and the young scholars trained by Dossetti in conciliar history (in 1962 they offered the volume *Conciliorum œcumenicorum decreta* to John XXIII, which Alberigo started to re-edit in the *Corpus Christianorum* in his last years) became a think tank for Cardinal Lercaro, for Dossetti himself as informal *peritus*, for many bishops and theologians who discovered the institute and its increasingly magnificent library as a place for study and hope.

Many of them (Chenu, Congar, Corecco, Dupont, Illich, Gribomont, Kretschmar, Jedin, Jossua, Tierney, Tillard, Turowicz, Schnackenburg, Panikkar, Chenu, Aubert, and many others whose books are the must-reads of the twentieth century) became the visitors and teachers of the institute, during and after Vatican II, when Alberigo and the various groups of young scholars who benefited from this extraordinary school for long or short periods offered to

historical research important projects and research, at the same time aiding and contributing to each other's work with sometimes unexpected results. It was, for instance, the work on and against the "Lex Ecclesiæ fundamentalis" which convinced an extraordinary intellectual, Dominique De Menil, to honor Alberigo with an award for the defense of human rights in the Church, and Alberigo in turn asked her to support a project he was dreaming of since 1965: research on Angelo G. Roncalli. The Menil Foundation and the Rothko Chapel became a sponsor and sanctuary of research that proved to be so effective that Alberigo was asked to prepare the documentation needed for the beatification of John XXIII, which actually took place in September, 2000. And the same Mrs. De Menil was the first sponsor and host of the group of some thirty scholars which Alberigo gathered to write the *History of Vatican II*, edited in English with Joseph A. Komonchak—a history (five volumes offered to John Paul II in 1995 and 2001) that has dramatically changed knowledge about Vatican II and also offered the opportunity to people who dislike the council to try to discredit its history and its editor. But it is a fact that Benedict XVI (who received Alberigo in a short private audience on February 7, 2007, to congratulate him for the first volume of the new edition of the *Conciliorum œcumenicorum generaliumque decreta*) stated that he was still willing to leave his personal Vatican II papers to Alberigo's institute.

Nevertheless Alberigo—corresponding fellow of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1995, member of "Concilium" for many years, founder of *Cristianesimo nella storia*, director of the critical edition of Roncalli's Diaries, fellow of the Académie des Sciences Religieuses, doctor *honoris causa* in Munich, Münster, and Strasbourg, but not in Barcelona because of the veto of the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith, whose prefect later apologized—did not receive any of the honors that the Roman Catholic Church sometimes offers its scholars and sons. But this was probably a gift. In the Church, Alberigo wanted to be a layman with a very special meaning ("un cristiano comune" he used to say), and who he was in twentieth-century historical research is told by his momentous bibliography (www.fscire.it). Satis est.

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The Catholic Historical Review

NELSON H. MINNICH
Editor

ROBERT TRISCO
Associate Editor

JACQUES GRES-GAYER GLENN OLSEN
Advisory Editors

VOLUME XCIII

2007

Published Quarterly by

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS

Washington, D.C. 20064

2007

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Compiled by
LAWRENCE H. FELDMAN, PH.D.

ABBREVIATIONS:

ACHA American Catholic Historical Association
biog. biography
b.n. brief note
obit. obituary
p.n. personal notice
rev. review

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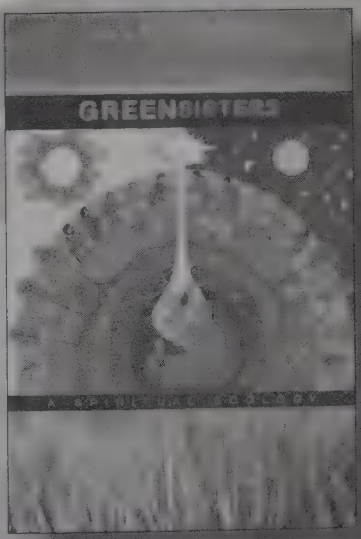

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